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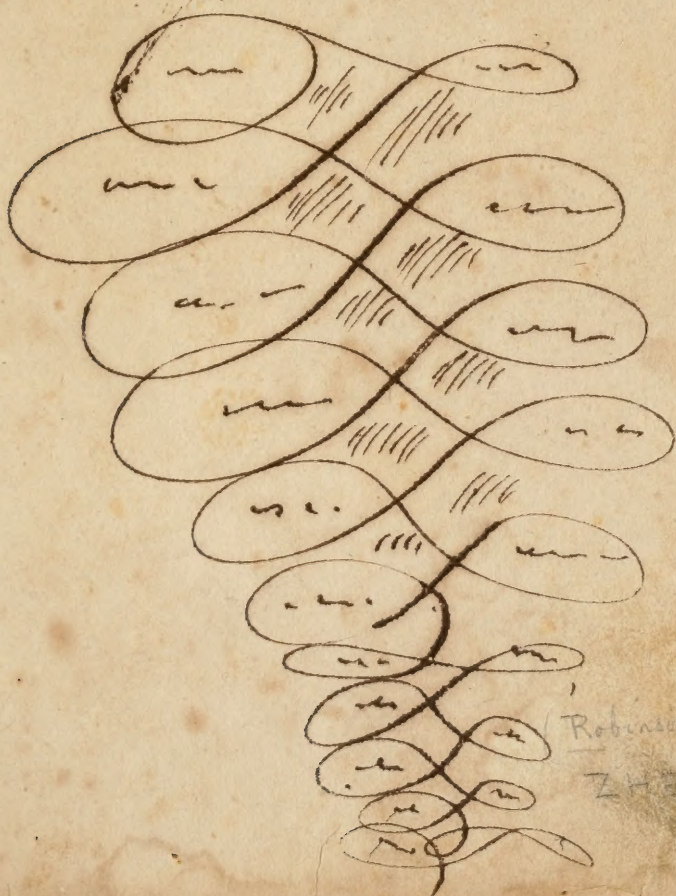
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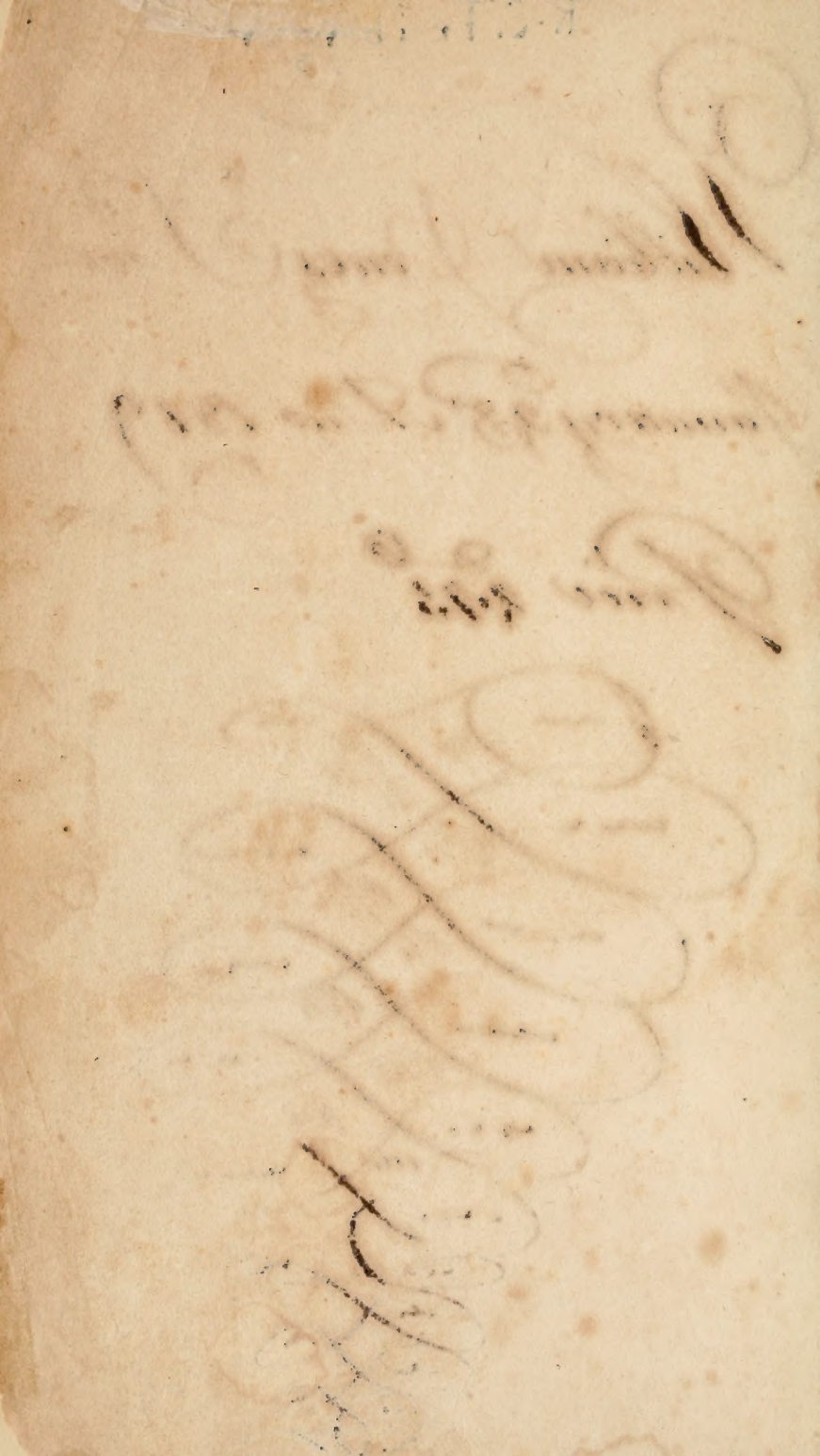
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THE BAPTISM OF JESUS BY JOHN

THE

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by Mrs. Rachel Jones - 1842.

of Great Valley, Pa.

HISTORY OF BAPTISM.

.....
BY ROBERT ROBINSON.
.....

==
EDITED BY DAVID BENEDICT, A. M.
==

BOSTON :

FROM THE PRESS OF LINCOLN & EDMANDS,
No. 53 Cornhill.

1842



NOV 1893

Rhode Island District.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 21st day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, DAVID BENEDICT, of North Providence, in the County of Providence, in said District of Rhode Island, deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, viz.

"THE MYSTERY OF BIBLE M. by Robert Robinson. Edited by David Benedict, A. M." In conformity with the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and Proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned:" And also to an Act, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching Historical and other Prints."

N. R. KNIGHT, Clerk R. I. District.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS volume, though it may be considered as a complete and distinct work, was put to the press by Mr. ROBINSON with the view only of exonerating the History of the Baptists, which he was writing, of the subject of Baptism. Had the Author lived, he would have published two, three, or more volumes of ecclesiastical history under the title of the History of the Baptists. From the researches which he had made into the authentic records of Christian antiquity, he flattered himself that he should be able to exhibit the history of a class of men, whose title to be denominated the disciples of Christ was infinitely better founded, than that of those who have hitherto proudly and exclusively assumed to themselves the name of the church. In this work, Mr. ROBINSON took great pleasure, and prosecuted his inquiries with such intense application, as is thought to have impaired his health, and to have brought on the fatal disorder of which he died.

The MSS. which Mr. ROBINSON hath left on this subject are voluminous ; but they are neither arranged nor finished. The following is a sketch of them :

1. A general view of the Roman Empire at the birth of Jesus Christ, - - - - -	<i>Pages</i> 7
2. A general view of Judea at the time of Jesus,	13
3. Cautions necessary to a Reader of Ecclesi- astical History, - - - - -	16
4. The Greek Church, - - - - -	80
5. The Church of Rome, - - - - -	60
6. Africa, - - - - -	60
7. Italy, - - - - -	100
8. Spain, - - - - -	104
9. Navarre and Biscay, - - - - -	80
10. Vallies of Piedmont, - - - - -	50
11. Poland, - - - - -	70
12. Transylvania, - - - - -	17
13. Livonia, - - - - -	6
14. Moldavia and Wallachia, - - - - -	4
15. Hungary, - - - - -	6
16. Bohemia, - - - - -	36
17. Moravia, - - - - -	50
18. Austria, - - - - -	6
19. Germany, Munster, - - - - -	16

These are all closely written large quarto pages. It is the intention of MR. ROBINSON's family to submit them to the inspection of some of his learned friends, on whose approbation the publishing of them will depend. MR. ROBINSON had also made great collections for the Histories of the German and English Baptists, which he proposed to write next winter ; and he had prepared some ma-

terials for the History of the Dutch, American and other foreign Baptists.

MR. ROBINSON wrote very little during the last twelve months. The whole of the present volume, except the preface and the recapitulation was finished before that time. Though the reader may wish the Author had re-touched some parts, he will still find in it an ample fund of improvement and entertainment ; and the noble spirit of liberty, which it breathes, cannot fail of recommending it to the liberal men of every sect.

For the errors of the press, the Author hath made an apology in the preface, which we trust will be accepted.

MR. ROBINSON had engaged himself in the spring to preach the annual sermons for the benefit of the Dissenters' Charity-School at Birmingham, and he promised himself great pleasure from an interview with DR. PRIESTLY, and other gentlemen of that place. The physician did not disapprove of the journey, though he wished it could have been deferred a week or two longer, and his family flattered themselves that the exercise and company would have the most beneficial effects on his health and spirits. On Wednesday, June 2, he set off from Chesterton with his son, in an open carriage, and travelling by easy stages arrived at Birmingham on Saturday evening, apparently not at all the worse for his journey. On Sunday he preached twice, in the morning at the new meeting-house, and at the old meeting-house in the afternoon. On Monday evening his friends were alarmed for him from an excessive difficulty of respiration, under which he laboured for some time, but on Tuesday he revived, and entertained the company the greater part of the day and the whole of the evening, with all that ease and vivacity in conversation, for

which he had ever been remarkable. He retired to rest about twelve o'clock, and probably died without a struggle soon after he got to bed ; for on Wednesday morning he was found nearly cold, the bed clothes were not discomposed, nor the features of his countenance in the least distorted. It was always his desire to die suddenly and alone.

MR. ROBINSON departed this life at the age of fifty four years and eight months, in the house of WILLIAM RUSSELL, Esq. at Showel-Green, near Birmingham, and was interred by this gentleman with every possible mark of respect in the Dissenters' burying-ground. DR. PRIESTLY and several other dissenting ministers paid the due tribute of respect to the remains of our much esteemed friend.

We intend to publish an authentick biographical account of MR. ROBINSON in a short time.

CHESTERTON, CAMBRIDGE,

July 14, 1790.

PREFACE.

READER,

BEFORE you peruse the following History, pardon me if I detain you a moment to inform you of my real motive for compiling it; for I am well aware, that Baptism, one of the chief institutes of our holy religion, hath been the innocent occasion of so many mean motives and violent dispositions, that the subject can hardly be mentioned without exciting suspicions of unfair treatment. I hope you will not find any thing to offend in the following sheets; at least, I can assure you that I have not allowed myself to deal in censoriousness, or knowingly to use the language of bitterness and wrath.

When the subject first darted into my mind, I own, I was not thinking of Baptism, but of the evidences of Christianity. I was entering on that argument, which is taken from its rapid progress, and the multitude of its professors; and I was the more struck with it by observing that the first ecclesiastical historian, Luke, in the book of Acts, makes frequent use of it; but I could not help at the same time observing, that the same argument is not valid now, because a profession of Christianity doth not now imply an exercise of reason and assent, but is put upon infants by extrinsick force. The conduct of a multitude of wise, free, and virtuous men, forms a presumption in favour of the reasonableness of their actions; but a multitude of beings of no character cannot form even the shadow of a presumption. The first are the thousands of whom Luke wrote; the last are the modern professors of the Christian religion.

Some writers have availed themselves of the modern case; and supposing, as they have been told, that Jesus instituted the professing of his name in nonage, they have ventured to represent Christianity and its author unworthy of such respect as Christians pay to both. Thus the objection is transferred to the gospel, and the wisdom and equity of the author of it are brought into question, unwarily no doubt; but the fact is true, and the reasoning, though from mistaken data, hath consistency and weight.

Nor doth infant baptism appear less incongruous with the natural rights of mankind, than it is with the wisdom and equity of Christianity. Of personal liberty, one of the dearest branches is liberty of conscience, the liberty of choosing a religion for one's-self, of which none is capable during infancy. It is the parent or

the magistrate, who chooses what religion the infant shall profess, and this is depriving him of a natural birth-right.

The observation, that infants are disposed of in baptism, without their knowledge or consent, is a sort of finger pointing to the age and the kind of governments where it was first practised. It must have happened where the choice of the religion of one man was a right of seignioriness exercised by another.

Full of these, and such like suspicions, and loth to think Christianity inimical to personal freedom, I set myself to examine the History of Baptism, and the following sheets contain my observations. They go to prove that the Christianity, which Jesus and his primitive disciples taught and practised, is not liable to any objections on this head, but that it is in full agreement with the perfections of God, the character of revelation, the principles of good governments, and the freedom, virtue, and felicity of all mankind.

Lest I should seem to arrogate a credit not due to my bare affirmations, I have taken the pains to quote my authorities, and to mark the editions; but I must own the authorities quoted are few in comparison with what I had collected, and which I have since destroyed, as what remain appear fully sufficient to authenticate any fact affirmed.

I have severely felt the inconvenience of a distance of fifty miles from the press. * * * * * If, Reader, you do me justice, you will number the errors of the press among my misfortunes, in common with those of all Authors, for I assure you, though I tried hard, yet I could not prevent them.

I feel happy on reflection that I did not set about this work on any motives below the dignity of a Christian, nor am I aware that I have prostituted my pen to serve a party, or once dipped it in gall. Escapes undoubtedly there are many; but when did any individual of my species produce a work of absolute perfection? Such as it is, I commit it to the candid perusal of my brethren; and I am, Courteous Reader,

Your humble Servant,

R. ROBINSON.

CHESTERTON, CAMBRIDGE.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THIS work has for many years been known, and much esteemed, by many of the Baptist denomination on both sides of the Atlantic ; and many in this country have desired that it might have a more general circulation. Some years ago, the Philadelphia Baptist Association appointed the late Dr. Samuel Jones, of Lower Dublin, Pennsylvania, to abridge and prepare it for the press, on a plan similar to that which is here pursued. But it is believed, that age and infirmities prevented the Doctor from fulfilling that appointment.

The Editor has been in the habit of perusing the work with considerable attention, and much interest for a number of years : but the labour which he has now performed, was first suggested to his mind while studying it for the purpose of making out the article on Baptism, published in his General History of the Baptists. His intention was announced in that work, and soon after, he began to be solicited to undertake the preparation of Robinson. It abounds with notes and authorities in many dead and foreign languages, which the Editor designed at first to have generally omitted : but by the advice and desire of a number of learned friends, he resolved to retain the authorities without much abridgment, and also to insert a larger portion of the notes than he first designed. For the information of those readers who are unacquainted with languages, it may be proper to observe, that the substance of most

of the notes, so far at least, as they relate immediately to baptism, is incorporated with the English reading in the text, of which circumstance, notice is generally given by inverted commas. Mr. Robinson saw fit, in a great many instances, to insert the Latin, Greek, &c. below, which he had translated in his narrations. This was probably done for the purpose of giving the learned an opportunity to judge of the correctness of his translations. A few of the most striking notes which were not thus disposed of, have been translated by the Editor, for the benefit of the common reader, and the translations immediately follow the notes.

Although some portions of this work have been omitted, yet the reader may be assured, that every thing has been retained, which has any direct or important bearing on the history of baptism.

The generous subscription which has been received for this justly celebrated production, is a proof of the high expectations which are entertained of its excellence ; and it is confidently believed, that it will be perused with uncommon interest and satisfaction.

DAVID BENEDICT.

Pawtucket, R. I. April 4, 1817.

THE
HISTORY OF BAPTISM.

CHAP. I.

THE MISSION AND CHARACTER OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

LONG before the appearance of John the Baptist, the Jews had been taught to expect that *the God of heaven* would, at a certain time, *without hands, set up a kingdom, which should never be destroyed*. This heavenly kingdom was the economy of assortment which John introduced, and the baptism of John is called the *beginning* of the gospel, the epoch from which the New Testament dispensation is to be computed. *The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached* (1). This came to pass in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, Herod tetrarch of Galilee, and Annas and Caiaphas were high priests.

It seems to have been an ancient idea, that the beginning mentioned in the New Testament, particularly in the 1st chapter of the gospel of John, and in the 1st chapter of his 1st epistle, is to be understood not of the beginning of the world, but of the beginning of the evangelical economy. This idea glimmers in the writings of the fathers, though obscured by allegory. This is what Cyril seems to intend, when he says, "water was the beginning of the world, and Jordan was the beginning of the gospel" (2). This is a sort of harmony, ingenious but fanciful, between the first chapter of Genesis and the first of Mark and John. In the former it is said, in the *be-*

(1) Mark i. 1, 2. Luke iii. 1, 2. Acts i. 21, 22.

(2) Cyrilli *Hierosolymitani Cateches*.

ginning the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters : and in the latter, in the *beginning*, the *beginning* of the gospel, John did *baptize*.

From the beginning of the world to this period good men had been in a condition of comparative imperfection. They were individuals mixed and confounded with numerous persons of opposite characters, in family, tribal and national divisions. They had never been A PEOPLE, but John was sent to associate individuals, to form a people, or, as an evangelist expresses it, *to make ready a people prepared for the Lord*, and the revolution effected at this time was so substantial, that it is called a creation, a new age, a new world, of which Jesus, whom John proclaimed and introduced as chief, was declared the creator and lord, for John professed himself only a messenger of Jesus, employed indeed in his service, but *not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoes*.

John, it is supposed, was born at Hebron, and, if a judgment of his education may be formed by the character of his parents, he was trained up in habits of piety and virtue, for *they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless*. How he was employed in his youth ; whether his parents had given him any human literature ; whether he were single or married ; a man of property, or poor ; with many other such questions, must ever remain unanswered, for his historians did not think it necessary to mention them.

They thought it, however, of consequence to affirm, that his conduct originated in a divine call. Neither did he come of himself, nor was he employed by any governing power of his country, civil or ecclesiastical, nor did the populace set him up, but *the word of God* came to him in the wilderness, as to the ancient prophets. Three of the evangelists observe, that the coming of this extraordinary man had been foretold by the prophet Isaiah, and the fourth describes him as *a man sent from God*, which is further confirmed by Jesus, who declared, that *the baptism of John was from heaven, and not of men*. So exactly was the prophecy of Daniel fulfilled, and so truly did the God of heaven *without hands* set up a kingdom to stand forever !

When John was about thirty years of age, in obedience to the heavenly call, he entered on his ministry, by quitting the hill-country, and going down by the wilderness to the plains of Jordan, by proclaiming the kingdom of God, the near advent of the Messiah, and the necessity of preparing to receive him by laying aside sin and superstition, and by an exercise of universal justice, and lastly, by identifying the person of Jesus as the Messiah. He distributed various rules of righteousness among the different classes that attended his ministry. He said to soldiers, *Do violence to no man*; he exhorted publicans to avoid *exaction*, and he taught the people benevolence, Let him that hath two coats *impart* to him that hath none; and he directed all to Jesus as master and Lord, in manifesting whom his ministry was to cease. His dress was plain, his diet abstemious, and his whole deportment grave, serious, and severe. Multitudes, both of provincials and citizens, flocked to hear him, and *all held him as a prophet*, and such as renounced their former sinful practices, and believed his predictions concerning the Christ, were baptized by him *in the river Jordan, but the pharisees and lawyers* are to be excepted, for they *rejected the counsel of God against themselves, and were not baptized of him.*

While John was employed in preaching and baptizing at Bethabara beyond Jordan, various reports were spread abroad of him, and *as the people were in expectation of the Christ, all men mused in their hearts whether he were the person or not*, and the Jews of Jerusalem sent a deputation of priests and Levites to him to inquire what account he gave of himself. He fully answered all their questions, and informed them that he was not the Christ, but the person, spoken of by Isaiah, sent before to prepare the way of the Lord, who stood then among them, but who was not then known. This was the day of the manifestation of Jesus.

It is uncertain by what means John obtained an interview with Herod; but, certain it is, he reproved him for living in adultery with Herodias his brother Philip's wife, and his language was that of a man who well understood civil government, for he considered law as supreme in a state, and told the king, *It is not lawful*

for thee to have thy brother's wife. Herodias was extremely displeased with John for his honest freedom, and determined to destroy him ; but though she prevailed on the king to imprison him, yet she could not persuade him to put him to death. Two great obstacles opposed her design. Herod himself was shocked at the thought, for he had observed John, was convinced of his piety and love of justice, he had received pleasure in hearing him, and had done many things which John had advised him to do ; and, as there is a dignity in innocence, the qualities of the man had struck him with an awe so deep and solemn, that, tyrant as he was, he could not think of taking away the life of John. Herod also dreaded the resentment of the publick, for he knew *the multitude held John as a prophet.* Herodias therefore waited for a favourable opportunity to surprise the king into the perpetration of a crime, which neither justice nor policy could approve, and such an one she found on the king's birth-day. The story is at large in the gospel. Dreadful is the condition of a country where any one man is above control, and can do what this absolute king did ! Whether he felt, or only pretended to feel great sorrow, the fact was the same, *he sent an executioner, and commanded the head of the prophet to be brought,* and John was assassinated in the prison.

The murder did not sit easy on the recollection of Herod, for, soon after, when he heard of the fame of Jesus, his conscience exclaimed, It is John, whom I beheaded, he is risen from the dead ! certainly, John the Baptist will rise from the dead, and Herod the tetrarch must meet him before an impartial Judge, who will reward or punish each according to the deeds done in the body. In the present case the Judge hath declared the character of John. *John was a burning and a shining light. Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.*

Jesus, speaking of the ill treatment of John, implies that posterity would do his character justice, and, true it is, the children of wisdom have justified John ; but mankind have entertained, according to their various prejudices, very different opinions of that in which his

worth consisted (3). The Jews praise his rectitude, and pity his fate, for John was their countryman, and they hated Herod (4). The Arabians celebrate his abstemiousness, and say providence avenged his death (5). The Catholicks have invented a thousand fables, and placed to his account the origin of monachism, and the working of miracles. They have put him among their gods, consecrated waters, built baptisteries and temples to his honour, assigned him a day in the calendar, called themselves by his name, collected his pretended relicks, adorned them with silver and gold and jewellery, and wholly overlooked that which made John the greatest that had been born of women (6). How deplorable is it, that in the seventeenth century, in the enlightened kingdom of France, such a man as Du Fresne, of extensive literature, of amiable manners, an instructor of all Europe in matters of antiquity, should disgrace his pen by publishing a treatise, to prove that his native city of Amiens was in possession of that precious relick the head of St. John the Baptist: found at Jerusalem, carried to Constantinople, discovered again in the city of Emesa, then transported to Comana, carried again to Constantinople, where the French found it when they took the city, and whence they conveyed it to Amiens, where it is now enshrined in all the odour of Saintship. (7). This example, to which a great number more might be added, may serve to shew Protestants, that whatever honour may be due to such learned Catholicks, and much unquestionably is their due, yet very little dependence ought to be placed upon their critical discernment. They are voluminous collectors of all manner of materials, genuine and forged, and so they serve society: but it is the province of Protestants in free countries, where there are no licensers of the press, to sit in judgment on their works, and by selecting the

(3) Matt. xi. 19.

(4) Joseph Gorion. *Lib. v. cap. 45.* Ganz Tzemach David. i. xxv. 2.

(5) Sale's *Koran*, chap. iii. *The family of Imram* [the father of the Virgin Mary.] Chap. xvii the Night Journey. Note b.

(6) Baron. *Annal.....Acta Sanct.....Paciaudi Antiq. Christ.*

(7) *Traite Historique du chef de S. Jean Baptiste, avec des preuves et des remarques par Charles du Fresne, Sr. du Cange. Paris, Cramoisy. 1665.*

true from the false, wherever they are blended together, to give mankind just ideas of ecclesiastical history.

It was for just and noble reasons, worthy of a wise and benevolent mind, that Jesus estimated John so highly as to pronounce him as great a man as had been born of women : to which he added, the least in the kingdom of heaven was greater than he. It was a comparison between John and his predecessors, and John and his successors, in framing the new economy. He was greater than his predecessors, because he first introduced a moral assortment of Jews, a *kingdom of heaven* upon earth : he was less than the apostles his successors, because under the direction of Jesus, they brought his plan to perfection, by assorting and incorporating Jews and Gentiles in societies expressly united for the improvement of the mind, the meliorating of the heart, and the regulation of the life, a compact practice of piety, and an uniform course of virtue, and so extending and establishing personal excellence, tending to unite all mankind in one family of universal love ; and he who under God gave a sketch of a design so pure, and so generous, ought to be reputed one of the first characters among mankind. How great then must he be, the latchet of whose shoes this great man was not worthy to unloose ?



CHAP. II.

OF THE BAPTISM WHICH JOHN ADMINISTERED.

WHETHER John baptized by pouring on water, or by bathing in water, is to be determined chiefly, though not wholly, by ascertaining the precise meaning of the word baptize. A linguist determines himself by his own knowledge of the Greek language, and an illiterate man by the best evidence he can obtain from the testimony of others, whom by his condition he is obliged to trust. To the latter it is sufficient to observe, that the word is confessedly Greek, that native Greeks must understand their own language better than foreigners, and that they have always understood the word baptism to signify dipping ; and therefore from their first embrac-

ing of Christianity to this day they have always baptized, and do yet baptize, by immersion. This is an authority for the meaning of the word baptize infinitely preferable to that of European lexicographers ; so that a man, who is obliged to trust human testimony, and who baptizes by immersion, because the Greeks do, understands a Greek word exactly as the Greeks themselves understand it ; and in this case the Greeks are unexceptionable guides, and their practice is, in this instance, safe ground of action.

The English translators did not translate the word baptize, and they acted wisely, for there is no one word in the English language, which is an exact counterpart of the Greek word, as the New Testament uses it, containing the precise ideas of the evangelists, neither less nor more. The difficulty, or rather the excellence of the word is, that it contains two ideas inclusive of the whole doctrine of baptism. Baptize is a dyer's word, and signifies to dip, so as to colour. Such as render the word dip, give one true idea, but the word stood for two, and one is wanting in this rendering. This defect is in the German Testament, Matt. iii. 1. In those days came John *der tauffer*, John the dipper ; and the Dutch, in those days came John *een dooper*, John the Dipper.

This is the truth, but it is not the whole truth. The Saxon Testament adds another idea, by naming the administrator John *Se Fulluhtere*, John the fuller. The Islandick language translates baptism *skirn* (1), scouring. These convey two ideas, *cleansing by washing* ; but neither do these accurately express the two ideas of the Greek baptize ; for though repentance in some cases accompanies baptism, as it does prayer, yet not in every case. Jesus was baptized in Jordan, but he was not cleansed from any moral or ceremonial turpitude by it, nor was any repentance mixed with his baptism. Purification by baptism is an accident ; it may be, it may not be, it is not essential to baptism. The word then conveys two ideas, the one literal, *dipping*, the other figurative, *colouring*, a figure however expressive of a real fact ; meaning that John by bathing persons in the river Jordan conferred a character, a moral hue, as dyers by

(1) Kristni Saga, *Hafnia* 1773. *Skirn*, baptism, from *skir*, clean, *skire*, to cleanse.

dipping in a dying vat set a tinct or colour ; John by baptism discriminating the disciples of Christ from other men, as dyers by colouring distinguish stuffs. Hence John is called, by early Latins, John *tinctor*, the exact Latin of Joannes baptistes, John the Baptist.

Tertullian, the first Latin father, observes, that baptism was administered with great simplicity (2), *homo in aqua demissus, et inter pauca verba tinctus*. The mode seems to have been this. The administrator standing in the water, and putting his hand on the back part of the head of the candidate, standing also in the water, bowed him forward till he was immersed in the water, pronouncing in the mean time the baptismal words, by which he characterized him a Christian. Every body knows how the Romans understood *demisso capite, demisso vultu, demissis oculis*, and the like.

The Syrians, the Armenians, the Persians, and all Eastern Christians have understood the Greek word baptism, to signify dipping, and agreeably to their own versions, they all, and always administer baptism by immersion, but Mohammed in the Alcoran has most fully translated the original word. He calls baptism *sebgatallah*, that is *divine dying*, or the tinging of God, from *sebgah* dying, and *Allah* God. A celebrated orientalist says, Mohammed made use of this compound term for baptism, because in his time Christians administered baptism as dyers tinge, by immersion, and not as now [in the West] by aspersion (3). Mohammed every where expresses great respect for the rites of Christians, and being asked why he set aside baptism, he answered, because the true divine tinct, which is true baptism, is faith and grace, which God bestows on true believers. This inward tinct is half the meaning of baptism, the other half is immersion in water.

The very learned Dr. John Gale (4), whose accurate knowledge of Greek was never doubted, hath traced the original word in profane writers, and hath proved that with the Greeks *bapto* signified I dip, *baptai* dyers, *baphia* a dye house, *bapsis* dying by dipping. *Bammat* dying drugs, *baphikee* the art of dying, *dibaphos* double dyed, *baptisterion* a dying vat, &c. Tertullian

(2) *De Baptismo*, cap. ii.

(3) Herbelot. *Bibliot. Orient.*

(4) *Reflections upon Wall's History of Infant Baptism*. Let. iii.

preserves both the ideas in the few words quoted above, *demissus in aqua* is the first, *dipped*, and *tinctus* the other, *coloured*, or characterized, so that the single word baptism stands for both dipping, the *mode*, and a person of real character, the only *subject* of baptism. There is a propriety in acknowledging a believer in Christ a real character by baptism. It is giving him the name who hath the thing. To this sense of the word all circumstances and descriptions agree, as baptizing *in* the river Jordan—*going down into* the water—*coming up out of* the water, *buried* in baptism, and the rest, so that the proper answer to the question, how did John administer baptism, is, By immersion.

Learned men have inquired whether John used any set form of words in baptizing, and, if he did, what words? Some think he used no form (5). Others think he baptized in the name of the Trinity (6); but a passage in the book of Acts seems to say, that he baptized in one of the names of Jesus (7). When Paul went first to Ephesus (8), he found some disciples, who had not received, or even heard of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost. The apostle inquired, into what then were ye baptized? They said into John's baptism. Paul described John's baptism, and said, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, added Paul, on Christ Jesus. *And* when they, *the disciples of John*, heard *John say* this, they were baptized *by John* in the name of the Lord Jesus. This paraphrastical reading is given in a few words to express the supposed true sense of the passage, and it seems to convey the opinions of those divines, who affirm, that there was but one baptism—that the Ephesians were not rebaptized—that the baptism of John was true christian baptism—and that he baptized in some one of the names of Jesus, and most likely in that of Messiah, or Christ, or him that was to come.

(5) Bellarmin. Probabile est, Joannem nulla verborum formula usum fuisse.

(6) Daniel Chamieri *Panstratiæ*, tom. iv. lib. 5. cap. 13.

(7) Joan. Eccii *Homil.* 7. (8) Acts xix. i, &c. Beza . . . Gill, &c.

CHAP. III.

OF THE PLACES WHERE JOHN BAPTIZED.

DIFFERENT writers for different purposes have represented Palestine as a track of bleak and blasted mountains, always burnt up with excessive droughts, and from age to age a land of perpetual barrenness. Some have done this in order to discredit the writings of Moses, and others, with a design to disprove the baptism of immersion, as if the country could afford no more water than would suffice by pouring or sprinkling. This makes it proper to examine the places where John administered baptism.

That Palestine hath been declining in fertility ever since the Babylonish captivity is true; that in the time of Jerom, who lived there, it was ill supplied with water, and subject to great droughts, (1) and that it is now desolate, must be allowed; but that it formerly answered the description of Moses, and deserved all the commendations he gave it, must also be granted, if any credit is to be given to the ancient inhabitants of it, to good historians of adjacent countries, or to modern credible travellers (2). It was a *good land, a land for cattle, a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that sprang out of vallies and hills; a land flowing with milk and honey* (3). Its present condition may easily be accounted for. It is not now the home of industrious owners, who divided it into manageable family estates, where every exertion was employed to make it productive; but it is a small inconsiderable part of a vast despotical empire, where the state of property, and the spirit of government, serve rather to depopulate than to improve a country. For ages, the land hath been a prey to successive plunderers, and the owners themselves defaced it to abate the rage of crusaders for invading it. It hath been damaged too by droughts and earthquakes. The opulent and fruitful island of

(1) *Com. in Amos*, cap. iv.

(2) *Joseph. de bel. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 3.* Aristeas. Strabo. Lib. xvi. Taciti *Hist. lib. v* Shaw Maundrell, &c.

(3) Deut. viii. 7, 8. &c. Num. xiii. 17, &c. xxxii. 4, &c.

Cyprus was burnt up and nearly depopulated for want of rain ; for, about the time of Constantine, there was none for six and thirty years ; but this did not make histories of its ancient fertility incredible ; and the present condition of Palestine serves to render respectable the ancient Jewish prophets who foresaw, and foretold it.

John, setting out from the place of his birth, Hebron, a city in the hilly part of the tribe of Judah, two and twenty miles from Jerusalem, travelling northward, and leaving Tekoa, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem, on the left, went towards Bethhoglah, Engedi, Gilgal, and Jericho, taking his road through the wilderness of Judah, near the banks of the lake Asphaltites, and crying or preaching to the inhabitants of the towns, arrived at that part of the wilderness which is bounded on the East by the river Jordan, which met him, as it were, running a-long-side full south, and hereabouts fixed his first baptismal station. The word wilderness did not signify in Judea, an uninhabited country, but woody, grazing lands, in distinction from arable fields, which were champaign or open, and vineyards, olive-yards, orchards, and gardens which were enclosed. There were, in the time of Joshua, six cities with their villages in this wilderness, and the inhabitants of those parts were graziers and sheep-masters (4.)

When Balaam, from the top of an adjacent hill, surveyed that part of the country toward which John travelled, he was charmed with the beauty and fertility of the scene, and he observed that the spot was adorned and perfumed like Paradise : the vallies were like gardens spread forth by the river's side : and the banks rising from the waters were ornamented with aromatick timbers and fruit trees (5). The description was exact, for that end of the wilderness toward Jericho hung sloping down a valley fifteen miles in width, all along which the Jordan, from north to south, rolled its waves ; in some places deep and rapid, overhung with wood growing on banks four or five feet above the water, formerly thickets and lodgments of lions ; behind these other banks rising to the height of fifteen feet ;

(4) Blas. Ugolini *Thesaur. Antiquitat. Sacrarum*. Vol. vi. *Venetis*, 1746. Reland. lib. i. cap. lvi. *De locis incultis et sylvis Palestine. Solitudo Juda.*

(5) Num. xxiv. 6. *Poli Synops. in loc.*

in other places broad and shallow, and in general wider than the Tiber at Rome, and about as wide as the Thames at Windsor (6). Jordan did not receive its name, as many suppose, from *Yor*, the spring, and *Dan*, the tribe where it rose, for it was called *Jarden*, or *Yarden*, before the tribes inhabited the land (7). Indeed it was supposed to rise at *Yor*, in *Dan*, till Philip the tetrarch corrected the error by casting straw or chaff into the lake Phiala, fifteen miles higher up the country eastward, which, coming up again to view at the old supposed source, proved a subterranean passage from the Phiala. A little below *Dan*, the stream formed the lake Samachonites, which was about four miles over and seven miles long; thence issuing out again at the opposite end it ran fifteen miles further, and formed the lake, or, as it is sometimes called, the *sea* of Tiberias, which was in the broadest part five miles in width, and in length eighteen; thence at the opposite end it proceeded forward again, crossed the whole country through the wide valley just now mentioned, and fell into the lake Asphaltites, where it was lost. Reland derives its name from *Yard*, which answers, says he, to the low Dutch, *Vliet*, or *Vloet*, a river; and it was called *the River*, by excellence, as the Nile and the Euphrates were, because each was the great and principal river of the country. He quotes authorities, Arabick and Persick, to prove that Jordan was called *Arden*, and the country the land of Arden. Father D'Herbelot (8) does the same, and quotes in proof a Persian life of the Khalif Jezid Ben Abdalmalek, who innocently caused the death of Hababah his favourite concubine, by giving her a grape in a garden in *Beled Arden*, or the country of Jordan. The grape was large, such as that country produced. The lady put it hastily into her mouth, it lodged in her throat, stopped her breath, and she died on the spot. The event so affected the Khalif, that he died with grief soon after. The pomegranates, and figs,

(6) Dr. Richard Pococke's *Description of the East*. Vol. ii. part i. London, 1745. Chap. viii. *Of the wilderness, the fountain of Elisha, Jericho and Jordan*.

(7) Johan. Quistorpii *Nebo. De aquis terræ sanctæ*. Relandi *Palæst. Lib. i. cap. xliii. De Jordano*.

(8) D'Herbelot *Bibliot. Orient. A Paris, 1697. Arden*.

and grapes of Eshcol, had been famous from the time of Moses, and his spies seem to have taken the rout that John the Baptist did, for they went by the same wilderness, through Hebron, and came down to the brook Eshcol (9); from all which it appears, that both in the time of Moses and in that of Abdalmalek, the Jordan was a considerable river, and the adjacent country abounded in fertility. The patriarch Jacob, who knew the country, described, perhaps from views which he had taken, the aspect or face of it, in a manner very picturesque and beautiful. Upward on the hills glistened the rich ripe grapes, projecting through the leaves; on the surface ran live mineral waters, twinkling and sparkling, like *eyes red with wine*; below, the white rocky vallies, covered with flocks, appeared as *teeth white as milk*; the shaggy herbage, tinged with mineral moisture oozing through the soil and hanging down the slopes, resembled *garments washed in the blood of grapes* (1).

All the Evangelists affirm, John baptized in Jordan. Mark, who says he baptized in Jordan, says also, he baptized in the *wilderness* (2). Of course he baptized in that part of the river, which bounded the lands of Benjamin and Judah on the east, about four or five miles above the mouth where it discharged itself into the lake Asphaltites, and where the woodlands of Judah abutted on those of Benjamin. The river here was about seven miles east of Jericho, and about twenty-five or six east of Jerusalem. Hereabouts the Israelites passed over Jordan; and about half a mile from the river, the remains of a convent, dedicated to John the Baptist, are yet to be seen; for the Syrian monks availed themselves of the zeal of early pilgrims who aspired at the honour of being baptized where they supposed John had baptized Jesus (3). The Greeks have imagined a place three or four miles distant; others have supposed it higher up the stream northward toward Galilee; and others, again, the passage right over against Jericho; but some ford a little nearer the mouth, somewhere about the line that parted the lands of Benjamin

(9) Numbers xiii. 17—25.

(1) Gen. xlix. 11, 12. *Poli Synops.* Jun. et. Tremel. *in loc.*

(2) Chap. i. 4.

(3) Pococke, vol. ii. Book i. chap. viii. *Orig. Germ. in Johan.* Hieron. *de loc. Hebr.*

and Judah, seems best to agree with the account given by the Evangelists, and it exactly agrees with the ancient geography ; for the line that parted the two tribes ran through a place called Bethbarah, in the wilderness of Judah, or the house at the ford next the woodlands.

The river Jordan, far from wanting water, was subject to two sorts of floods, one periodical at harvest time, in which it resembled the Nile in Egypt, with which some suppose it had a subterranean communication (4). When this flood came down, the river rose many feet, and overflowed the lower banks, so that the lions that lay in the thickets there were roused and fled. To this Jeremiah alludes, *Behold the king of Babylon shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan* (5). The other swellings of Jordan were casual, and resembled those of all other rivers in uneven countries. In flat countries idle rivers move lazily along, and the waters preserve a general sameness of depth, from their surface to their mud ; but in hilly countries it is far otherwise, for here, after heavy rains or sudden thaws, waters come roaring down the mountains, sweeping through vallies in a wide bed, cleansing away the soil as they go, and, when they fall into chasms of narrow compass, weigh down every thing that obstructs their passage, cleaving rocks, and rending and rolling huge masses along to make themselves a way. There are several such rivers in the mountainous and northern parts of this island. In such rivers there are shallows in the greatest floods ; and in the greatest droughts there are, in various parts of their beds, a kind of natural cisterns, perfectly clean, and every way convenient for the baptism of immersion. The romantic glen, called Dove-dale, in Staffordshire, not far from Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, is a miniature picture of the channels of such rivers. It should seem, the bed of the Derwent about Matlock in the same county ; the rough and craggy channel of the fretting waters in the deep woody vale at Ambleside, in Westmoreland, above the town and a little below the fall ; the bed of the river Nith, in Scotland, between Sanquhar and Drumlanrig ; and a great many more, fordable one day and impassable the next, resemble, in this respect, the river Jordan at certain times.

(4) Reland. cap. xliii. *De Jordane.*

(5) Chap. i. 44.

It is not easy to reconcile what is affirmed of Jordan without supposing it of this kind. There were fords, which were obliged to be guarded against invaders, and yet at one of them the water was so deep that a miracle was necessary to open a passage for the Israelites, when, under Joshua, they first entered the land. The waters were low in a drought, but Joshua passed the river at the time of the annual flood (6). Over the river were bridges, and yet on the river were boats and ships; in it many delighted to swim, and yet swimming in it was so dangerous, from the steepness of the banks, and the rapidity of the water, that many lost their lives. All these accounts are true of different seasons and different parts (7). On the whole, Jordan was a considerable river, but at different seasons, and in different parts, subject to great variations, as all rivers in hilly countries are.

John baptized first at Bethabara beyond Jordan. Here he received the messengers from Jerusalem, and bore that testimony of Jesus which is recorded in the first of John, then he crossed the river, and baptized on the opposite side, which belonged to Reuben or Manasseh; and thus his ministry was extended through the *region round about* Jordan; and here he delivered that testimony concerning Christ, which is recorded in the third chapter of John, and this is what some call his second baptismal station. The word Bethabara signifies a passage-house, and such there were on both sides the river near the fords, and most likely they were houses to accommodate and direct travellers in times of low water, and ferry-houses for the convenience of passage, when floods and high waters rendered boats necessary. In the arabah or plain sloping towards the ford, where the abutments of Judah, Benjamin, and Reuben met, near the mouth of the river, a little above the north-bay of the lake Asphaltites, stood the town called Bethabara, sometimes named Betharabah, in the wilderness, and said to belong to Judah; and at other times simply called Betharabah, and said to belong to Benjamin. Probably, like Jerusalem, it belonged to both, just as some towns in England stand in two coun-

(6) Judges iii. 28. vii. 24. Josh. iii.

(7) Dr. Gill's *Expos.* John i. 28. Matt. iii. 6 Pococke *as above.* Chap. viii. xvii. *Sea of Tiberias.* xviii. *Waters of Merom. Rise of Jordan, &c.*

ties, the partition line running through the towns. No places could be chosen more convenient for the baptism of immersion than these. Here was a gentle descent into water of sufficient depth; here were houses of accommodation; and fords were publick roads. It did not become the majesty of a divine institute to shun the publick eye when it first appeared in the world. *I have not spoken in secret in a dark place of the earth, I Jehovah declare things that are right.*

The third station of John was at Ænon, near Salim. Salim is differently written, as Saleim, Salem, Salom, Schiloh, Zaleim, and so on; and several places were so called either simply or in compound. This was about eight miles south from Scythopolis, the ancient Bethshean, a city in Issachar, but belonging to Manasseh. One of the Apostles was said to be a native of Salim, and called Zelotes, from this place of his nativity. Some think this was the city of which Melchizedek was king. (8). Ænon, near it, was chosen for a place of baptism by John, because there was *much* water. Since sprinkling came into fashion, criticism, unheard of in all former ages, hath endeavoured to derive evidence for scarcity of water, from the Greek text of the Evangelist John, and to render *πολλα υδατα*, not *much* water, but *many waters*, and then by an ingenious supposition, to infer that many waters signifies, not many waters collected into one, but waters parted into many little rills, which might all serve for sprinkling, but could not any one of them be used for dipping: as if one man could possibly want many brooks for the purpose of sprinkling one person at a time.

It is observable that the rivers Euphrates at Babylon, Tiber at Rome, and Jordan in Palestine, are all described by *πολλα υδατα*. Jeremiah speaks of the first, and addressing Babylon says, O thou that dwellest upon *many waters*, thine end is come (9); for Babylon was situated on what the Jews called *the river*, the *great river* Euphrates (1). The Evangelist John describes Rome, which was built on the Tiber, by saying, The great harlot, the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth, sitteth upon *many waters* (2). Ezekiel describes Judea and Jordan, by saying to the princes of Israel,

(8) Reland *in Salem*. Ainon. Bethshean.

(9) Chap. li. 13.

(1) Gen. xv. 18. Deut. i. 7. Josh. i. 4.

(2) Rev. xvii. 1. 18.

Your mother is a lioness, her whelps devour men, she was fruitful by reason of *many waters* ; an evident allusion to the lions that lay in the thickets of Jordan (3). The thunder which agitates clouds, charged with floods, is called the voice of the Lord upon *many waters* : and the attachment that no mortifications can annihilate, is a love which *many waters* cannot quench, neither can the *floods* drown (4). How it comes to pass that a mode of speaking, which on every other occasion signifies *much*, should in the case of baptism signify *little*, is a question easy to answer. The meaning of doubtful words is best fixed by ascertaining the facts, which they were intended to represent.

Salim was at least fifty miles north up the river Jordan from the place where John had begun to baptize. Ænon, near it, was either a natural spring, an artificial reservoir, or a cavernous temple of the sun, prepared by the Canaanites, the ancient idolatrous inhabitants of the land. The eastern versions, that is, the Syriack, Ethiopick, Persick, and Arabick of the gospel of John (5), as well as the Hebrew and Chaldean Ain-yon, or Gnain-yon, suggest these opinions, and it is difficult to say which is the precise meaning of the Evangelist's word Ænon, and it is not certain whether the plain meaning be, John was baptizing at the *Dove-spring* near Salim, or John was baptizing at the *Sun-fountain* near Salim.

To take the matter from the beginning. It seems to have been an universal custom derived from the first fathers of mankind, to describe the world by resemblances of the human body. Hence, an *arm* of the sea, the *mouth* of a river, the *foot* of a mountain, the *brow* of a hill, the *face* of a country. The scripture abounds with such similitudes ; a plain between two prominent hills is a dwelling between *shoulders*, a bay near the mouth of

(3) Ezek. xix. Numb. xxiv. 7. (4) Psal. xxix. 3. Cant. viii. 7.

(5) *Versio Syriaca.* Baptizabat autem et Johannes in In-Jon (*fonte columbæ*) quod est ad latus Salim : quoniam aquæ erant illic multæ.

Vers. Persica. Et Johannes etiam in fonte Jon, qui juxta Salim est, baptizabat, eo quod aqua ibi multa esset, homines igitur illic baptizati sunt.

Vers. Arabica. Et Johannes baptizabat etiam in fonte Nun, qui est ad latus Salim ob multitudinem aquæ ibidem.

Vers. Æthiopica. Et erat Johannes baptista in Henon prope Salim, quia erant ibi multæ aquæ.

Jordan is a *tongue*, a mountain is a *head*, of which trees, bushes, and vegetables, are the *hair*, a prominence is a *breast*, a cliff is a *nose*, and the bed of the ocean is the hollow of God's *hand*. Through all the East, a spring, or fountain, or well-head, was called Ain (6). or with a nasal sound, gnain, an *eye*; and the name was carried by the Phenicians into all the countries where they travelled, and it remains incorporated into various languages and in a variety of compound words to this day (7). From ain, corrupted into an, aun, on, don, ern, een, eyen, eya, auye, ooghe, proceeded in various countries different words. In Egypt, On and Zoan with the Hebrews, and Tanis, Taphnis, Tahaphanes, with others. A Scythian ain became Tanais, the river dividing Asia from Europe, now the river Don of Muscovy. A Persian ain, adjacent to which was a temple in a grove, became with the Greeks, Anaia, Anaitis, Anaitidos, Anea, Nanea, Diana, the goddess of fountains (8). From a Syrian ain, near Antioch, came Daphne, the daughter of a river, and the parent of ever-green shrubs, as the laurel and the bay (9). Hence came Ain-tab, Ain-zarba, or Ana-zarba, Ain-ob, Inopus, the Pythian spring, or the fountain of Diana and Apollo at Delos (1). Antiquaries observe, that Bath in England was once called *Tr-ennaint twymyn* (2); that Scotland hath its *Annan*, a place of two medical springs separated by a small rock; that Waterford in Ireland was once called *Man-apia*; and that Ancaster in Lincolnshire hath a spring at each end of the town, and, as there is no more water from thence to Lincoln, the name tells its own Saxon and British history (3).

Such *eyes* of water were of infinite value in the East. When Moses was in the plains of Moab, he ascended mount Nebo to survey the promised land. Wide spread before him, at the foot of Nebo, lay the great plain, slop-

(6) *Vid.* Buxtorf *Giggei aliorque Lexic. Castellii Lex Heptaglot.* Ain. *Heb.* Oculus. Fons. *Chald.* Oculus. Foramen furni. foramen lapidis molaris, &c. *Syriac.* Oculus Fons. *Samar. ibid.* *Æthiop.* Oculus. Fons. *Arab.* Oculus. Fons. *Lachryma, viva aqua, &c.*

(7) *Giggei Lexic Arab. Jac. Goli Lexic. Arabico. Latin. Ludolfi Lex Æthiopico. Latin. Herbelot. Bib. Orient, &c.*

(8) Bocharti *Phaleg* lib. iv. cap. xix. *Assur.*

(9) *Chanaan.* lib. i. cap. xvi. *Phenices in Bæotia.*

(1) Greg. Abul. Pharagii. *Hist. Dynast.* Bocharti *Chanaan.* lib. i. cap. xiv.

(2) Camden's *Britannia.*

(3) Dr. Campbell's *Political Survey of Great-Britain*, vol. i. chap. v. *On waters.*

ing from him down to Jordan, then, rising again from the river, it joined the high grounds, swelling into prominences ; behind which protuberated hills, beyond which huge mountains heaved their gigantick heads, some bare, others rugged, and others covered with timber, verdure, and fruits, wheat, barley, vines, figs, promegranates, and olives. The man of God took particular notice of what he calls the *eyes*, that is, the live waters springing into natural basons, and running in brooks among vallies and hills, and for their sakes he pronounced it an excellent country (4). Miners observe the tinct of spring waters, and the incrustations of the beds, in which their rivulets run. The Easterns did so. Jacob remarked the red eyes of the land of Judah, and it was an observation of mineral colours that made Moses add, when he was praising the land of eyes, *a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass* (5). It was natural to assimilate different springs to the eyes of different animals to describe the qualities of the waters. A spring bursting violently from a steep rock was called An-zabba, the eye of a bear, there was a kind of fury in it ; and a sparkling human eye in which the graces played, was likened to waters enlivened by the activity of little spangling fish, *thine eyes are like the fish-pools of Heshbon* (6). The spring where John baptized was called *the dove's eye*. The prophet Nahum describes waters running off in streams gurgling among stones, as doves that wander cooing, or, as the English version hath it, *tabering* through the solitary grove (7). According to this, Enon was a cavernous spring, and such were of great account in Judea, especially in some seasons. There was in the time of Ahab a famine, occasioned by a drought of three years. The king in extremity commanded Obadiah to go through one part of the land, while he surveyed another to search for grass to save the cattle alive, and he particularly charged him to go to all eyes of water. Near such eyes there were caverns, and in one of them Obadiah had hid and fed an hundred prophets of the Lord in time of persecution (8). If Enon were an excavation

(4) Deut. xxxii. 49. viii. 7. (5) Verse 9. (6) Cant. vii. 4.

(7) Nahum ii. 6, &c. Diod. Sic. Lib. ii. The river Tigris swelling with incessant rains broke down the wall for twenty furlongs.

(8) 1 Kings xviii.

of this kind, John baptized in a natural baptistery, the walls and arches, the dome and windows of which, were sculptured without hands. Here he was covered from the heat, sheltered from wind and rain, free from noise and interruption, and plentifully supplied with water in the natural stone basons of the rock. Were it necessary, persons now alive might be named, who were baptized by immersion in similar places in Great-Britain. The natural caverns and artificial quarries of some rocks in Judea were very capacious, and in that at Adullam, David concealed four hundred fighting men, beside old people, women and children (9). Ancient Greek missals, and rude sculptures in subterranean caverns near Rome, describe John preaching and baptizing by immersion in cavernous places (1); but whether the Christian artists intended to describe the history of John, or their own practice, or both, is a question. Certain it is, such places were in Judea, and it is not improbable Ænon near Salim was one.

Springs issuing from the fissures of a rock, gurgling through the chinks as waters out of bottles, falling from crag to crag, murmuring from bed to bason, and from bason to bed, fretting along the ragged sides of a rocky channel, and echoing through rude and spacious caverns, would form what the Jews called a *Dove-water*, or, if it flowed from a natural spring, in their figurative style, a *Dove's-eye*. It is credible, such a clean and plentiful baptismal stream was much to the purpose, and much in the taste of such a man as John. The inhabitants accounted such waters the greatest of blessings; but as they might by accident become injurious, by affording a supply to foreign invaders of the land, they took care in such cases, to conceal both the water and the sound from their enemies, and to convey the stream by subterranean pipes into their cities to supply the inhabitants, and it is not improbable, that the first founders of towns consulted this advantage in determining where to place them. In the reign of Hezekiah, the Assyrians invaded Judah (2). The king *took counsel with his princes and his mighty men, to stop the waters of the fountains,*

(9) 1 Sam. xxii.

(1) Pauli Aringii. *Roma subterranea*. Paciaudi *Antiq. Christian.*

(2) 2 Kings iii, 19. 2 Chron. xxxii. 3.

which were without the city : and they did help him. So there was gathered much people together, who stopt all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water ? This custom prevailed in all ages, and William, Archbishop of Tyre, who in the eleventh century was in a crusading army, mentions the same thing (3). This Ænon therefore might supply Salim with water, and as it was a time of peace, near the city, and plentiful enough to supply the inhabitants, it must have been highly convenient for the baptism of immersion.

Adjacent to some of the fountains of Judea were buildings, reservoirs, and large receptacles of water, cisterns of great size, and baths both simple and medicinal. Of the latter were the hot wells of Tiberias, Gadara, Callirhoe, and other places. Near Ramah there yet remains, of very ancient work, a reservoir a hundred and sixty feet long, and a hundred and forty broad (4). Such also of different sizes, and for different purposes, were those at Tabor, Jerusalem, Etham, and the gardens of Solomon. One of the fountains of Judah was called Ain-rogel, the Fuller's-eye, because there fullers cleansed stuffs (5). Who, among this variety and uncertainty, can at this distance exactly determine what kind of water this at Ænon was ? One thing only is certain, that there was much or many waters.

[Similar critical observations are continued for a number of pages more, with which a number of other things are connected. But it is judged it has been clearly shown that Enon contained water sufficient for dipping.]

Editor.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE PERSONS WHOM JOHN BAPTIZED, AND PARTICULARLY JESUS.

PRESUMPTUOUS as it may appear, for a monk in Africa to add to a history of what was done in Asia, and recorded by eye witnesses three hundred years

(3) Willem. Tyren. *Archiep Hist.* Lib. viii. p. 749.

(4) Reland. *De Fontibus Palastinae. De Thermais Palast.*

(5) *Ain-aim*, Gen. xxxviii. 21. . . . *Ain-am*, Josh. xv. 34, &c.

before he was born, yet this is what St. Augustine did, by affirming that Jesus baptized John (1): but Augustine had an ecclesiastical system to serve, and according to his system no unbaptized person could administer valid baptism to another; and yet the evangelists do not say either that John baptized himself, or that Jesus baptized him, or that he was ever baptized at all. Their silence is respectable, and to curve history to serve system is neither wise nor just; but Augustine knew how much depended on affirming that only his own party could baptize. There is in the royal library at Turin a manuscript of the twelfth century, containing a fabulous history of the Old and New Testament, and in it is a fanciful representation of baptism, and on one side of the picture these words, “Ubi XPS. et Ihoannes in Iordane flumine tincti fyerunt.”—“Where Christ and John were baptized in the river Jordan (2).” It is not wonderful that such a man, pretending to inspiration, should utter oracles; but it is really astonishing that any should be so inconsistent, with the true histories in their hands, as to believe him.

It doth not appear that John baptized any persons of rank and fortune. No great names were seen among his converts. The Pharisees in reputation for piety, and the lawyers, famous for their knowledge of the law, rejected the counsel of God by John, and were not baptized by him. This, however, to such as know the men, doth not form even a prejudice in disfavour of the ministry of John.

It is generally supposed John baptized great multitudes. His converts indeed were of the multitude, but it is far from being clear that they were very numerous. All Jerusalem, all Judea, and all the region round about, *went out to him*; many of the Pharisees and Sadducees *came to his baptism*, but they went only as spectators, they *went out*, as the Lord Jesus expresses it, *for to see* (3); and this will appear most worthy of belief to such as consider the general character of the Jewish populace and their blind guides, and the pre-requisites necessary to John's baptism, especially when it is observed, that after

(1) Augustini Op. tom. v. serm. 293.

(2) P. M. Paciaudii *Antiq. Christian.* Romæ 1755. *Dissert.* 2. cap. 8. Membranaceus is est signatus que D. v. 39.

(3) Matt. iii. 5. 7. xv. 7, 8, 9.

the resurrection of Jesus, (and it is supposed all Christians saw him) the greatest number of believers assembled together at any one time were not many above five hundred (4). John's disciples were of the common people, of that class of mankind, which of all others is most friendly to free inquiry.

In the kingdom of heaven which John was forming, rank was nothing, superior faculties were nothing, moral excellence was all in all, and faith and repentance were indispensable qualifications for baptism; for on John's part there was no collusion, on that of his converts no blind credulity, and the individuals whom the Baptist formed into a *people* were distinguished by three characters, a character of freedom, a character of piety, and a character of virtue.

I. A character of *freedom*. John taught, but he employed no force, he used no allurements, offered no bribes, nor did any thing to give an unworthy bias. He published a fact, of the truth of which all the world was left free to judge, and it was a circumstance highly favourable to his doctrine, that no power in being took it under patronage. It was left in the country among the common people, wholly to itself, at a distance from the court, the temple, and the army, and many of his hearers fully examined, and freely entered on the economy; for they had nothing but conviction to induce them to act as they did.

II. A character of *piety*. The fact was contained in the prophecies, and the disciples of John believed them, giving themselves up by baptism to the guidance of him whomsoever God had appointed Lord of the economy, whenever it should please God to make him known.

III. A character of *virtue*. I baptize you, said John, *at*, or *upon* your *repentance*, your invisible abhorrence of sin, manifested by fruits meet for repentance, that is, by reformation. Except in one instance, John baptized only persons having these characters.

This one instance was the baptism of Jesus. In perfect freedom, with eminent piety and virtue, but without any profession of repentance, Jesus was baptized. By this he entered on his publick ministry. When John be-

gan to baptize at Bethabara beyond Jordan, his first baptismal station, Jesus resided at Nazareth in Galilee, and he did not arrive at Bethabara till all the people had been baptized (5). There is some difficulty in harmonizing this part of the history. The following appears the most probable train of events.

The Jews had many ills of various kinds, and they expected a deliverer, but, more sensible to civil inconveniences than to spiritual disorders, and to the condition of their own nation than to that of all mankind, they hoped to see a temporal prince invested with power to gratify the ambition and avarice of the seed of Abraham. When John appeared proclaiming the coming of the Messiah, the rulers of the metropolis sent messengers to him to obtain authentick information of what he meant. John informed them of what he knew, that he did not pretend to be the Messiah, that however he was standing among them, and would in due time be made known. John and Jesus were near akin, their mothers were intimate, and John it seems knew him when he came to be baptized, and paid that respect to him which was due from a man of inferior talents and virtue to his superior. When Jesus came to Jordan, John knowing his general character, said, *I have need to be baptized of thee ;* but he did not know till after he had baptized him, that he was the Messiah, for He, who sent him to baptize, had informed him that he should know the Messiah from every other man by a visible sign. *I knew him not, but that he should be made manifest unto Israel. I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, upon whom thou shalt see the spirit descending and remaining, the same is he.*

To Bethabara, amidst a great multitude of spectators, in presence of those who had been baptized, and were now in waiting for him, *a people prepared for the Lord,* and while John was conversing with the deputation from Jerusalem, Jesus came to be baptized, giving by his conduct, as well as by his language to John, the most unequivocal proof of his entire approbation of water baptism. Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. The very handsome and respectful manner in which John received Jesus, and the conversation that passed between

them, no doubt, held up Jesus to the multitude as some person of singular merit, produced a pause, and a profound silence, and attracted every eye to *behold the man*. Immediately after John had baptized Jesus, he went up out of the water praying, and while he was going up, the clouds parted, and a bright light appeared hovering over him, falling and rising, rising and falling, as a dove hovers when it is about to alight, and at length settling on him. This was placing his person in full view, so that his features could not be mistaken, and, to those who saw him, his face must ever after have been the best known face in Judea. While the spectators were beholding this new and strange appearance, a voice from heaven said, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*. John seeing the promised sign, exclaimed, addressing himself to the deputation from Jerusalem, *This is he of whom I said, he that cometh after me is preferred before me*; and he repeated the same record the two succeeding days, on seeing Jesus walking, and so engaged his disciples to deliver themselves up to the Son of God, which was the chief design of his ministry.

It is supposed the deputation from Jerusalem was present, because some time after, when Jesus was at Jerusalem he reproved the citizens for their obstinate infidelity, spoke of the embassy to John, and, according to some criticks, referring to the voice from heaven and the luminous appearance, asked, *Have ye never at any time heard his voice, or seen his shape* (6)? implying that they had.

John had foretold that Jesus would baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire, and various opinions are formed of his meaning. An ingenious foreigner supposes (7), that John alluded to a statute in the law, which says, Every thing that may abide the fire, ye shall make it go through the fire—and all that abideth not the fire, ye shall make it go through the water: and that he intended to inform the Jews, not of the tongues of fire to be exhibited at Pentecost, but only in general, that Jesus would exercise a much more effectual ministry than he, that he would purify some by exciting in them acute convictions,

(6) John v. 33, &c. Dr. Macknight quoted in the *Theological Repository*, Vol. i. p. 55. second edit.

(7) Conrad. Ikenii. *Dissert. Philol-Theol. Lugd.* 1749. Dis. xix.

and by trying them with great calamities, and that he would punish the refractory and finally impenitent with destruction. Others (•) understand this of the effusion of the Spirit at Pentecost, which sense seems to be countenanced by these words, *John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days hence.*

CHAP. V.

WHETHER THE BAPTISM OF JOHN WERE TAKEN FROM ANY JEWISH WASHINGS, PARTICULARLY THAT OF PROSELYTES ?

IT is not pleasant to leave the high road of narration for the thorny paths of controversy. It is a drudgery, however, which men of great respectability have obliged such as narrate the story of Baptism to undergo. It is not possible to state the case without entering into the dispute.

Before any reasonings from Jewish washings, or the *baptism* of proselytes, as it is improperly called, can be admitted in debates concerning Christian baptism, order requires, that the fact be ascertained. Purifications of proselytes indeed there were, but there never was any such ceremony as baptism in practice before the time of John. If such a rite had existed, the regular priests, and not John, would have administered it, and there would have been no need of a new and extraordinary appointment from heaven to give being to an old established custom, nor would it have been decent for John, or any other man, to treat native Jews, especially Jesus, who had no Paganism to put away, as Pagan proselytes were treated. This uninteresting subject hath produced voluminous disputes, which may be fairly cut short by demanding at the outset substantial proof of the fact, that the Jews *baptized* proselytes *before* the time of John, which can never be done.

It is remarkable of this controversy, that they, who most earnestly take the affirmative, are of all men the least interested ; for could a christian rite be taken off the ground of immediate divine appointment, and placed on

(8) Zuinglii de Baptismo. Lib. De prima baptismi origine. Calvini Inst. iv. 15. 10. Chemnitii Exam. Trident. ad Canon. de Bapt. Bullingeri adv. Ana-bapt. Lib. vi. cap. i. Musculi Loc. com. De Bapt. Chamieri Panstrat. tom. iv. De Bapt.

that of human traditions, Christianity would lose much of its glory ; least of all are they interested in it, who intend to establish a law to sprinkle the infants of Christians, upon proving, that the Jews had a custom of dipping men and women when they renounced Paganism.

In this hopeless affair, could the fact be demonstrated, no advance would be made in the argument ; for it would be easy to prove, that if it were by tradition, Jewish traditions neither have nor ought to have any force with Christians : and that if it were even an institute of Moses, the ceremonies of Moses were abolished in form by an authority which no Christian will oppose.

The legislator of the Jews instituted what an apostle (1) calls *divers washings*, which were not intended to be perpetual, but were *imposed* by Moses on the Jews *until the time of reformation* by the Messiah, as all the other ceremonies of that religion were.

The regular way of considering this subject is to set out with an inquiry into the duration of the Mosaical economy, or, to use the language of scripture, the precise period in which Moses was to be *heard* in the character of a lawgiver. This question receives an answer from Moses himself, who said to the Jews of his own time, and entered it into a publick record (2) for the information of their successors, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me ; unto him ye shall hearken. According to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God ; neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me they have well spoken that which they have spoken. I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* The rites of Judaism therefore were to be considered as institutes of God, and to be obeyed till he should think fit to give new orders by another prophet like Moses. Some think this prophet like Moses was

(1) Heb. ix. 10. (2) Deut. xviii. 15, &c.

Joshua (3). Others say, Moses meant a succession of prophets (4); but the Jews in the time of John the Baptist understood the passage of the Messiah (5), and the apostle Peter directly applies it to Jesus (6). Many are the resemblances (7) between Moses and Jesus: but the most striking is that which Eusebius mentions, and which most modern expositors approve, that the likeness lay chiefly in legislation (8). Other prophets resembled Moses in many things, but none of them were law-givers; they only interpreted and enforced the law of Moses. Hence it follows, that let the rites of Judaism be what they may, Christians are not bound to perform them because they were instituted by Moses: but it must be proved that Jesus the successor of Moses, and a legislator like him, hath re-ordained them. This point was fully and finally settled in an assembly of all the apostles at Jerusalem convened for the purpose, who gave it under their hands in writing (9), that they had *no commandment to keep the law*, that is, the Mosaic law of ceremonies. Jewish ceremonies, therefore, are to be considered now only as Pagan rites are considered, as histories of past ages, but not as law of present times.

Jewish washings, instituted and not instituted, may be conveniently classed under four heads, common, traditional, ritual, and extraordinary.

By *common* washings are meant bathings, which the Jews in common with all the people of the East practised for cleanliness, health, and pleasure. The daughter of Pharaoh was going to bathe herself in the river when she found Moses (1). Bathsheba was bathing when David first saw her (2); for the Jews had baths in their gardens and houses. Private baths of their own were more necessary to Jews resident in foreign countries than to others; for the Pagans adorned their publick baths with statues of their gods (3), and for this reason the Jew never entered them.

By *traditional* washings such are intended as were enjoined by the Rabbies without any authority from the writings of Moses. There is a clear distinct account of

(3) Munster. Drusius. Fagius. Calmet.

(4) Pole. Le Clerc.

(5) John i. 21.

(6) Acts iii. 22, 23.

(7) Jortin. Newton on the Prophecies. Vol. i. dis. vi.

(8) Eusebii Demonst. Evang. Lib. i. cap. 3.

(9) Acts xv. 5, 20, 23, 24.

(1) Exod. ii. 5.

(2) 2 Sam. xi. 2.

(3) Jo. Alb. Fabricii Bibliograph. Antiq. cap. xxii. sect. 14.

these in the gospel of Mark, to which is added the opinion of Jesus concerning them (4). *Then came together unto him the Pharisees and certain of the scribes which came from Jerusalem: and when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled (that is to say with unwashen) hands, they found fault: for the Pharisees and all the Jews except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders. And when they come from the market except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be which they have received to hold, as the washing of cups and pots, and of brazen vessels and tables. Then the Pharisees and the scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples after the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands? He answered and said unto them, Well hath Esaias prophesied of you, hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandments of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups; and many other such like things ye do. And he said unto them, full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.*

Although no Christians hold themselves bound by the canons of Jewish Rabbies, yet this passage hath been extremely disputed, for the sake of determining the meaning of the word baptize, some affirming that the Jews dipped themselves and their utensils; and others that they only poured on water, and hence they infer that to pour water is to baptize. There is nothing new to be said on a subject that hath been so thoroughly investigated: but an arrangement of what seems most satisfactory must suffice.

i. It is to be observed, that whatever these washings or baptisms were, they were traditional, and censured by Jesus Christ, and consequently that nothing determinate concerning them can be inferred from the Old Testament, or from the approbation of Jesus.

ii. It is said, the traditions of the elders, or, as the Jews call them, “the words of the scribes, the commands of the wise men,” expressly require dipping. In general (5) they say, “wheresoever in the law, washing of the flesh

(4) Mark vii. 1—9.

(5) Maimonides. *Mishn, Gelim* in Gill on the place.

or of clothes is mentioned, it means nothing else but the dipping of the whole body in water—for if any man wash himself all over, except the top of his little finger, he is still in his uncleanness.” In particular they say, “in a laver which holds forty seahs of water, which are not drawn, every defiled man dips himself, except a profluous man; and in it they dip all unclean vessels. A bed that is wholly defiled, if he dips it part by part, it is pure. If he dips the bed in the pool, although its feet are plunged in the thick clay at the bottom of the pool, it is clean. What shall he do with a pillow, or a bolster of skin? He must dip them and lift them up by their fringes.” It was not a neglect but a performance of these human inventions which the Saviour reproved.

iii. It is added, history explains how the Jews understood the canon. Dr. Gale says, “we have frequent mention among the ancients of the Hemero-baptists (6), who were so called from their practice of washing themselves in this manner every day: as in the apostolical constitutions, where it is noted, that unless they were so washed, they ate not—they are inserted in the catalogue of Jewish sects by Hegesippus; and Justin Martyr, mentioning several sects also of the Jews, names these among the rest, and calls them Baptists; from this signification of the word. These washings are what in the constitutions are intended by daily washings, or baptisms, as may be further confirmed by that account given us of one sect of the Jews by Josephus. Tertullian, too, plainly intimates, that the Jews used to wash their whole bodies, when he says, the Jews daily wash every part of the body, yet they are never clean.”

iv. It is further observed by the same writer, that “all the versions in the Polyglot (7), except those of Montanus, and the vulgar Latin, to wit, the Syriack, Arabick, Ethiopick, and Persick, unanimously understand the words in a sense quite different from what has been hitherto mentioned, that is, they all take the meaning to be, not that the Jews washed themselves, or their hands, when they came from the market, but that the herbs, for instance, and other things they bought there, were first to

(6) Gale's *Reflections on Wall's History of Infant Baptism*. Let. iv. where the authorities are quoted.

(7) Gale, as above in favour of this version, and Gill, Pole, and others against it.

be washed, before they could be eaten. Thus they translate the place, *And what they buy in the market, unless it be washed, they eat not.* It must be owned, the Greek is capable of this sense."

v. Commentators of great note therefore conclude that the baptism of cups is putting them into water all over, and rinsing them (8). The washing is a washing of themselves all over (9) : for they not only washed their hands, but immersed their whole bodies (1).

The third sort of washings were called *ritual*, because they were positively instituted by Moses, and make a part of that book, in which the observances of the Jewish religion are set down. These are called purifications, and there are several of them. One was at the consecration of priests (2), who were first washed, then clothed with sacerdotal habits, and then with sacrifices inducted, or put into actual possession of both the duties and the honours of the priesthood.

A second purification was daily. Moses commanded a laver of brass (3) to be put betwixt the tabernacle and the altar, and water to be put therein, for the priests to wash or dip their hands and their feet, whenever they went to the altar to minister. This statute was in force until the dissolution of the economy, and the penalty for the breach of it was death (4).

A third was the purifications of clothes stained with blood in offering sacrifices (5), which were washed ; and of utensils which were washed, scoured, and rinsed in water (6).

A fourth was the cleansing of a leper (7). His clothes, whether linnen, woollen, or skin, were washed in water twice. The priest always put spring water into an earthen vessel, and killed a bird over it so that the blood ran into the water, then he dipped a live bird into the blood and water, and let it fly ; next he dipped a bunch of hyssop tied with a scarlet thread to the end of a cedar stick, and sprinkled the patient, who shaved off all his hair, washed his flesh in water, and concluded the whole by offering sacrifices.

(8) Hammond, and others. (9) Vatablus *in Loc.* Se totos abluebant,

(1) Grotius *in Loc.* Se purgabant a fori contactu, quippe non manus tantum lavando, sed et corpus mersando.

(2) Exod. xxix. 4, &c.

(4) Maimon. *De introitu in sanct.* sect. v.

(6) Ib. verse 28.

(3) Ib. xxx. 17, &c.

(5) Lev. vi. 27.

(7) Ib. chap. xiii. xiv.

A fifth was the purifying of various uncleannesses (8), contracted by touching the dead, and by any other means; in which cases, as before, clothes were washed, utensils rinsed in water, and the people bathed themselves: for the lawgiver had declared, *if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh; then he shall bear his iniquity.*

The last class of Jewish washings were extraordinary. One of this kind is in the history of the healing Naaman, by the prophet Elisha (9). The prophet bade him go and *wash* in Jordan seven times. Naaman went down and *dipped* himself seven times, and was miraculously healed. Another was at the giving of the law, when the Lord ordered all the people to prepare for that most solemn of all days, by sanctifying themselves, and washing their clothes (1), and two days were allowed for this extraordinary service. So after a victory (2), the captives were purified, the raiment of the conquerors washed, and the booty taken from the enemy purified with water of separation: and in like manner the people were ordered to sanctify themselves before they passed through Jordan to take possession of the land of promise (3). All these were washings on extraordinary occasions; and the whole, ordinary and extraordinary, were intended to impress the minds of the Jews with proper sentiments of the holiness of God, and that purity of heart, which he required in all his worshippers. Except in the single circumstance of dipping, none of these washings bears the least resemblance to christian-baptism, and this circumstance is a mere accident, and may as well be taken from Pagan rituals as from the ceremonies of the Jews; that is to say, it is so vague and far-fetched that it deserves, in this point of view, no consideration at all. Some learned men have currently reported, that christian-baptism is a continuation of proselyte-baptism among the Jews, and it saves a great deal of trouble to believe the report; for if the matter be investigated, the report will appear untrue, and the reasoning, from an imaginary fact, illogical. There was no baptism in the world among any people till John, and the purifying of a proselyte by dipping himself, which they very inaccurately call baptism, will appear to have been a late tradition, long after the time of John.

(8) Lev. chap. xv. xviii. 16, &c.

(9) 2 Kings v.

(1) Exod. xix. 10, &c. (2) Numb. xxxi. 19, 23, &c.

(3) Josh. iii. 5.

The learned and laborious Dr. Benson, than whom no man studied the history of the New Testament with more attention, argued at first against the opinion of Mr. Emlyn, concerning the *ceasing* of baptism among such as descended from *christian* ancestors, upon the supposition that the Jewish custom of initiating heathen proselytes by *baptism* was a certain fact, supported by undoubted authority : but on further examination he saw reason to doubt of that fact, and like a generous investigator of truth, as he was, he proposed his difficulties with a view to excite a further inquiry. They are these :

i. The doctor had “not found any instance of one person’s washing another, by way of consecration, purification, or sanctification ; except that of Moses his washing Aaron and his sons, when he set them apart to the office of priests. Lev. viii. 6.”

ii. The doctor says ; “I cannot find that the Jews do at present practise any such thing as that of *baptizing* the proselytes that go over to them, though they are said to make them wash themselves.”

iii. He asks, “where is there any intimation of such a practice among the Jews *before* the coming of our Lord ? If any one could produce any clear testimony of that kind from the *Old Testament*, the *Apocrypha*, *Josephus*, or *Philo*, that would be of great moment.”

iv. He adds : “in former times, proselytes, coming over from heathenism to the Jewish religion, used to *wash themselves* ; which is a very different thing from *baptism*, or one person’s being washed by another. Though I must own, I cannot see how *infants* could wash themselves (4).”

The modest Dr. Benson was pleased to add, that he wished to see these difficulties cleared up, and that he could not answer *all* that Dr. Wall and Mr. Emlyn had said in support of proselyte-baptism ; but with all possible deference to this most excellent critick, it may be truly said, he hath, by stating his difficulties, fully answered both these writers ; for, if what they call proselyte-baptism was *not* baptism, and if there was *no* institution of such a washing as they call baptism in the Old Testament, and no mention of such a thing in the Apocrypha,

(4) *On St. Paul’s Epistles*. Vol. i. dis. viii. part ii. *The publick worship of the first Christians*. Chap. v. S. ii. . . . -Lightfoot’s works. Vol. ii. p. 120.

or in Josephus, or in Philo, what at this age of the world signify the conjectures of a Lightfoot and a Wall, or even an Emlyn?

A fact it is, beyond all contradiction, that this same proselyte-washing, which learned men have thought fit to call baptism, is no baptism at all, but, as Dr. Benson truly says, a very different thing, and that in which infants could have no share. It was a person's washing himself, and not the dipping of one person by another. It is conceivable that, if such a practice had existed, the whole formulary would not have been settled and published, or mentioned, or hinted at by the Jews, whose scrupulosity in the manner of doing the most minute affairs is so notorious. On supposition, the existence of such a practice could be proved, what then? Nothing at all in regard to baptism. It would appear that a proselyte *washed himself*, but this is not baptism. Dr. Lightfoot led the baptizers of infants into this labyrinth, and no learned man ever did more to render words equivocal than he. If there be a word in the New Testament of a determinate meaning, it is the word *baptism*: yet, by a course of sophistry, it shall be first made synonymous with *washing*, and then washing shall be proved synonymous with *sprinkling*, and then sprinkling shall be called *baptism*. Thus the book intended to instruct shall be taught to perplex: the book in the world the most determinate shall be rendered the most vague: the book, the credit of which is absolutely ruined if it admit of double meanings, shall of all others be rendered the most mysterious book in the world, saying every thing, and of course narrating and proving nothing (5).

It is necessary, however, to give some account of proselyte-baptism. A proselyte must be described, the fact of his baptism must be ascertained, and it must be inquired to what practical uses the subject can be applied.

1. *A proselyte must be described.* There were among the Jews two, some say three sorts of *proselytes* (6).

(5) See Dr. Benson's *Essay concerning the Unity of Sense*; to shew that no text of scripture has more than one single sense, page 11.

(6) To avoid repetitions, the substance of this part is taken chiefly from the following authors *apud* Blas. Ugolin. *Thesaur. Antiq. Venet.* 1759, tom. xxii --- Pauli Slevogti *Diss. de prosyl. judæor* --- Jo Gregor. Mulleri *D.ss. de prosyl* --- Johan. Reiskii *de Bapt. Judæor* --- Jo. And. Danzii *Bapt. proselyt. Judaic* --- Gill's *Body of Divinity*. Vol. iii. and *Preface to the New Test.* --- Hammond and Lightfoot on Matt. iii. --- Owen's *Theologoumena*. --- Wall's *Hist. of Inf. Bapt.* --- Gale's *Reflections on Wall*.

The first were called proselytes of the gate ; the second were denominated mercenary or hired ; the third were called proselytes of righteousness. Philo and Josephus, who lived nearest the time of Jesus, both mention proselytes, but neither says one word about the baptism of them. The genuine Targums (7), written about the close of the first century, and the Misnah, written about the middle of the second century, say nothing on this subject. The christian writers called Fathers speak of Jewish proselytes, and washings, and purification from ceremonial uncleannesses : but nothing of admitting proselytes into the community by baptizing. This baptism of proselytes came to light through the later Rabbies, and it is chiefly to be sought in the writings of Maimonides (8), or Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, who flourished in the eleventh or twelfth century at the head of a famous school in Egypt. This justly celebrated writer composed the best system of the civil and canon laws of the Jews that is extant, under the title of *Yad Chazaka*. It is a compendium of the Misnah and Talmud, and a collection of traditions, rites, usages, and customs of the Jews.

A Jewish proselyte is a convert to Judaism. Proselytes of the gate were neither circumcised by others, nor did they dip themselves. Mercenary proselytes, it is agreed on all hands, did not dip, and it is uncertain whether they were circumcised. It is the proselyte of righteousness, who was accounted purified by dipping himself. The Jews were extremely cautious what persons they admitted under this character. For this purpose candidates underwent a very strict examination concerning the motives of their conduct, and the examiners utterly refused all ignorant, mercenary, or vicious people. If they were adjudged sincere, they were taken into tuition, and were instructed in the doctrine of the unity of God, and all the other articles of the Jewish religion. After this the men were circumcised, and when they were out of danger both men and women dipped themselves in water. The ceremony was performed once by the first convert : but never more than once through successive generations in the same fam-

(7) Gill Gale.

(8) Jo. Laur. Berti *Eccles. Hist. Breviar.* tom. ii. sec. 12.

ily. If a Jew bought a Pagan minor (9), or if one were taken in war, it was determined by the wise men, he should dip himself as a proselyte of righteousness. It was objected, that a minor could not consent; but it was determined by the wise men, that in this extraordinary case, the decree of the Rabbies should be held to supply the place of assent. Adult proselytes received instruction, and made a confession of their assent during their washing, and afterwards completed the ceremony of initiation by offering sacrifice. The mode of this purification was immersion in water. A river was preferred: but any collection of clean water of a depth sufficient for dipping would do. If a bath were necessary, a square, with about four feet and a half depth of water was requisite. The proselyte was not to jump in as if he were bathing; but he was to walk in leisurely. A woman was to be conducted by three women, and when notice was given that she was up to the neck in the water, the three judges either withdrawing or turning their backs, she plunged herself once into the water. Some dipped themselves naked, others in a thin garment that would admit the water every where; but none in any habit that might prevent the water from wetting all the body, for if only a small defluxion from the eye ran between the water and the skin, the purification was judged partial and incomplete.

ii. *The fact must be ascertained.* A learned foreigner (1) says, Jewish baptism is a solemn rite instituted by God, in which proselytes of both sexes, in the presence of three credible witnesses, are dipped in water, that being legally cleansed and regenerated they may enter on the profession of a new religion. This definition affirms what is not true, for neither was there ever such a rite as Jewish baptism, nor can it be pretended seriously, that proselyte-dipping was instituted by God. If any divine institute could be produced, if there were in the Jewish ritual any ceremony similar to baptism, there would be some shew of reasoning; but in the present case, as affirmation is the whole argument, bare negation is a sufficient answer. There are in the Old Testament (2) many precedents of admitting proselytes

(9) Slevogt.

(1) Reiskius.

(2) Josh. vi. 25. James ii. 25. Heb. xi. 31. Ruth i. &c.

into the Jewish church, as Rahab, Ruth, and others : but not one word is said of their being baptized. There are laws of admission given by Moses (3). One is this, “ When a stranger will keep the passover to the Lord, let all his males be *circumcised* : and then let him come near and keep it. One law shall be to him that is home-born, and unto the stranger.” Where now is the divine institution of either baptizing or washing a proselyte all over in water ? *One law shall be to him that is home-born, and unto the stranger.* That law is, *Let all his males be circumcised ; and then let him come near.* Dr. John Owen calls the opinion, that christian baptism came from the Jews, an opinion destitute of all probability : yet Dr. Wall founds his main argument in favour of infant-baptism on the practice, which the Jews, he says, had of baptizing proselytes to their religion. The fact cannot be proved, and the divine authority of it is absolutely denied.

iii. It must be inquired to what practical uses the subject can be applied. The proper answer is, to none. Be it observed, that a law to *dip* is not a law to *sprinkle* : a law for a man to dip *himself* is not an authority for *another* man to dip him ; a law to dip *instructed* proselytes is not a law to baptize *infants* ; a law to wash the *first* convert of a family is not an authority to wash all the *descendants* of that convert ; a law to enjoin *three* things, circumcision, washing, and sacrifice, is not fulfilled by a performance of only *one* of the three. The best use, then, that can be made of a knowledge of Jewish baptisms (as they are improperly called) is to pity the apostasy of the Jews, and to set them an example of renouncing that fatal error, from which all their ills originally proceeded, an implicit faith in guides, who assumed the authority of God, who pretended to regulate religion by their Bath Col, or daughter of a voice, that is, the traditions of enthusiasts, who issued laws to bind conscience, and who, like some Etruscan statues, have not one thing in the world now to recommend them to attention, except their antiquity.

CHAP. VI.

WHETHER BAPTISM WERE AN IMITATION OF PAGAN
ABLUTIONS.

IT hath happened to Christianity as to Judaism, the divine institutes of both have been said to be copied from the rites of Pagans ; but this is not credible, it cannot be proved a fact, and it would go, could it be admitted, to cover Moses and John with shame for practising a fraud so gross as the introducing of foreign customs, in the name, and pretendedly by the express command, of God himself; an insult on the Deity, which might easily have been detected, and of which the characters of the men could not furnish even a suspicion. Among the Jews, who valued themselves upon their being a select people, a chosen generation, Jehovah's portion of mankind, who held all Pagan rites in deep abhorrence, and by a native Jew, who had never travelled, and who, it is credible, knew nothing of Pagan rituals, it is extremely rash to suppose from the mere connection of the application of water to the human body in religious exercises, that such a rite was, or could possibly be incorporated into a revealed religion in Judea.

There are three opinions, in general, among learned men concerning those religious ceremonies, which were common among the worshippers of the one living and true God and the various professors of Polytheism. It is allowed on all hands, that there is, and always was an evident similarity of religious rites, and that the temples of idols have some ceremonies resembling those of the church of God. Some think, the founders of Pagan religions incorporated into their superstitious ceremonials some rites borrowed from the Jews. Others suppose that Moses and Christ took some Pagan ceremonies, proper in themselves, and hurtful only in the hands of infidels, and incorporated them into the service of the true God. Each of these opinions is attended with great difficulties, and a third is the least objectionable. This is, that the similarity is merely accidental, or, to speak more like a Christian, that the rites of true religion among the Jews were positive institutes of God, and that the practice of similar rites among Pagans rose originally out of the

exercise of common sense among the first fathers of mankind or out of positive institutes, which were debased afterward by their descendants into superstition.

Of all religious ceremonies, that of ablution, or washing with water immediately before divine worship, is the most general, and the conformity the most obvious. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans and all Pagans had divers washings. Descended from the same parents as the Jews, they originally worshipped one God, the God of Noah, Job, Jethro, and Melchizedek, and him they approached with clean washed hands, expressive of that purity of heart, which was necessary to his approbation of their service. Hence this exclamation, *If I be wicked, though I wash myself ever so clean, yet mine own clothes shall abhor me* (1). In like manner Homer (2) represents Hector as afraid to offer a libation to Jove before he had washed his hands. He makes Telemachus wash his hands, and Penelope her clothes, before they prayed to God (3). Virgil describes Æneas as afraid to touch sacred things till he had washed himself in running water (4). There is no need to suppose either that the Jews imitated the Pagans, or that the Pagans imitated the Jews. It was natural to consider God as a pure and holy being, and it was natural for a conqueror to wash off the blood of enemies from his hands after a battle, before he approached God to praise him for victory.

In after times when superstition had multiplied gods or demons, so that in Greece only there were thirty thousand (5), it became necessary to divide and class them, and regulate their rituals according to their rank. Some were celestial, others terrestrial and infernal; some were ærial, others aquatick, and they were treated with different degrees of respect (6). When the superior gods were approached, the worshippers washed themselves all over, or, if that could not be, they washed their hands. When sacred rites were performed to the inferior deities, a sprinkling sufficed (7). None were approached without sprinkling or washing the hands,

(1) Job ix. 29.

(2) Homeri *Iliad*.

(3) Homeri in *Odyss*.

(4) Virgil *Æneid*. Lib. ii. 719.

(5) Hesiod *op. et dies*. Lib. i. 250.

(6) Orph. *ad Musæum*.

(7) Virgil *Æn*. ii. 719. *Donec me flumine vive abluero. . . corpus pargit aqua*. vi. 636.

the head, or the whole body. For these purposes a vessel of clean fountain or river water was placed at the entrance of Pagan temples. A priest in waiting sprinkled those who went to worship three times with boughs (8) of laurel or olive dipped in water, and a written order was affixed in the porch that no man should proceed further without washing (9).

The heathens, not content with this simple expressive rite, multiplied religious ablutions to excess. The Egyptian priests washed themselves four times in the twenty-four hours (1). Other nations went into greater extremes, they washed and sprinkled not men only, but all utensils of worship, sometimes their fields, often their houses, and annually their gods (2). The Romans had a general lustrum every five years, when the censor sacrificed a sow, a sheep, and a bull, and lustrated or sprinkled all the Roman people (3). There are pictures of lustration on monuments yet in being (4).

It is not to be supposed that all the heathens believed polytheism. The wisest of them held the popular religion in contempt, and exactly resembled some modern deists in the church of Rome. They had a private faith for their own use, and a public profession for popular purposes. Their own good sense disabused themselves: but they thought it hazardous to undeceive the common people, who, they supposed, had not sense enough to make a proper use of such intelligence as they could have given them. Hence came, most likely, the mysteries of Isis, the same as Ceres, Cybele, or the mother of the gods; those of Mithra, the same as Apollo, the sun, or fire; and those of Eleusis. The priests initiated only wise men into these mysteries, in which probably they were taught that the popular deities were nothing but symbols of the perfections and works of one almighty God (5). This was a very criminal disposition. It left them *without excuse, because, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. By professing themselves wise, they discovered themselves fools.*

(8) Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 30. --- Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 6. ——— Æneid. vi. 229. Ovid. *Metam.* vii. 2.

(9) Potter's *Greek Antiquities*.

(1) Herodotus ii. 37.

(2) Ovid. *Fast.* iv. --- Lucan. *Pharsal.* i. --- Tertul. *De Bapt.* cap. v.

(3) Varro *De Re Rust.* Lib. ii. c. 1. --- Tacit. *Lib.* iv. --- Dion. *Halic.* --- Liv.

(4) Ezech. Spanheim. *De Præst. Numism.* tom. ii. edit. Verbeirgii. Amstel. 1717.

(5) Pluche *Hist. of the Heavens.* Vol. i. c. ii. s. 45.

Many ceremonies were used to initiate people into these mysteries, and ablution was one. It was an odd conceit of Justin Martyr, in which, however, he was followed by Tertullian, and other fathers, that the devil inspired the heathens to mimic, in these ablutions, the baptism practised in the christian church (6). It would be in vain to object, that the ablutions used by the Pagans to initiate persons into their mysteries were far more ancient than the institution of baptism itself: for these fathers inform their readers that the prophet Isaiah had foretold *his waters shall be sure, and bread shall be given him*; that the devil understood the prophet to foretel, in these words, the institution of baptism and the Lord's supper; and that he set up his ablutions in order to be forehand with Christ, and so to discredit his ordinances when he should appoint them. Satan thus prepared Paganism to say to Christianity, Have you ceremonies? So have I. Do you baptize? So do I. The devil of the fathers was an arch droll!

It is a just, and, it may be hoped, not an unseasonable moral reflection, that Pagan ablution was a sort of publick homage, which natural religion paid to the purity and perfection of God, and an universal acknowledgement of the indispensable necessity of virtue in man, in order to his enjoyment of the first great Cause.



CHAP. VII.

OF THE INSTITUTION OF BAPTISM BY JESUS CHRIST.

JESUS CHRIST before his death promised his apostles, that after his resurrection he would meet them on a mountain in Galilee (1). Immediately after his resurrection, the angel, who informed the women at the sepulchre that he was risen, directed them to *go quickly and tell his disciples* that he was risen from the dead, and that he was going before them into Galilee, and there they should see him (2). As they were going to

(6) Justin. *Apol.* --- *adv. Tryph.* --- Tertul. *De coron. mil.* cap. xv. *De præscript. adv. Her.* cap. xl. --- *De Bapt.* cap. v. --- *vid etiam not. Pamelii* --- Anton. Franc. Gorii. *Museum Etrus.* tom. i. Florent. 1737.

(1) Matt. xxvi. 32. --- Mark xiv. 28.

(2) Matt. xxviii. 7—10.

deliver the message, Jesus himself met them, and repeated the order, *go tell my brethren, that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.* In the forty days between his resurrection and ascension he had many interviews with his disciples, in which he instructed them in the things pertaining to *the kingdom of God.* Baptism was one of these things, and of this he chose to speak in the most public manner on the mountain in Galilee to above *five hundred brethren at once.* It is not very material to determine whether this were the third, the eighth, or the last appearance of Christ to his disciples, in which *he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, and spoke to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God* (3).

To the assembly on the mountain, *Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world* (4). It is a glorious example of that benevolence with which Jesus used the vast powers committed to his trust.

The authenticity of this passage is allowed by all Christians, but they differ very much in expounding it ; and three classes of expositors deserve attention ; the first enlarge, the second diminish, the third supersede the meaning of the passage.

Without entering into verbal criticisms, upon which the christian religion doth not stand, for it is supported by facts true and demonstrative, and not by hypothetical reasonings confined only to a few learned men, it is observable, that one class of expositors so expound the text as to give it a much wider extent than Jesus intended, for they make it an authority from him to baptize infants, though they are not mentioned, and though there is not in the whole New Testament either precept or precedent for the practice. The order runs, *teach all nations, baptizing them.* The thing speaks for itself, the style is popular, the sense plain, and it must

(3) Acts i. 3.

(4) Matt. xxviii. 18, &c.

mean either baptize whole nations, or such of all nations as receive your instructions, and desire to be baptized. The first is too gross to be admitted, because it cannot be effected without force, and the grossness of the one instantly turns the mind to the other, the plain and true sense. In the principles of the kingdom of Christ there is neither fraud nor force, nor is it suitable to the dignity of the Lord Jesus to take one man by conviction, and his ten children by surprise.

The practice of the apostles, who understood the words, no doubt, is the best exposition of the language. Did they baptize any whole nation, or city, or village? yet they described the baptism of individuals in a style similar to that of the words in question. The following is an example. *Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them, and such as believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, were baptized, both men and women* (5). The history of this is thus described by Luke. *The apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, not the whole country called Samaria, not the whole city of the same name, not Simon and his adherents, inhabitants of the city, but such only as believed Philip, had received the word of God, and were baptized.*

The same Philip baptized the eunuch, but not his servants; for Christianity is a personal, not a family, or national affair (6). Some families were baptized, but it was only when each person of each family was a believer, and not always then. Crispus (7), the chief ruler of the synagogue at Corinth, *believed on the Lord with all his house*, yet Paul baptized none but Crispus; for there might be very good reasons for the other believers in his family to defer their baptism (8). The Jailer at Philippi *believed in God with all his house*, therefore *he was baptized, and all his straightway* (9). The household of Lydia were *brethren* who were *comforted* by the apostles (1). The family of Stephanas of Corinth, which Paul baptized, were the *first fruits of Achaia*, and

(5) Acts viii. 5 ----- 14.

(7) Acts xviii. 8.

(9) Acts xvi. 31—33

(6) Ibid. . . . ver. 30.

(8) 1 Cor. i. 14.

(1) Acts xvi. 13, 40.

addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints, that is, to assist the deacons in relieving the poor (2).

The second class so understand the transaction as to narrow the subject. To them it seems that Jesus addressed himself only to the apostles, and thence they argue, that none but apostles and apostolical men, their successors, have any right to administer baptism. This exposition is clogged with insuperable difficulties, and it is asked, is it a true fact that during the lives of the apostles none but they baptized? In the case just mentioned, Philip the *deacon* baptized the Samaritans, and Peter and John only went down to confer the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit (3). There was no apostle at Damascus when Paul was baptized, and a certain disciple at Damascus named Ananias baptized him (4). or, as he expresses it, *buried* him by baptism into death. While Paul was at Corinth *many of the Corinthians hearing, believing, and were baptized, but he baptized none of them except Crispus and Gaius, and the family of Stephanas*. Aquila, who was a resident, and Silas and Timothy, who were travellers, most likely baptized the rest (5). When Peter went to open the kingdom of heaven at Cæsarea to proselyte Gentiles, he did not baptize them himself, but he *commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord*, which was done it should seem by Jews of Joppa who accompanied him, and who are called *brethren of the circumcision who believed* (6). Of this, as of the former case, the description is in general terms : *the apostles and brethren that were in Judea heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of God*, though only a few proselytes of one city had received it (7).

It is inquired further, who are the successors of the apostles? Is it true that Jesus instituted a priesthood, or any order of men to succeed the apostles? After the defeat of that numerous, learned, and wealthy church, called catholick, further attempts to prove what they have contended for are extremely rash and entirely hopeless, and go on a principle wholly disallowed in pure Christianity, the necessity of a standing priesthood. The apostle Paul gave a rule to the Corinthians applicable to baptizing as well as to teaching. *Ye may all proph-*

(2) 1 Cor. i. 16. xvi. 15.

(3) Acts viii. 15.

(4) Acts ix. 18. --- Rom. vi. 4.

(5) Acts xviii. 2, &c.

(6) Acts x. 5—23.

(7) Acts xi. 1.

easy one by one, that all may learn and all may be comforted, and the right of every Christian to enlarge the kingdom of Christ by teaching and baptizing others, is perfectly in unison with the whole spirit and temper of Christianity. The conduct of Jesus was uniform, he first called twelve, afterwards seventy, and, when he extended his commission to the whole world, he appointed above five hundred, and in them all Christians to the end of the world ; nor is it imaginable that he uttered any prohibition against such as should increase his holy empire by instruction and baptism ; for baptism is not an initiation into any particular society, which may have possessions, and in a participation of which justice requires the consent of the owners, but it is simply an admission to a profession of Christianity, to which wisely no temporal advantages of any kind ever were annexed by Jesus Christ.

The third class so expound the words as to supersede the institution. They affirm that the words to the *end of the world*, should be rendered to the *end of the age*, which is either the age of the Jewish polity, and so the period expired at the destruction of Jerusalem, or the age of the apostles, and so it expired with the last apostle. Baptism therefore was only a temporary institute, and it ought not to be administered to all Christians now. To such Pagans as embrace Christianity it may be proper, but to the children of Christians it is not so.

It is said on the contrary. There is no mention of any such cessation in any part of the New Testament, and to be wise above what is written is a most dangerous precedent, it would go further than is intended. - - - There is nothing in baptism injurious to piety and virtue, or inconsistent with any improvement which a good man ought to promote. - - - The abolition of baptism is not in agreement with the perfection of the economy, which being finished admits of no emendation. *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away. Abide in me. If my words abide in you, ye shall be my disciples.* - - - There was no connection between the lives of the apostles and baptism, for during their lives they were not the only administrators of it. - - - There was no more connection between baptism and the destruction of Jerusalem, than between baptism and the de-

struction of any other city. ---The notion leaves the most obedient Christians in a difficult case without a guide, by not fixing a precise time for leaving off to baptize. ---It is most natural to suppose, Jesus dated by his own economy, and appointed baptism to continue to the *end of the age*, that is, the end of the christian economy, the new age, in distinction from the Mosical state of things. ---Christians of early ages did not understand that baptism was to be laid aside, for all parties continued to baptize beyond every period to which the words have been supposed to refer. --- Christians are exhorted to *hold fast their profession of faith, having their bodies washed with pure water.* --- It is allowed *the end of the age* does sometimes signify the end of the *world*, and some substantial reasons should be given why it does not stand for the end of the *world* here. This notion is chiefly founded on the supposition, that christian baptism was a continuation of a Jewish ceremony, proselyte-baptism, which is not a true fact.

The words of Christ are not properly a law given to all Christians, but a direction to the Christians then present, and applicable to future ages, as a precedent. Jesus had foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, that the Jews should be *led away captive into all nations*, that his disciples should be *hated of all nations*, and that the gospel should be *published among all nations*, but he had not informed his disciples that they were to baptize all nations, and incorporate Gentiles with Jews into one body. Now he advises them to submit patiently to the wise providence of God, and to improve the event of their dispersion to the benevolent purposes of instructing all mankind, and participating with themselves in the general benefits of the Christian religion. The event discovered the wisdom and goodness of the charge, and the example is worthy of imitation by all Christians of all ages, even to the end of the world.

In addition to the arguments from scripture, which each party hath advanced against the other, to confirm their own sense of the words of Christ, *teach all nations, baptizing them*, and the rest, many reasons have been taken from other topicks, as history, the interests of

piety, virtue, social happiness, and so on, and some of them of great weight.

Those who practise infant baptism have been requested to consider whether the baptism of babes have not effected a revolution greatly in disfavour of the evidences of Christianity by exhibiting whole nations of Christians, who were all forced to profess the religion of Jesus without their knowledge or consent. Is it, they ask, because Christianity will not bear examination, or have the children of Christians less right to judge for themselves than the first converts had? In the days of the apostles, it was argument to tell, *multitudes were added both of men and women* (8). *The word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem, and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith* (9). *The same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls* (1). This is no argument now. Further, it is inquired, whether the turning of whole nations into christian churches, so that there is no world, but all is church, have not deprived Christianity of that noble argument which the purity of the doctrine of Christ afforded. The few upright lose the evidence of their *shining as lights in the world* in the vast multitude of wicked characters, among whom they are obscured, confounded, and lost. Of what national church can it be said the people are *holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners*? What nation, if they observe the direction of apostolical epistles, durst claim a letter directed *to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints* (2)? To such a change, say they, it is owing that infidelity abounds; and a Christianity of this kind admits of no defence.

Such as confine the administration of baptism to men in orders, have been requested to advert to the history of priesthood, and to reconcile, if it be possible, the effects produced by it to the spirit and temper, the doctrine and conduct, of the Lord Jesus Christ, the freedom and peace of mankind, the maxims of good civil government, the prosperity of commerce, and many other articles remotely or immediately affected

by the dominion necessarily connected with every kind of priesthood.

To those who set aside baptism, it hath been asked, What is there in the inoffensive ordinance of baptism that should tempt a wise and good man to lay it aside? What line of separation do you leave between the world and the church? Why deprive Christians of the honour and pleasure of confessing Christ? Why take away the powerful motives to holiness, which are taken from a voluntary putting on Christ by baptism? If it could be proved that a few Greek Christians wholly disused water-baptism, which by the way is not granted, what is this to a modern Christian? Is it history? Let it pass. Is it urged as argument? On the same principle, it may be also argued, that the established church of Greece used trine immersion, and the single church of Antioch, only one city of many, consisted of one hundred thousand souls, half the number of inhabitants (3). The Greek dissenters all baptized, and particularly the Eunomians, who denied the Trinity, and rejected the baptism of trine immersion of the established church, administered baptism by single immersion (4) either in the name of Christ, or in the death of Christ; supposing either that Peter had altered the form of words (5), or that Paul described the form of administration when he said, *Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death* (6)? If numbers be argument, the yeas have it; but where the authority of scripture cannot be quoted, and where no substantial reasons from the fitness of things can be urged, and where history cannot help, it seems at least hazardous to lay aside a practice, which the Lord Jesus himself honoured by his own example, and which it seems he left to his disciples to enable them to follow his steps. There can be no danger in following his steps in an imitable case, as baptism is allowed to be,

(3) Chrysost. *vita*.

(4) *Concil. Constantinop. i. Can. vii.* Εὐνομίανους μὲν τοί, τοὺς εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν βαπτίζομενους, &c.

(5) Ægidii Carlerii *Orat. in Concil. Basil. habit.* Petrus Apostolus formam baptismi a Christo traditam mutabit in istam, Ego te baptizo in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c.

(6) Basilii *Op. Tom. ii. de Spiritu Sancto. cap. xii. Adversus eos qui discunt sufficere baptismum tantum in nomine Domini.*

Bini nota in canon. *Apost. Can. xlix.*

and there is no likelihood of placing Christianity in a better state than that in which he himself placed it. True the baptism of immersion is in modern times, in some churches, fallen into neglect and contempt ; but if that be a motive for disowning it, let such Christians be thankful they did not live in the days of Jesus himself, who was more despised by Jews than any of his institutes ever were by Christians.

CHAP. VIII.

OF APOSTOLICAL BAPTISM.

THE state of baptism during the lives of the apostles is to be gathered from the book of Acts written by Luke, the first ecclesiastical historian. It extends from the ascension of Christ to the residence of Paul at Rome, a space of more than thirty years. The book is full of information, and in regard to baptism, it informs by what it does not say, as well as by what is reported. For example. The historian relates the baptism of many proselytes, as Cornelius, the Ethiopian eunuch, and others, on their profession of Christianity ; of course the administrators did not know of such a custom as proselyte-baptism, or they did not understand proselyte-washing to be baptism, or they practised anabaptism, which is not credible.

There are frequent narrations of the baptism of believers, but not one infant appears in the whole history ; yet, no doubt, some Christians had married, and had young families within the thirty years between the ascension of Jesus and the settlement of Paul at Rome.

There is no mention of any of the ceremonies which modern Christians have affixed to baptism : no consecration of water, no sprinkling, no use of oils and unguents, no sponsors, no kneeling in the water, no trine immersion, no catechumen-state, no giving a name, no renunciation of any demon, none of the innumerable additions, which, under pretence of adorning, have obscured the glory of this heavenly institute. It belongs to those who practise such additions to say how they came by them, and under what master they serve.

It is observable, there is no mention of baptizing in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Peter exhorted the Jews of Jerusalem to *repent, and be baptized every one of them in the name of Jesus Christ*. Philip baptized the Samaritans *in the name of the Lord Jesus*. Peter commanded believers at Cæsarea to be baptized *in the name of the Lord*. Many Christians taking it for granted, that the apostles thoroughly understood the words of the Lord Jesus, and supposing the form of words of local and temporary use, administer baptism in the name of Christ, and think themselves justified by the book of the Acts of the Apostles.



CHAP. IX.

OF EASTERN BATHS.

IN this country, bathing is not considered, except by a few individuals, as an enjoyment, and many think of it with reluctance; but in the East it is far otherwise, and is to be numbered among the conveniences, if not the necessities of life. Established customs derived originally from nature are seldom changed, they continue the same, or nearly the same, in all ages in the same countries; for they rise out of the climate of the country, and the condition of the natives. The inhabitants of the East from the most remote antiquity to this day, have been naturally impelled, from the warmth of the climate, to consider bathing as one of the highest enjoyments of life, and their water-works for this as well as for other uses are magnificent and innumerable. It is difficult to compress a subject so voluminous into a narrow compass, and to leave unapplauded those grand reservoirs, those expensive aqueducts, those extended and incomparable canals, those ingenious devices for raising and distributing water into baths, those distinguished honours which have been bestowed on the immortal architects, and those innumerable benefits which the inhabitants derive from them, and which make so conspicuous a figure in all good histories of the East. A general idea, however, is necessary to the

present design ; and omitting the great and national (1) works of this kind, a small miniature picture of a domestic enjoyment of water shall be taken from a late celebrated lady (2). These are her words :

“Abroad the common people enjoy themselves (3). For some miles round Adrianople the whole ground is laid out in gardens (4), and the banks of the rivers are set with rows of fruit trees, under which all the most considerable of the Turks divert themselves every evening, not with walking, that is not one of their pleasures ; but a set party of them choose out a green spot, where the shade is very thick, and there they spread a carpet, on which they sit drinking their coffee, and are generally attended with some slave with a fine voice, or that plays on some instrument. Every twenty paces you may see one of these little companies, listening to the dashing of the river ; and this taste is so universal, that the very gardeners are not without it. I have often seen them and their children sitting on the banks of the river, and playing on a rural instrument perfectly answering the description of the ancient fistula, being composed of unequal reeds, with a simple but agreeable softness in the sound.

“In their gardens water is an essential part of elegance. In the midst of the garden is a chiosk, that is a large room, commonly beautified with a fine fountain in the midst of it. It is raised nine or ten steps, and enclosed with gilded lattices, round which, vines, jessamines, and honey-suckles make a sort of green wall ; large trees are planted round this place, which is the scene of their greatest pleasures, and where the ladies spend most of their hours, employed by their musick or embroidery. In the publick gardens there are publick chiosks, where people go that are not so well accommodated at home, and drink their coffee and sherbet.

“In private rooms water is a part of the innocent luxuriance of eastern embellishment (5). The rooms are low, which I think no fault, and the ceiling is always of wood, generally inlaid or painted with flowers. They open in many places with folding doors, and

(1) *Grævii Thesaur. De Aquæduct ---- Balneis ---- Thermis, &c. ----* Pococke's *Description of the East. Aqueducts.*

(2) *Right Hon. Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters.*

(3) Vol. i. Let. xxx. (4) Vol. i. Let. xxxii. (5) Vol. ii. Let. xliii.

serve for cabinets, I think more conveniently than ours. Between the windows are little arches to set pots of perfume, or baskets of flowers. But what pleases me best is the fashion of having marble fountains in the lower part of the room, which throw up several spouts of water, giving at the same time an agreeable coolness, a pleasant dashing sound, falling from one bason to another. Some of these are very magnificent. Each house has a bagnio, which consists generally in two or three little rooms leaded on the top, paved with marble, with basons, cocks of water, and all conveniences for either hot or cold bathing."

One of those private bagnios is described by her ladyship (6). "No part of the palace of the Grand Vizir pleased me better than the apartments destined for the bagnios. There are two built exactly in the same manner, answering to one another; the baths, fountains and pavements all of white marble, the roofs gilt, and the walls covered with Japan china. Adjoining to them are two rooms, the uppermost of which is divided into a sofa; and in the four corners are falls of water from the very roof, from shell to shell, of white marble, to the lower end of the room, where it falls into a large bason, surrounded with pipes that throw up the water as high as the rooms. The walls are in the nature of lattices, and on the outside of them there are vines and woodbines planted, that form a kind of green tapestry, and give an agreeable obscurity to these delightful chambers."

A publick bagnio is described thus (7): "I went to the bagnio about ten o'clock. It was already full of women. It is built of stone, in the shape of a dome, with no windows but in the roof, which gives light enough. There were five of these domes joining together, the outmost being less than the rest, and serving only as a hall, where the portress stood at the door. Ladies of quality generally give this woman a crown or ten shillings, and I did not forget that ceremony. The next room is a very large one, paved with marble, and all round it are two raised sofas of marble, one above another. There were four fountains of cold water in this room, falling first into the marble basons,

and then running on the floor in little channels made for that purpose, which carried the streams into the next room, something less than this, with the same sort of marble sofas, but so hot with steams of sulphur, proceeding from the baths joining to it, it was impossible to stay there with one's clothes on. The two other domes were the hot baths, one of which had cocks of cold water turning into it, to temper it to what degree of warmth the bathers please to have.

“I was in my travelling habit, which is a riding dress, and certainly appeared very extraordinary to them: yet there was not one of them who shewed the least surprise or impertinent curiosity, but received me with all the obliging civility possible. I know no European court where the ladies would have behaved themselves in so polite a manner to a stranger. I believe, upon the whole, there were two hundred women, and yet none of those disdainful smiles, and satirical whispers, that never fail in our assemblies, when any body appears that is not dressed exactly in the fashion. They repeated over and over to me *Uzelle, pek Uzelle*, which is nothing but *charming, very charming*. The first sofas were covered with cushions and rich carpets, on which sat the ladies; and on the second, their slaves behind them, but without any distinction of rank by their dress, all being in the state of nature, that is, in plain English, stark naked, without any beauty or defect concealed. Yet there was not the least smile or immodest gesture among them. They walked and moved with the same majestick grace, which Milton describes our general mother with. There were many among them, as exactly proportioned as ever any goddess was drawn by the pencil of a Guido or Titian,—and most of their skins shiningly white, only adorned by their beautiful hair, divided into many tresses, hanging on their shoulders, braided either with pearl or ribbon, perfectly representing the figures of the graces.” Baron de Tott, who complains of the exuberance of her ladyship's pen, and who doubts whether she went into the bath with her clothes on, allows and confirms the general description (8).

(8) *Memoirs of the Turks and the Tartars*. London, 1785. Vol. i. p. 196.

CHAP. X.

OF ROMAN BATHS.

PAGAN Rome had as great a passion for baths as any eastern country had ; she had too a passion for sculpture : but she prostituted herself to the gods of all nations to gratify it, and with an unsparing hand distributed all over the western world idolatry and vice. At home all the coast near Baioli was covered with country houses and baths, and even the ruins are so grand that people mistake them for temples of Diana, Venus, and Mercury (1). They are surrounded with galleries, with drawing-rooms, canals, and reservoirs, piled one upon another, disputing even as they fall for rank in magnificence. Cicero has immortalized his villas by "works, which have always been the delight of the learned (2)." Seneca noted others for their immorality (3). Vitruvius hath described the rooms, and to read Horace is to see the company, the houses, and the expensive pomp of rooms, embellished with furniture and ornaments, and decorated with all the softening arts of the East (4).

There were in Rome nineteen magnificent aqueducts, and twelve publick baths (5), all truly Roman ; but architecture, which had arrived at maturity in the reign of Augustus, drooped, because it was neglected under Tiberius, revived a little under Nero, made one fine effort in the time of Trajan, and left to the admiration of the present age the famous column, called Trajan's pillar, declined again, and revived once more under Alexander Severus ; and then, along with other polite arts, fell with the western empire, and did not rise again for twelve hundred years. During this long period artists were ignorant of just designing, the life of architecture ; and baths, as well as other buildings, displayed a medley of refinement and barbarism, the

(1) *Voyage Pittoresque de Naples et de Sicile. A Paris, 1781. Tom. ii. Vue des Bains de Nero. Page 214*

(2) JOHN MOORE, M. D. *View of Society and Manners in Italy. Vol. ii. Let. lxx.*

(3) Seneca *ad Lucil Epist. 52.*

(4) Vitruvius. *De Architect. Lib. v. Cap. 10.*

(5) Joh. Jac. Boissard. *Antiquitat. Rom. Francf. 1600. Onuphrii Panvinii Bartholomæi Marliani Petri Victoris Topographia Romæ.*

first in beautiful monuments of antiquity, and the last in ravages and repairs of foreigners. There was, however, in both periods, one invincible objection against using Pagan baths as christian baptisteries ; they were always ornamented with heathen deities, and the statuary was an offence both to the morality and the faith of the primitive Christians. They could baptize in the private baths of Jews, because they had no images of God ; and it is not improbable, that in later times succeeding teachers made use of ready constructed baths in Mohammedan countries for the same purpose : it is, however, certain, that Christians, who lived among the Moors, were some of the last who erected baptisteries.



CHAP. XI.

OF MOHAMMEDAN BATHS.

THE Mohammedans in general preserve in their baths a moral purity as well as grandeur of style, and elegance, and chastity of design. Jealous of the honour of one God, not the smallest representation of animal life can be discovered amidst the variety of foliages, grotesques, and strange ornaments. About each arch is a large square of arabesques surrounded with a rim of characters, that are generally quotations from the Koran. That celebrated remnant of the ancient magnificence of the Moorish Kings of Granada in Spain, the great bath of the Alhambra, is entirely in this taste, and is thus described (1) by an excellent judge. "On my first visit, I confess I was struck with amazement, as I stepped over the threshold, to find myself on a sudden transported into a species of fairy-land. The first place you come to, is the court called the *communa*, or *del mesucar*, that is, the *common baths* : an oblong square, with a deep bason of clear water in the middle, two flights of marble steps leading down to the bottom ; on each side a parterre of flowers, and a row of orange trees. Round the court runs a perystile paved with marble ; the arches bear upon very slight pillars, in

(1) Henry Swinburne, Esq. *Travels through Spain*. Letter xxii. Page 177—180.

proportions and style different from all the regular orders of architecture. The ceilings and walls are incrustated with fretwork stucco, so minute and intricate, that the most patient draftsman would find it difficult to follow it, unless he made himself master of the general plan. This would facilitate the operation exceedingly, for all this work is frequently and regularly repeated at certain distances, and has been executed by means of square moulds applied successively, and the parts joined together with the utmost nicety. In every division are Arabick sentences of different lengths, most of them expressive of the following meanings, "there is no conqueror but God;" or, "Obedience and honour to our Lord Abouabdallah." The ceilings are gilt or painted, and time has caused no diminution in the freshness of its colours, though constantly exposed to the air. The lower part of the walls is mosaick, disposed in fantastick knots and festoons. A work so new to me, so exquisitely finished, and so different from all I had ever seen, afforded me the most agreeable sensations, which, I assure you, redoubled every step I took in this magick ground."

Mohammed hath incorporated washings in his religion. "O true believers, says he, come not to prayers when you are drunk, until ye understand what ye say; nor when ye are polluted, until ye wash yourselves. If ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith. When ye prepare yourselves to pray, wash your faces and your hands unto the elbows, and rub your hands and your feet unto the ankles, and if ye be polluted---wash yourselves all over." Mohammed imagined two fountains of water near the gate of his paradise, of the one the blessed are to drink, and in the other they are to wash.

The Mohammedan ablutions differ from those of the ancient Pagans in one respect. The washings of the old heathens were either derived from their own observation, or from the customs of their earliest ancestors, or from a fanciful superstition; but those of Mohammed are evidently copied from Judaism, as a comparison of the several cases that required ablution would easily demonstrate.

Ablutions for sensual, civil, and medical purposes are omitted here ; for they do not belong to an essay on religious rites. It is very probable that the ceremony of washing before worship was a patriarchal custom, and that all nations derived it originally from their common ancestors, in the most remote antiquity ; but this conjecture is not necessary, for the purity of God is an idea so natural, the connexion between his purity and that of his worshippers so obvious and the signifying of these notions by washing the body with pure water so very consequential, that there is nothing wonderful, mysterious, or unaccountable, in a similarity of practice.

CHAP. XII.

OF BAPTISTERIES.

IT should seem then, the primitive Christians in the empire were under a necessity of baptizing in open waters, or, where they had not private baths of their own, of constructing baptisteries for the express purpose of administering baptism. Authors are not agreed about the time when the first baptisteries were built. All agree that the first were, like the manners and conditions of the people, very simple, and merely for use, and that in the end they rose to as high a degree of elegant superstition, as enthusiasm could invent. The catholicks affirm, that the Emperor Constantine built a most magnificent baptistery at Rome, and was himself with his son Crispus baptized there ; and in evidence they produce some ancient records, and shew a princely baptistery at the Lateran to this day (1). Protestants, influenced they think by better authority from authentick history, prove, that the emperor fell sick at Constantinople, went to the hot baths at Helenopolis, and from thence to Nicomedia, and in the suburbs of that city was baptized by Eusebius. They say, he deferred his baptism, as many more did, till he found his constitution breaking up, and himself just going to the grave. Some think he was baptized twice, and departed an Unitarian Anabaptist.

(1) Anastasius --- Baronius --- Durant, &c.

It is not impossible, it may be hoped, to reconcile the difference between learned writers concerning the time, when Christians erected publick edifices. Suicer, Vedelius, and others, affirm, that the primitive Christians had no distinct places of worship for the first three centuries (2). Bingham, Mede, and others deny this, and endeavour to prove that Christians had publick places of worship in the third, second, and even first century (3). Both sides appeal to the fathers, and for this very reason the dispute may be comfortably settled. Every body knows the style of those primitive writers is so full of tropes, figures, and allusions, that half the difficulty of understanding them lies in determining when they speak literally, and when they depart from this first law of all perspicuous and polished writers. In the present case they are charged with directly contradicting one another; for Origen, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, and others, affirm, Christians had no temples: on the contrary, many of equal authority say they had, and what is more extraordinary, Lactantius, and some other fathers, contradict themselves, and say they had, and they had not. The most probable conjecture is, that when they speak of temples among primitive Christians, they mean Christians themselves, especially christian assemblies; for so they had figuratively temples, and they may be very well allowed to expatiate on the worth, and even the majesty of the materials. When they affirm they had no temples, they speak literally of such edifices as the Pagans had, for it is allowed on all hands that they assembled in their own houses, and if there be any faith in ancient monuments, often in obscure and remote places, and particularly in such subterranean caverns as the Italians call catacombs. These cavities are very numerous about three miles from Rome, and about Naples, and many other parts. It is supposed many of them were dug by the inhabitants for materials to build, for here they found both stone and a cement, which the Neapolitans call *La pozzolane*. They shew one at Naples, where S. Januarius is represented as preaching by the light of

(2) Suicer. *Thesaur. Eccles. Nais.* --- Vedel. *Exercitat. in Ignatiæ. Epist. ad Ephes. 4.*

(3) Bingham. *Origines Eccles. Book viii. chap. 1.*

two lamps to some primitive Christians (4). There are now in the kingdom of Naples, not including Sicily, one hundred and twenty-three bishopricks, and the inhabitants of Naples are computed at three hundred and fifty thousand: but they are not ashamed to own this conventicle for their founder and patron. He was martyred at the latter end of the third century, and the liquefaction of his blood is famous all over Europe.

To return. Baptisteries are to be first sought for, where they were first wanted, in towns and cities; for writers of unquestionable authority affirm, that the primitive Christians continued to baptize in rivers, pools and baths, till about the middle of the third century (5). Justin Martyr (6) says, that they went with the catechumens to a place where there was water, and Tertullian (7) adds, that candidates for baptism made a profession of faith twice, once in the church, that is, before the congregation in the place where they assembled to worship, and then again when they came to the water; and it was quite indifferent whether it were the sea or a pool, a lake, a river, or a bath. About the middle of the third century baptisteries began to be built: but there were none within the churches till the sixth century; and it is remarkable that though there were many churches in one city, yet (with a few exceptions) there was but one baptistery. This simple circumstance became in time a title to dominion, and the congregation nearest the baptistery, and to whom in some places it belonged, and by whom it was lent to the other churches, pretended that all the others ought to con-

(4) Anton-Caraccioli. *De sac. Eccles. Neap. monum.* Neap. 1645. P. 189. *Vue des Catacombs des Naples.* Tom. i. Part i. Page 80.

(5) *Writers.* Paulli M. Paciaudii *Antiq. Christian.* Diss. ii. Cap. 1, 2, &c. *De Baptisteriis* ---- Romæ 1755 ---- Walafridi Strabonis, *De reb. Eccles. lib.* Cap. 26. ---- Joan. Steph. Durant *De Rit. Eccles.* Lib. i. Cap. xix. *De Baptisterio.* Parisiis 1631. ---- Josephi Vicecomitis *Observat. Eccles.* Tom. i. Lib. i. Cap. 4. *An baptisteria semper in ecclesia fuerint? Et de more in fluminibus, fontibus, viis, ac carceribus baptizandi.* Mediolani. 1615. ---- Joan Ciampini *Vetera Monumenta.* Cap. xxv. *De Ecclesia S. Joannis in fonte.* &c. Romæ 1690. ---- Mazocchi *Diss. Hist. De Cathed. Eccl. Neapolitana semper unica.* Neapoli 1751. ---- Du Cangii. *Glossar. Baptisterium* ---- Sulpicii Severi *Dial.* ii. 5 ---- Bingham's *Antiquities.* Book viii. *Of the Baptistery.* Cum multis aliis. *De sacris christianorum.*

(6) Justini Mart. *Apol.* ii.

(7) Tertulliani *De baptismo.* Cap. 4. Stagno, Flumine, Fonte, Lacu, Alveo.

sider themselves as dependent on them (8). When the fashion of dedication came up, the church that owned the baptistery was generally dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, and assumed the title of S. John *in fonte*, or S. John *ad fontes*, that is, the church near or at the baptistery. It is common now for Baptist congregations in large cities to avoid the expense of erecting baptisteries, and to borrow for the time of the congregation that has one : but they would think the teacher of that congregation a bad reasoner, if he were to infer from this that he was bishop of all the people in the city, that the teachers of other congregations were his clergy, and that the congregations themselves were obliged to believe and practise what he ordered under pain of a fine, an imprisonment, or death, as he in his wisdom should think most fit for the glory of God, and the good of the church of S. John *in fonte*. This, however, hath been done, and it hath been effected by proving what was very true, that the noble and splendid cities of Florence, Pisa, Bologna, Parma, Milan, and many others in Italy, had but one baptistery in each, and by inferring what was very false, that the incumbent of the baptismal church was therefore the parent and lord of all the rest. These baptismal churches were generally built near rivers, or waters, as those of Milan, Naples, Ravenna, Verona, and many more (9). In later times the bishop of the baptismal church, having obtained secular power, granted licenses for other churches to erect baptisteries, taking care, however, to maintain his own dominion over the people.

By a baptistery, which must not be confounded with a modern font, is to be understood an octagon building, with a cupola roof, resembling the dome of a cathedral, adjacent to a church, but no part of it (1). All the middle part of this building was one large hall capable of containing a great multitude of people ; the sides were parted off, and divided into rooms, and, in

(8) Greg. Nazianzeni *Orat.* xl. - - - Onuphrii Panvinii *De præcip. urb. Rom. Basilic. de Baptister. lateran, cap.* - - - Muratorii *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. i. Part. 2. Pippini *leges i.*

(9) Paciaudius *ut supra.*

(1) Joan. Ciampini *Vet Monumenta.* Cap. xxv. *Baptisterum Ravennatense octangulare. Olim enim baptisteria octogonali forma constructa fuisse, &c.*

some, rooms were added without-side, in the fashion of cloisters. In the middle of the great hall was an octagon bath, which, strictly speaking, was the baptistery, and from which the whole building was denominated. This was called the pool, the pond, the place to swim in, besides a great number of other names (2) of a figurative nature, taken from the religious benefits which were supposed to be connected with baptism; such as the laver of regeneration, the luminary, and many more of the same parentage.

Some had been natural rivulets, before the buildings were erected over them, and the pool was contrived to retain water sufficient for dipping, and to discharge the rest (3). Others were supplied by pipes, and the water was conveyed into one or more of the side rooms; for as they often (if not always) baptized naked, decency required that the baptism of the women should be performed apart from that of the men. Some of the surrounding rooms were vestries, others school-rooms, both for the instruction of youth, and for transacting the affairs of the church; and councils have been held in the great halls of these buildings (4). It was necessary they should be capacious, for as baptism was administered only twice a year, the candidates were numerous, and the spectators more numerous than they. Baronius relates an anecdote of a little boy falling through the pressure of the crowd into a baptistery in Rome, and being drowned (5). This is very credible: but that, after he had lain an hour at the bottom, he was restored to life by Damasus, is not quite so likely. It is an opinion generally received, and very probably, that these buildings took some of their names from the memorable pool of Bethesda, which was surrounded with porches, or cloistered walks. The Syriack and Persick versions call Bethesda, a place of baptistery, or, lying aside Eastern idioms, plainly a bath (6). The Greek name *κολυμβηθρα* signifies a swimming place, a place to swim in; and the Latin name *piscina* simply signifies a dipping, or diving place. It is from the gram-

(2) Paciaudius *ut supra* --- Durant, &c. &c. (3) Paciaudius *ut sup.*

(4) Suicer. Thesaur Eccl. voce *φολιστηριον*. (5) *Annales. Ann. 384.*

(6) M. Mich, Arnoldi sub Frischmutho *dissert. de Piscina Bethes* --- Wendeleri *Dissert. de Piscina Bethes.*

matrical sense of these words that many learned men suppose the pool of Bethesda, which is said to be by the sheep *market*, or rather by the sheep *gate*, to have been a place where sheep were washed before they were offered to the priests for sacrifice. Whether these names were given to christian baptisteries because they were built after the model of Bethesda, which is not an improbable conjecture ; or whether they were so called from a fanciful parallel between Bethesda and a baptistery, is not certain. A genuine father would readily find many resemblances between halt, sick and impotent people and the fallen sons of Adam ; the nature of sheep and the qualities of Christians ; washing in a pool before sacrifice on a mountain, and baptism in this valley of tears before ascending to the Lamb in the midst of the throne. The first is the most likely, because a baptistery was like Bethesda, a pool, in a court surrounded with cloisters : but the last is not improbable ; for allegory can do any thing ; and certain it is, Tertullian, Optatus, and others, who called themselves fish, ran the parallel too far. “ You,” says Tertullian to some who denied baptism, “ you act naturally, for you are serpents, and serpents love deserts, and avoid water ; but we, like fishes, are born in the water, and are safe by continuing in it.”

There were in process of time baptisteries at most of the principal churches of Rome, as at those of St. Peter, St. Laurence, St. Agnes, St. Pancras, and others (7). The church of St. Agnes is a small rotund, and it is said a baptistery adjacent was erected, for the baptism of Constantia, sister of the Emperor Constantine (8). Some think the church itself was the baptistery. The most ancient is that at St. John Lateran (9). Such baptisteries were erected, separate from the churches, in all the principal cities of Italy, as Florence, Ravenna, Milan, Pisa, Parma, and the rest ; but in one point these cities differed from that at Rome : at Rome there were many : in other Italian cities only one at first ; in the middle ages two, an unitarian and a trinitarian ; and in modern times only one, and that, the trinitarian or catholick. Some are yet standing : the memory of

(7) Johan. Mabillon. *Iter. Ital.* Tom. i. xxv.

(8) Ciampini *Vet. Mon.* Cap. xxvi.

(9) Giovanni. Villani *Storia Fiorenza*, 1587. Lib. i. Cap. lx.

others is preserved in records, and monumental fragments ; and the place of others is now supplied by fonts within the churches. The convenience extended the custom of erecting baptisteries, and improving them. Linus built one at Besancon over a stream, which Onnasius the tribune gave him for the purpose. That at Aquileia was placed close to the river Alsa, and all were set either over running water, or near it, or so that pipes conveyed it into the pool. The octagon form was either suggested by the form of the principal room of a Roman bath, or of a Gaulish temple at Milan : and the latter is the most probable. If so the Gauls are the remote ancestors ; and Milan the immediate parent of octagon baptisteries. It doth not now seem necessary to investigate the history of that of St. John Lateran at Rome. Some attribute it to the Emperor Constantine, others to different Pontiffs : but all must and do allow, that the primitive edifice hath yielded to time and accidents, and that the present baptistery, though very ancient, is not the original building.



CHAP. XIII.

OF THE BAPTISTERY OF ST. SOPHIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

CONSTANTINE the Roman Emperor, soon after he had given full liberty to Christians, and embraced the profession of Christianity himself, removed the seat of empire from Rome in Italy to Byzantium in Thrace ; and having enlarged, enriched, and adorned it, solemnly conferred on it his own name, and called it Constantinople, that is, Constantine's city. It remains one of the most magnificent cities of the East to this day. For ages it was the seat of the eastern or Greek empire, and it is now the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and from its admirable port, is often simply called the Porte.

Here his imperial majesty erected the spacious and splendid church of St. Sophia. Succeeding emperors amplified and adorned it. Justinian at an immense cost rebuilt it, and his artists, with elegance and magnificence, distributed variegated marbles of exquisite beauty, gold, silver, ivory, mosaick work, and endless

ornaments, so as to produce the most agreeable and lasting effects on all beholders.

The baptistery was one of the appendages of this spacious palace, something in the style of a convocation-room in a cathedral. It was very large, and councils have been held in it, and it was called *Μεγα φωτιστήριον*, the great Illuminatory (1). In the middle was the bath, in which baptism was administered; it was supplied by pipes, and there were outer rooms for all concerned in the baptism of immersion, the only baptism of the place.

Every thing in the church of St. Sophia goes to prove, that baptism was administered by trine immersion, and only to instructed persons: the canon laws, the officers, the established rituals, the Lent sermons of the prelates, and the baptism of the archbishops themselves.

1. *Canon law.* The Greeks divided their institutes into two classes, the scriptural and the traditional. The division was merely speculative, for they thought both equally binding. Basil gives an instance in baptism. (2). The scripture says, *Go ye, teach and baptize*, and tradition adds, *Baptize by trine immersion*, and "if any bishop or presbyter shall administer baptism not by three dippings but by one, let him be punished with deprivation (3)." At what time this canon was made, and by whom it was first called an apostolical canon, is uncertain; but it was early received for law by the established Greek church, it was in full force when the cathedral of St. Sophia was built, and no person durst baptize any other way in the Sophian baptistery.

2. *The officers.* In the church of St. Sophia there were eighty presbyters, one hundred and fifty deacons, seventy subdeacons, and forty deaconesses, beside catechists and others. A catechist was an ecclesiastical tutor, whose immediate business it was by instructing catechumens in the principles of religion, to prepare them during the thirty days of Lent for baptism at Easter. Two sorts of women were called deaconesses

(1) Du Fresne in Paul. Silent. *Descript. S. Sophiæ* notæ. lxxxii. *Baptisterium*.

(2) Op. *De sancto spiritu*. Cap. xxviii.

(3) *Canon Apost. l. Εἰ τις ἐπισκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος μὴ τρία βαπτισμὰτα, &c.* Zonaræ *Com. in Can. Apost.*

in the oriental and Greek churches. The first were the wives of deacons; for all church officers formerly communicated their titles to their wives, and even to their mistresses. Thus Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, kept a Venetian lady named Pascha di Riveri, by whom he had children, and she was called patriarchess (4). The wives of bishops, presbyters, deacons and subdeacons, were called bishopesses, presbyteresses, deaconesses, and subdeaconesses (5). The second are deaconesses properly so called, because they officiated in the services of religion, and chiefly in the administration of baptism to their own sex (6). The office of deaconesses continued in all churches, eastern and western, till the eleventh century, then it fell into disuse, first in the Roman church (7), and then in the Greek (8), but it continued longer in the oriental churches (9); and the Nestorian hath deaconesses to this day (1). The duration of these female officers is allowed to afford probable proof of the duration of the baptism of adults by immersion (2).

3. *Rituals*. All the ancient Greek rituals have instructed catechumens for the subjects of baptism, and trine immersion for the mode (3).

4. *Lent-sermons*. The archbishop of St. Sophia says, they baptized at Easter, and the forty days preceding were devoted to religion. They abstained from certain foods, as fish and fowl, they went to church every day, the serious part of them laid aside publick amusements, the catechists prepared catechumens for baptism, the prelates preached on the subject, and the two following extracts from the discourses of Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, may serve to shew both how and whom they

(4) *Gesta Dei per Francoos: sive oriental. expedit. hist.* Tom. i. Hano-viæ 1611, Præfat.

(5) *Assemani Bibliot. Orient.* Tom. iii. Part ii. p. 847. *De Diaconissis*.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Ivenini. *Dissert. apud* Asseman. Post annum Christi millesimum non speciali alicujus concilii decreto, sed sensim sine sensu evanuisse, &c.

(8) *Asseman. ut. sup.*

(9) *Ibid.* Durant tamen diaconissarum officium in ecclesia Syriaca diutius, quam in Græca.

(1) *Josephi Indorum Metropolitan. pontifical. Nestorianor. an. Christ.* 1559. *ut sup.*

(2) Dr. Rees's *Cyclopædia on the word Deaconess*.

(3) Goar. *Eucholog. sive rituale Græcorum.* Paris. 1647. . . . Theoph. Hiero-Tzanphurnar. *Menologia. Venetiis.* 1639.

baptized in the Greek established church in the fourth century (4).

“It is necessary to the perfection of a christian life, that we should imitate Christ, not only such holy actions and dispositions, as lenity, modesty, and patience, which he exemplified in his life, but also his death, as Paul saith, *I am a follower of Christ, I am conformable to his death, if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead.* How can we be placed in a condition of likeness to his death? By being *buried with him in baptism.* What is the form of this burial, and what benefits flow from an imitation of it? First, the course of former life is stopped. No man can do this, unless he be *born again*, as the Lord hath said. Regeneration, as the word itself imports, is the beginning of a new life; therefore he that begins a new life must put an end to his former life. Such a person resembles a man got to the end of a race, who, before he sets off again, turns about, pauses, and rests a little: so in a change of life it seems necessary that a sort of death should intervene, putting a period to the past, and giving a beginning to the future. How are we to go down with him into the grave? By imitating the *burial* of Christ in baptism; for the bodies of the baptized are in a sense buried in water. For this reason the apostle speaks figuratively of baptism, as a *laying aside the works of the flesh: ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ, buried with him in baptism*, which in a manner cleanses

(4) Chrysost. *op. Edit. de Montsaucon.* Tom. ii. p. 445. Tom. i. p. 611. Tom. ii. p. 42, 77. Tom. iv. p. 8, 39. Tom. ii. p. 224, &c. *Catacheses ad illuminandos.* --- Tom. xiii. *Synopsis eorum, que in operibus Chrysostomi observantur.* Diatrib. i. Baptismi ritum ita describit Chrysostomus: qui baptizandi erant per dies triginta ad sanctum illud lavacrum apparabantur: antequam tingerentur hæc verba proferebant: *Abrenuncio tibi Satana, et pompe tue et cultui tuo, et conjungor tibi, Christe, illis vero addere jubebantur, Credo in resurrectionem mortuorum.* Posteaque ter in unda mergebantur.

TRANSLATION.

The works of Chrysostom edited by Montsaucon. Vol. ii. p. 445, &c. Catechetical instructions for those who are about to be illuminated. Vol. xiii. *Synopsis of those things* which appear in the works of Chrysostom. The baptismal rite is thus described by this Father: The candidates for baptism spent thirty days in preparing for that sacred bath: before they were baptized they made the following confession: *I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp and thy worship, and am joined to thee, O Christ: to which they were ordered to subjoin, I believe in the resurrection of the dead.* After which they were three times immersed in the flood. Editor.

the soul from the impurity of its natural carnal affections ; agreeably to this saying, *wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.* This is not like the Jewish purifications, washing after every defilement, but we have experienced it to be one cleansing baptism, one death to the world, and one resurrection from the dead, of both which baptism is a figure. For this purpose the Lord, the giver of life, hath instituted baptism a representation of both life and death ; the water overflowing as an image of death, the spirit animating as an earnest of life. Thus we see how water and the spirit are united. Two things are proposed in baptism ; to put an end to a life of sin, lest it should issue in eternal death ; and to animate the soul to a life of future sanctification. The water exhibits an image of death, receiving the body as into a sepulchre : the spirit renews the soul, and we rise from a death of sin into a newness of life. This is to be *born from above of water and the spirit* : as if by the water we were put to death, and by the operation of the spirit brought to life. By *three immersions*, therefore, and by three invocations, we administer the important ceremony of baptism, that death may be represented in a figure, and that the souls of the baptized may be purified by divine knowledge. If there be any benefit in the water, it is not from the water, but from the presence of the spirit ; for baptism doth not *save us by putting away the filth of the flesh*, but by *the answer of a good conscience toward God.*"

"What time for baptism so proper as Easter ? - - Let us receive the benefit of the resurrection when we commemorate the resurrection of Christ. For this the church lifts up her voice, and calls from far her sons, that those, whom she once brought forth, she may now bring forth again ; and feed with substantial food them, whom she hath hitherto fed with the milk of the first elements of religion. John preached the baptism of repentance, and all Judea went out to him - - - One John preached, and all the people repented : but you a prophet calls, saying, *wash and be clean* ; you the psalmist addresses, when he says, *look to the Lord, and be enlightened* ; to you the apostles say, *repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Holy*

Ghost ; the Lord himself invites you, *come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* All these passages have been read to you to-day. Why do you delay ? Why do you deliberate ? What do you wait for ? Instructed in the doctrine of Christ from your infancy, are you not yet acquainted with it(5) ? Having been *always learning*, will you *never come to the knowledge of the truth* ? Making experiments all your life, will you continue your trials to old age ? when then will you be a Christian ? When shall we acknowledge you for our own ? Last year you deferred it till this ; do you intend now to put it off till the next ?” It seems clear that the homilies of Archbishop Basil were addressed, not to Pagans old or young, but to the children of Christians, whom he calls the church---that the Greek church of those times did not force a profession of Christianity upon their children, but conducted them to baptism by instruction and argument----that baptism was administered by trine immersion----and that, as the sermons of their bishops were intended to persuade, so the lessons for the day read openly in the church, were intended to explain and enforce the subject of baptism. Nothing like this is to be found in the Lent-sermons of modern times, and a translation of the Lent-homilies of the ancient Greek bishops could not be read to any congregation of modern Christians without great absurdity, except to Baptist assemblies, and there they would be heard in raptures for their singular propriety and beauty.

5. *Baptism of the archbishops of St. Sophia.* Nazianzen, Nectarius, and Chrysostom, presided in succession over the church of Constantinople at the close of the fourth century, and the beginning of the fifth.

In the year three hundred and twenty-five, the church of Nazianzum, a little city in Cappadocia, being destitute of a pastor, one Gregory was baptized and elected bishop. Gregory and his wife Nonna were both eminent for piety, and Nonna, like Hannah the mother of Samuel, by solemn vows, dedicated her children to God before they were born (6). While Gregory was bishop of this church he had a son, whom he named after him-

(5) Homilia xiii. *Exhort. ad Baptismum ex νηπιου του νεαληγουμενος*, &c.

(6) Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xix.

self, and who afterward became so famous as to eclipse his father, and to be known by the name of St. Gregory Nazianzen (7). His father gave him an excellent education at Athens and Antioch. While he resided at Athens he contracted an intimacy with Basil, which continued, though with a little interruption through life. These two youths were so intent on the acquisition of learning, and the duties of religion, that they knew only two streets in the city, the one led to the church, and the other to the schools. When Gregory had finished his studies, he returned home to his father. He had always been a catechumen at Athens, and had attended the catechetical lectures of the church there : but on his return he was baptized, joined the church, and became an assistant to his father, being near thirty years of age (8). Some time after his return from college he married Theosebia the sister of Basil : but soon quitted her to become a monk (9). In process of time he was preferred to the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. Nazianzen at length grew tired of his office, and withdrawing into Cappadocia along with many other bishops, disgusted like himself with the turbulence and futility of councils, was succeeded in the archiepiscopal throne by Nectarius (1).

Nectarius was a native of Tarsus, and when Gregory Nazianzen quitted Constantinople he held an office at court. He was a dissipated gentleman on the list of catechumens, and availed himself of a happy moment, and got himself elected patriarch of Constantinople by a corrupted majority of the council then sitting, before he had been baptized (2). He was actually baptized after his election, and for many years filled his high office with dignity and propriety. He was succeeded by John Chrysostom.

Chrysostom was a Syrian, born at Antioch in the year three hundred and forty-seven. His father, Secundus, was a man of high rank in the army (3). His mother's name was Anthusa : both were Christians before John was born. His father died while he was

(7) Basil. *Op.* tom. iii. *Benedict. Parisiis*, 1730. *Vita Basil.* cap. i.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) Muratorii. *Anecdota Græca.* p. 133.

(1) Greg. Naz. *Epist. ad Procop.*

(2) Sever. Binnii *Not. in Concil. Const. æcumen. An.* 381.

(3) Montfaucon. *Chrysostomi vit.* Op. tom. xiii.

in the cradle, and his mother, though she was only twenty years of age when she was left a widow, continued in that state, and devoted herself wholly to the educating of this her only son. She provided tutors for him in several branches of literature, under whom he profited so much as to become one of the most learned, eloquent, and accomplished young gentlemen of the age. Happily for him, while he frequented the bar for business, and the theatres for pleasure, as others of his rank did, he had an intimate acquaintance named Basil, who, being himself an eminent Christian, proposed to him the truths of Christianity, and pressed home on his conscience the purity and felicity of its morals. John felt, avoided places of publick amusement, altered his dress, forsook the bar, and commenced an intimacy with Meletius, the pious bishop of Antioch. After three years acquaintance with Meletius, who was extremely fond of him, and who thoroughly instructed him in the religion of Jesus, he was baptized, and admitted into the church, being twenty-eight years of age. In a church where the archbishops themselves were baptized at an age of maturity, it is not imaginable that adult baptism was accounted an impropriety.

It may not be improper to add here the baptism of Basil, the favourite of Nazianzen at Athens, and afterwards archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Nazianzen discovered the soundness of his understanding and the refinement of his taste by selecting Basil for his bosom friend at college. No Christian had descended from a more honourable ancestry, no youth had received a better domestick education, none excelled him in beauty of person and elegance of manners, none went beyond him in sweetness of disposition, none equalled him in future life. It was with great reason that Erasmus preferred him before all his contemporaries, and named him, not as his countrymen did Basil the Great, but Basil the Greatest; for he is the best writer of all the Greek fathers (4). Basil descended from two opulent families of Pontus and Cappadocia. His grandfathers and great grandfathers, being Christians, had suffered immense losses in times of persecution, and

(4) *Erasmi Epist. ad Sadolet.*

some of them had been martyred. His father Basil was eminent at the bar in Cappadocia. By his lady Emmelia he had ten children, three of whom were bishops. Basil was the eldest. When he was an infant he was extremely ill, and in danger of death. His father was cut to the heart, he could not help praying for the life of his child ; and recollecting how the tender Jesus had said to a man in his condition, *Go thy way, thy son liveth*, he hoped for his recovery. Basil recovered, and was committed to the care of his grandmother Macrina, who resided at a village in Pontus (5). This good lady took all possible care to instil into his mind the religious principles of her bishop, Gregory of Neocæsarea, whom she chiefly admired. From hence in early age he was taken home, and instructed both in literature and religion by his mother and his father, who then resided at Neocæsarea. Here he profited very much in learning, and here he imbibed the principles of Christianity under successive bishops, whose lectures he attended as a catechumen. His father sent him first to Cæsarea, then to Constantinople, and lastly to Athens, where he completed his education. Dianius bishop of Cæsarea was the teacher whom Basil most esteemed. By him he was baptized in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and admitted into the church. Here he performed the office of a reader of the holy scriptures. When Dianius died, the church elected Eusebius, a magistrate of eminent virtue and knowledge, to succeed him. He was only a catechumen when he was elected : but a neighbouring bishop baptized him, and him Basil first assisted, and then succeeded.

The baptism, then, of the Greek church, as well as of St. Sophia the Metropolitan, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was that of instructed adults, whether Pagans or children of Christians, by trine immersion. It would be easy to make similar remarks on more eastern churches, as on that at Antioch, the capital of Syria, where Chrysostom presided before he was preferred to the see of Constantinople, and of which he says, the city contained two hundred thousand souls, and half were Christians ; on that at Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, where Athanasius was archbishop ; on that at Jerusa-

lem where Cyril presided, and on many more, for all their baptisteries resembled that at St. Sophia, and their baptism was that of believers by trine immersion. So far were the Greeks and other Easterns from imagining that the word baptism signified sprinkling.

CHAP. XIV.

OF THE LATERAN BAPTISTERY AT ROME.

THE injustice and cruelty of the Emperor Nero fell so heavy upon the people of Rome, that several wise and virtuous citizens conspired to rid the empire of him. Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, was in such a conspiracy (1). Being discovered, he was put to death, and his estate on mount Cœlius was confiscated to the crown (2). By various monuments since discovered, it is supposed Vespasian and other emperors resided in the Lateran mansion, and made it an imperial palace (3). The Emperor Constantine gave this old building for a sort of parsonage-house, or rather an episcopal palace, to Sylvester, bishop of Rome; and among other improvements converted the family bath into a baptistery (4).

Catholick historians say, Constantine adorned this baptistery with many images of gold and silver, and endowed it with a handsome income (5). However that might be, succeeding bishops of Rome repaired and adorned the baptistery; and Hilary, who was elected pope in the year four hundred and sixty-one, and held his office seven years, added four oratories or chapels to it (6).

A traveller entering Rome by the gate *Del Popolo* must go up the street *Strada Felice*, till he arrive at the church of St. John Lateran. Turning in and passing along through the church, he must go out at the door behind the great choir, which lets him into a court surrounded with walls and buildings. On the left hand

(1) Taciti *Annal.* Lib. xv. Cap. 49.

(2) Juvenal. *Sat.* x. 15.

(3) Famiani Nardini *Roma vetus.* Lib. iii. Cap. vii. Cœlius apud Grævium. Tom. iv.

(4) Ciampini *De Sacris Ædificiis a constantino exstructis*, cap. i.

(5) Platinæ et Onuphrii *Vit. Pontif. Romanor.* Colon. 1568. Silvest. i. vit.

(6) *Pontiff. Vitæ.* Hilarius i.

is a porch supported by two marble pillars, which leads into the octagon edifice, called the baptistery. On entering, he will observe eight large polygonal pillars of porphyry support the roof, and there is a spacious walk all round between them and the wall (7). In the centre of the floor, under the cupola, is the baptistery properly so called, lined with marble, with three steps down into it, and about five Roman palms, that is, thirty seven inches and a half deep; for the Roman palm is seven inches and a half English measure (8). Some antiquaries are of opinion that this baptistery was deeper formerly (9). Perhaps it might before the baptism of youths was practised, but this, all things considered, is the most desirable of all depths for baptizing persons of a middle size; and in a bath kept full as this was by a constant supply of fresh water, the gage was just, and any number might be baptized with ease and speed.

The true standard depth of water for baptizing an individual is something less than two-thirds of the height, be that what it may; but the tallest man may be baptized in the Lateran depth by only setting his right foot forward, and by bending his knees a little to lower his height, while the ceremony of bowing him in the water is performed.

It would be foreign to the present purpose to examine all the ornaments of this beautiful antique; it should however, be observed, that the adjoining chapels built by Hilary for the use of administrators and catechumens were appendages to the baptistery, and are as it were inserted into it (1). That on the right hand, dedicated to St. John the evangelist, hath an elegant roof of Mosaick work in the most chaste and delicate style; and as a proof of its great antiquity, there is not an human animal represented, or even a single cross (2). Never was a prettier pattern, for nothing can be more soft and satisfactory. Birds and fruits are not crowded, but lightly distributed, in various segments, and foliage and flowers are seen curved and wreathed in the prettiest style in the world. In the centre, surrounded with

(7) Ciampini *Vet. Monument. cap. xxvi. De Lateranensi Baptisterio.*

(8) F. Rossi *Ritratto di Roma Moderna. Roma 1645. Di S. Gio. Battista in fonte.* Jos. Vicecom. *De Baptisteriis.*

(9) Vicecom *ubi sup.*

(1) Ciampini *ubi supra.*

(2) Nulla humana figura in eo fornice reperiatur.

a laurel crown, stands one innocent lamb, intended to remind catechumens, say antiquaries, of what John the Baptist said concerning *the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world*: a proper lesson when they were preparing to be baptized in the adjoining hall. At the opposite end of the baptismal hall is a second door, on which are these words, *Bishop Hilary, a servant of God, dedicates this to blessed John the Baptist*. Over the door within side, cut in a fillet of veined marble, are these words, *Lord, I love the place where thine honour dwelleth*. This chapel resembles the other, except that the roof is a different pattern though in the same taste, and in the corners of two little windows are the figures of the four evangelists, with their hieroglyphicks, and with another proof of their antiquity, the gospel open in their hands.

Learned men have long disputed, and they have not yet determined whether Constantine were baptized in this baptistery. Such as credit the pontifical affirm he was; such as follow Eusebius say, he was not: but Eusebius doth not say he was not baptized at Rome, although he doth say he was baptized at Nicomedia. Cardinal Baronius endeavours to prove, by Eusebius himself, that the emperor was baptized before the pretended baptism at Nicomedia; and, what is more to the purpose, he brings probable evidence from disinterested pagan writers of the time. There is a third opinion, which is probably the only clue to this mystery, that is, that he was baptized at Rome into the faith of the Trinity, and rebaptized at Nicomedia by Eusebius into the Arian faith. If so, the first christian emperor was truly and literally an Arian Anabaptist.

There is a fabulous history of the baptism of the Emperor Constantine which reports, that the emperor was afflicted with a leprosy; that the pagan priests advised him to bathe in a laver filled with the blood of innocent children; that he procured children for the purpose, whom, when the priests were about kill, he returned to their parents, being moved by the tears of their mothers: that the apostles Peter and Paul appeared to him in a vision; and directed him to send for Bishop Sylvester, who would shew him the pool of piety, in which, while he should immerse him three times, his health should be restored: that he obeyed the

heavenly vision, and that Sylvester, after he had blessed the font, purified him from his leprosy by trine immersion (3). In this manner, forgers of books were obliged to describe baptism in order to give an air of probability to their productions.

To prevent confusion in a publick worship, conducted by a great many persons, as well as to preserve uniformity, prudence early suggested to the hierarchies of Greece and Rome the use of ordinals, marking every person's part, his place, his dress, his words, and all his actions and gestures. Copies went from church to church as tunes do now, and at length ordinals obtained a general likeness and displayed an infinite variety.

Father Mabillon, having observed that the vulgar Roman ordo was a confused collection of several ordines, collected with infinite pains the most ancient copies, and collated, corrected, and published sixteen. Various as these are, the first being of the ninth, and supposed to describe the seventh or eighth century, and the last of the fourteenth (4), the order of baptism differs much less than could have been imagined; for, in regard to the mode, there is not a trace of sprinkling or pouring; it is dipping, and in some, trine immersion; and to this manner of baptizing every word agrees, as going down into the baptistery, coming up out of it, undressing, dressing, napkins, vestments, and so on. In regard to the subjects, although they are called infants, as all people to be baptized were, yet it is clear the rituals were composed for the baptism of minors, on their own profession of faith. It was a great misfortune that the monks set off in the name of the Holy Ghost; for it was this that brought their successors into such an awkward situation, that when the times required alterations it was impossible either to refuse a revisal, or openly to avow it.

On the Tuesday of the third week in Lent (5), the priests in the public congregation gave notice: "Dearly beloved brethren, you know the day of scrutiny is at hand (6), in which our elect may be divinely instructed:

(3) Joan. Sichardi *confessio Constantini imp. Coloniae* 1569. Ipse tibi piscinam pietatis ostendat, in qua dum te tertio meruerit, omnis te valetudo ista deserat lepræ.

(4) *Mus. Ital.* Tom. ii. *Præfat.*

(5) *Ordo Roman.* N. vii *apud* Mabillon.

(6) *Scrutinii diem, Dilectissimi fratres, quo electi nostri divinitus instruantur imminere cognoscite, &c.*

you will therefore vouchsafe to attend with fervent devotion at three o'clock next Thursday : that we may endeavour to perform, by the assistance of the holy God, that heavenly mystery, by which the devil with his pomp is destroyed, and the gate of the kingdom of heaven set open." When the time appointed was come, the infants appeared, and an acolothist took down their names, or the names of their attendants. This done, the acolothist called over the list ; John such a one, and so on, and placed the boys on the right hand, and the girls on the left. Then the presbyter proceeded to crossing, praying, exorcising salt, and giving it to the children. Then the children withdrew, and the service of the day proceeded. At length the priest sat down, and the deacon went to the door and called, "Let the catechumens come forward." They did so, and the acolothist called over the list, and placed them as before. Presently the deacon said ; "Ye elect males, kneel down and pray." The children did so. When the deacon thought they had prayed long enough, he cried, "Rise. finish your prayers altogether, and say Amen : " and they all answered, Amen. Then the same was repeated with the girls : Ye elect females, kneel down and pray, and so on, as before. Next the priest proceeded to exorcism and benedictions, and in the end dismissed them by saying, Return, and come again to the scrutiny on Saturday, and be at church in time, John, Thomas, Mary, and so forth. Between this day and Easter, six times more were added, for the whole scrutiny included seven days, in honour of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost. The whole was a course of tuition mixed with superstitious usages. Many passages of scripture were read ; as, *Take of the best fruits in the land, and carry down the man a present ; and take also your brother, and God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother and Benjamin - - - - And he lift up his eyes, and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, is this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me ? God be gracious unto thee, my son - - - - Hearken diligently unto me, and eat you that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me : hear, and your soul shall live : and so on. Seek ye the*

Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon - - - There were many lepers in Israel - - - In the beginning was the word - - - John bare witness of him - - - Now in the fifteenth year of Tiberius - - - The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God, as it is written in the prophets, behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. These, and several more such lessons, were read to the children, and the deacon often cried between times, "Stand still and hear diligently. Mind and observe your order (7)." On the last day of the scrutiny the priest gave notice of the time and place of baptism.

As there were several baptismal churches at Rome (8), that of St. John Lateran, the mistress if not the mother of all the rest, where the pope was bishop, and where himself officiated, is the most proper to be seen on the present occasion. Holy Saturday, the day before Easter, was the chief day of baptizing (9). The prime, or the first canonical hour of that day, began at midnight : and three hours were spent in singing psalms, saying prayers, and reading homilies (1). At three in the morning the catechumens, who had been scrutinized, attended, and various ceremonies were performed, as crossing (2), blessing, catechizing, taking the renunciation, and so on ; and in the end the archdeacon dismissed them with these words : "My dear children, return to your

(7) *Adnunciat Diaconus, dicens : State cum silentio, audientes intente.*

(8) *Ordo Roman.* xi. n. 43.

(9) *Ordines Missal. Breviar. De Sabbato Sancto.* Ord. Rom. i. vii. 46.

(1) *Missal. Sabbato sancto.*

(2) *Ibid.* Sacerdos tangit de oleo sancto scapulas et pectus, et dicit : *Abrenuncias Satane ? R. Abrenuncio. Et omnibus operibus ejus ? R. Abrenuncio. Et omnibus pompis ejus ? R. Abrenuncio. Ego te lino oleo salutis, &c.* Postea dicuntur eis ab archidiacono : *Orate electi, flectite genua.* Et post paululum dicit : *Levate, &c.* Dicit Diaconus ; *filiis charissimi reverentini, &c.*

TRANSLATION.

The priest applies the holy oil to the head and breast of the catechumen, and says ; *Dost thou renounce Satan ? Ans. I do renounce him. And all his works ? I do renounce them. And all his pomps ? Ans. I do renounce them. I anoint thee with the oil of salvation, &c.* Afterwards the archdeacon thus addresses them : *Ye elect, pray, bend the knee* And after a short pause, he says, *Rise, &c.* The deacon then says : *Dear beloved children, return, &c.* [Editor.]

places, and wait for the hour in which the grace of God may be communicated to you by baptism." At nine the pontiff, attended by a great number of prelates and clergy, went to the sacristy, and after they had put on the proper habits, proceeded in silent order into the church (3). Then the lessons for the day were read, and several benedictions performed. When this part was finished, his holiness with his attendants proceeded to the baptistry, the choir (4) singing all the way the forty-second psalm : *As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God ;* and so on. This ended at the porch of the first chapel, where his holiness sat down. Then the cardinals presented themselves before him, and one, in the name of the rest, prayed for his benediction, which was bestowed (5). This was repeated thrice, and immediately after the last, the pontiff added : *Go ye, and baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* The cardinals having received the mission, withdrew immediately, and mounting their horses proceeded each to his own station to baptize. The pope went on to the baptismal-hall, and, after various lessons and psalms, consecrated the baptismal water. Then, while all were adjusting themselves in their proper places, his holiness retired into the adjoining chapel of St. John the evangelist, attended by some acoluthists, who took off his habits, put on him a pair of waxed drawers, and a surplice, and then returned to the baptistry (6). There three children were waiting, which was the number usually baptized by the pontiff. Silence was ordered. When the first was presented, he asked, What is his name (7) ? The attendant answered, John. Then he proceeded thus : John, dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, the Creator of

(3) *Hora nona ingrediuntur sacrarium pontifex.*

(4) *Mab. in ord. Rom. comment. xv. De ritibus Sabbati sancti.*

(5) *Ord. Rom. xi. 43.*

(6) *Ord. Rom. x. 22.*

(7) *Ord. Rom. x. 22. Preparatus vero. regreditur ad fontes, et præsentatis sibi infantibus, Johanne scilicet, sive Petro et Maria, interroget offerentem. Quis vocaris ? Resp, Johannes. Inculcat et dicit, Johannes, credis in Deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terræ ? R. Credo, &c. - - - Interrog. et dicit : Johannes vis baptizari ? R. volo. Tunc baptizat eum sub trina immersione, sanctam trinitatem semel tantum invocando, sic, Et ego te baptizo in nomine patris ; et immergat semel ; et filii, et immergat secundo ; et spiritus sancti, et immergat tertio ; ut habeas vitam æternam, R. Amen. Similiter Petrum et Mariam.*

of heaven and earth? I do believe. Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was born and suffered death? I do believe. Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life eternal? I do believe. John, do you desire to be baptized? I do desire it. I baptize thee in the name of the Father, dipping him once, and of the Son, dipping him a second time, and of the Holy Ghost, dipping him a third time. The pontiff added, may you obtain eternal life! John answered, Amen. The same was then repeated to Peter and Mary, the other two. Attendants with napkins received the children, and retired to dress them (8). The attendants of his holiness threw a mantle over his surplice, and he retired. The rest of the catechumens were baptized by deacons, who in clean habits, and without shoes, went down into the water (9), and performed the ceremony as the pontiff had set them an example. After all was over (1), and the children dressed, they waited on the pope in an adjacent room, where he confirmed them, and delivered to each chrism and a white garment. The part relative to the habits of the pope is taken from the twelfth ordinal in the collection of Father Mabillon, and it was written by a cardinal in the latter end of the twelfth century.

That these ordinals were originally composed for the baptism of those of riper years seems not to admit of a doubt, and that baptism was performed by immersion cannot be questioned, nor can any one hesitate to determine, that the candidates were the children of christians. The scrutiny; the service in part in the night; the command of silence; the change of deacon's habits; the wax, or oil-skin drawers, breeches, or trousers of the pontiff; the interrogations and answers; the kneeling and praying of the candidates; the proper lessons for the days; the services of susceptors, parents, patrini, and matrini, who were uncles, aunts, relations, or assistants, and not modern godfathers performing sponsion; the addresses to the young folks; the total omission of charges to sponsors; all go to prove the point.

CHAP. XV.

OF THE CATHOLICK AND THE ARIAN BAPTISTERIES AT
RAVENNA.

THE very ancient and noble city of Ravenna was built and inhabited by idolaters, worshippers of Diana, and other Etruscan deities, as marbles, altars, and other ancient monuments prove (1). A primitive christian, named Apollinaris, and said by the ecclesiastical historians of Ravenna to have been one of the seventy disciples, first preached Christianity there (2). He taught in private houses, his converts assembled to worship God in a cottage without the walls, and he baptized sometimes in the sea, and at other times in a bath belonging to an officer of the army, in whose house also during twelve years he taught the gospel. In process of time christianity prospered in this city, and was established by law. Before the year 451, in which the baptistery now in sight was put into its present form, the emperors Honorius and Valentinian had resided here. There are two of these buildings in Ravenna, one erected by the Arians in the reign of Theodorick, the other earlier by the Catholicks in the reign of Valentinian (3). That in view is the catholick, and it was built, or rather rebuilt in a more elegant taste on the ground plot of the old one by Neon, archbishop of Ravenna (4). Proper drafts of this beautiful little monument of antiquity were sent by Cavallo, archdeacon of the church of Ravenna, to Ciampini at Rome, and were published by the latter among other antiquities.

This edifice is octangular (5) as is the Arian baptistery, and as almost all baptisteries were; at present the two angles on the right and left hand sides, at the upper end, are carried out in a semicircular form, and parted off for oratories, or chapels. On entering the front door you find yourself in an octangular room of about two and thirty English feet square. It is not necessary to be so exact as to introduce fractions, the Roman foot is

(1) Ant. Franc. Gorii *Museum Etruscam*. Tom. ii. Tab. xxxv.

(2) Jos. Vicecomitis. *Observ. Eccles.* Tom. i. Lib. i. Cap. 4.

(3) Ciampini. (4) Hieron. Fabri *In sacris Memoriis Ravennæ antiquæ*.

(5) Montfaucon. *Supplem.* Tom. ii. pag. 220.

two-fifths of an inch less than the London foot, or as twenty-nine is to thirty. Exactly in the centre of this hall is a vast bath of white Grecian marble, or, in other words, an octangular receptacle for water about nine feet square. Directly fronting the door, at that end of the baptistery which is furthest from it, is a marble pulpit with two steps cut in the same block, from which elevated stand, probably, some teacher overlooking the water, into which the pulpit projects a little, harangued the people before and during the time of baptism (6).

Eight marble pillars, properly placed at the eight angles, support other pillars, and columns, and arches, which form the dome, which is ornamented with mosaick work of the utmost magnificence (7). At the top of the dome within a large circle exactly in the middle, there is a representation of the baptism of Jesus. In the middle flows the river Jordan, and in the midst of that, stark naked and up to his navel in water, stands Jesus Christ. It is to be observed, by the way, that there is not the least indelicacy in this representation, or any thing to offend the most chaste and scrupulous eye; but not to interrupt attention, it may be proper to defer remarking on this for a few minutes. Over the head of Jesus is the dove. On the left hand bank in a short thin violet coloured cloak stands John the Baptist, inclining over the river, holding in his left hand an ornamented cross taller than himself, and in his right a bason, or some such utensil, and pouring out of it water on the head of Jesus. It hath always been the practice of artists to represent rivers under human forms, and it is done here. There is, as an emblem of the river, a man in the water on the right hand side, over whose head is the word Jordan, who holds in one hand a branch, and in the other toward Jesus a napkin, or towel, as if to wipe him after his baptism (3).

(6) This is not the opinion of Ciampani. His words are, *Hoc ex pulpito episcopus (ni tamen fallor) parvulos baptizandos in aquam immergebat.* It should seem, for many reasons not to be inserted in this place: that the conjecture in the text is the more probable of the two.

(7) Joh. Fred. Gronovii. *Museum Alexandrin.*

(8) The god of the river. Virgil. *Æneid* viii. 31.

This circle is surrounded by another, divided by a sort of flowers and festoons into twelve parts, in each of which is one apostle at full length, with his name. All are clothed in long habits reaching down to the feet, and the hind part of the cloak, which is the upper garment, is, gracefully enough, gathered up, and thrown over the arm (9). The vesture of Peter is gold, and the cloak white : that of Paul, who is next Peter, is white, and the cloak gold : and all the rest are varied as these two are. Each carries a crown in his hand, all which are of different colours. That of Peter is of a ruby colour, that of Paul like gold, and this whole part is evidently taken from the fourth chapter of Revelation, where the twenty-four elders are described as casting their crowns before the throne, which place the fathers interpreted of the twelve prophets and twelve apostles.

A third circle comparatively narrow surrounds the second, and is divided into twenty-four compartments. Each is ornamented with columns, cornices, and a variety of foliage and decorations. This circle may be conveniently divided into four parts, six in each part, for each six resembles another, except in one article, which will be mentioned presently. The first represents the tomb of a martyr, a confessor, a prelate, or a bishop. The second represents a small sepulchre, and out of the top a lily or a palm springing up. A lily on a tomb denotes a virgin or a confessor, and a palm branch signifies a martyr. The third describes the seat of a bishop, the feet of a gold colour, and all the rest white. The fourth represents a sort of desk of a gold colour with a book lying open, and on the book, in abbreviated Latin, these words, *The gospel according to Matthew*. The fifth is the same as the third : and the sixth the same as the second. The other three parts differ from this only in the words on the books ; for as this is the gospel according to Matthew, the others are according to Mark, Luke, and John.

Bringing the eye below the dome, and carrying it round the interstices between the eight arches, which support the dome, in ovals of foliage are represented

(9) Ciampini -- vestis -- pallium -- Apostoli dalmatica et Pallio induti sunt. Cap. vii. De oramentis.

at full length eight men, one in each oval. Their heads are uncovered, their habits are white and long, the cloak is gathered up, and hangs over the arm, each carries a book, four lift up a hand with two fore-fingers and the thumb stretched out : but no emblems appear sufficient to determine whom the artist intended to represent. Probably, they were intended to describe Christians newly baptized in their baptismal habits.

Passing from the hall of baptism to the chapel, at the left hand corner of the upper end, these words on an arch meet the eye. Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity. Then on another are these words, Jesus laid aside his garments, and poured water into a bason, and began to wash his disciples' feet. Under these words stands a large marble bason of exquisite workmanship chizelled into foliage, and fruits, and birds, and angels. It is eight feet in circumference at the brim, four at the base, and about two feet high. Here baptism is now administered ; but formerly, adds the learned antiquary, when it was administered by immersion, it was performed in the middle of the hall (1). At that time this laver was used, it should seem by the inscription over it, to wash the feet of persons newly baptized.

In regard to the nakedness of Jesus just now observed, it should be recollected, that, however shocking it may appear to English manners, and how rude and indecent soever it would be justly reckoned here to imitate the custom of introducing naked persons into publick company, yet in the ancient eastern world it was far otherwise, and at this day all over Italy, in places sacred and profane, statues, pictures, vases, and books exhibit such sights, and nobody is offended. It is not only in the ancient Etruscan monuments, in those of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the Vatican at Rome, royal cabinets all over Italy, and in many other parts of Europe, that naked figures give no offence : but in every city in Italy the constant sight of figures without drapery produce in both sexes a perfect insensibility to nudity (2). The

(1) Ciampini. In hoc autem vase sacri baptismatis ritus ad *presens* peragitur, cum *olim*, quando baptismus per *immersionem* dabatur, in medio aedificii perageretur, ubi octangulare aquarum receptaculum erat.

(2) John Moore, *M. D. View of Society and Manners in Italy, &c. &c.*

beautiful and magnificent city of Florence contains eighty thousand inhabitants, before whose eyes are exposed in the streets and squares an hundred and fifty naked statues, many of them are of exquisite workmanship, by Michael Angelo, Bandinelli, Donatello, and others, and the Florentines behold them every day from their infancy without any hazard to their morals. Christianity hath conveyed the god of the gardens into the cabinets of the curious: but, it is not impossible, that the ancients viewed such statues, as the moderns do the Laocoons, and Apollos, and Venuses, and Madonnas; or, which is more likely, as the ancient Egyptians viewed hieroglyphicks.

Let it be observed, next, that the primitive Christians baptized naked. Nothing is easier than to give proof of this by quotations from the authentick writings of the men who administered baptism, and who certainly knew in what way they themselves performed it. There is no ancient historical fact better authenticated than this. The evidence doth not go on the meaning of the single word naked; for then a reader might suspect allegory; but on many facts reported, and many reasons assigned for the practice. One of these facts is this. Chrysostom criminales Theophilus because he had raised a disturbance without (3), which so frightened the women in the baptistery, who had just stripped themselves naked in order to be baptized, that they fled naked out of the room, without having time to consult the modesty of their sex. Another is this. "Basil rose up with fear and trembling, undressed himself, putting off the old man, and went down praying into the water, and the priest going down along with him baptized him (4)." The reasons assigned for the practice are, that christians ought to put off the old man before they put on a profession of christianity; that as men came naked into the world, so they ought to come naked into the church, for rich men could not enter the kingdom of heaven; that it was an imitation of

(3) Chrysostomi *Epist. ad Innoc. papam*. Mulieres, quæ intra ecclesiam, ut baptizarentur, sese veste nudaverant, per id tempus nudæ fugiebant neque sexus verecundiæ permittebantur consulere.

(4) Amphilochii Basilii *Mag. Vita*. Surgensque cum tremore, suis se vestibus spoliât, unaque cum illis veterem exiit hominem, descendensque in aquas, orabat, una autem etiam sacerdos descendit eumque baptizavit.

Christ, who laid aside his glory, and made himself of no reputation for them; and that Adam had forfeited all, and Christians ought to profess to be restored to the enjoyment of all only by Jesus Christ. That most learned and accurate historian, James Basnage, than whom no man understood church history better, says, When artists threw garments over pictures of the baptized, they consulted the taste of spectators more than the truth of the fact (5). At the same time he observes, that, after all, it is highly probable, the utmost decency was preserved, that though the upper and lower parts were uncovered, yet something was wrapped round the middle: and it is absolutely certain, that women were baptized in a baptistery apart from that of the men, and that deaconesses waited on all the sex during the whole ceremony.

It is further remarkable, that this representation at Ravenna is not singular; for most artists of those ancient times described the baptism of Jesus in the same manner. The doors of the very ancient church of St. Paul in the suburbs of Rome are plated with brass; the whole is divided into six perpendicular segments (6). Each segment is divided into nine parts, and each part contains one or more figures relating to the history of Jesus. It was formerly a most elegant exhibition, for the artist had let into the brass with the graver fine threads and filaments of silver. In the second square of the first segment on the left hand is the representation of the baptism of Jesus. John is on the bank with his right hand on the shoulder of Jesus, who stands naked in the middle of the river, and his clothes lying by, while two angels wait with napkins to wipe him dry. The word baptism is on the upper part (7). Much in the same manner he is described in the Greek church. The Greeks have a custom of exorcising and blessing water on the Epiphany, on which day they celebrate a festival in commemoration of the baptism of Christ. In this ceremony they divide the water with a cross, on which

(5) Jacobi Basnagii *Thesaurus Monument* . . in Canisii *Lectiones*. Tom. i. *Prefat.* Cap. v. *De Immersione et forma Baptismi*. S. 14.

(6) Ciampini *Vet. Monim.* Tom. i. Cap. iv. *De vasis aeneis eccl. sic S. Pauli*.

(7) *Ad Christi pedes ipsius vestimenta cernuntur, cum inscriptione.—*
BAPTICHC.

the baptism of Jesus naked, by the hand of John attended by angels as before, is engraven (8). On the top are the Greek words for—He cometh unto John. The missals for the same day are illuminated with figures very much like these. In all, Jesus is naked, but so represented as to appear perfectly delicate and chaste to the spectator. The same may be said of the picture of the baptism of St. Augustine, which is preserved in a church at Milan (9). Augustine, Deodatus, and Alypius are all three naked in the water. One ancient monument represents candidates in a sort of drawers, like the highland fillibeg; and this most likely was taken from the *subligaculum* of champions in the Grecian games, for the Fathers often allude to these games, when they speak of baptism.

CHAP. XVI.

OF THE BAPTISTERIES OF VENICE, FLORENCE, NOVARA,
AND MILAN.

BAPTISTERIES, properly so called, were alike in all places; they were baths in the ground for the use of men and women: but they differ very much in their coverings, which were more or less spacious, more or less elegant, and ornamented according to the condition of the church to which they belonged. Each of the four mentioned in the title of this chapter hath some peculiarity worth examining.

That at Venice is remarkable for a curious piece of mosaick representing the baptism of Christ. The first object that strikes the eye of a person walking in the noble square of St. Mark, is the patriarchal church of St. Mark, one of the richest and most expensive in the world, and one of those dutiful daughters, who continue to acknowledge their decrepid parent, John the Baptist. Adjoining this superb palace is an ancient baptistery, which is adorned with many figures of mosaick work of great antiquity and beauty (1). Antiquaries, from a careful examination of all the symbols, pronounce it the

(8) Paciaudi *Antiq. Christ.* ii. 6.

(9) Josephi Vicecomitis *Observ.* *Eccles.* Tom. i. Lib. iv. Cap. 10. *Nudos ad baptismum accessisse.*

(1) Paciaud. *Antiq. Christian.* Diss. ii. Cap. 4.

work of the eighth or ninth century, though the Venetian historians say it was repaired, and in some parts embellished by the magnificent Andrew Dandolo in the fourteenth century. Turning from every other ornament to that compartment, which represents the baptism of Jesus, the eye will be at once feasted with the beauty, and fatigued with the inaccuracy of this precious monument of antiquity. In the middle the river Jordan rolls along, lashing the banks with its waves, and gurgling as it goes. In the river stands Jesus naked, the water nearly up to his shoulders (2). On the left hand bank stands John the Baptist, a tall thin man, his hair dishevelled, his beard not long but rough, habited in a short shaggy skin, over which a light cloak is thrown, the whole covering him only to the elbows and the knees. He is leaning toward the river, his left hand is just seen behind, spread open and lifted up, and his right hand is on the head of Jesus, as if pressing him gently down into the water, while Jesus seems to be yielding to the water under the hand of John (3). Behind John more to the left lies a double axe at the foot of a tree, an allusion probably to his own words, *the axe is laid to the root of the trees*. On the right hand side of the piece, on the banks of Jordan, over against John, are three angels with wings to their shoulders, and garments down to their feet, bowing with all submission to Jesus Christ. These were introduced no doubt by the Catholick artists for a declaration of their own faith, and a reproof to the Arians, and they serve in part to determine the date of the piece. In the Arian baptistery at Ravenna, Moses occupies the place which is assigned to angels in this, and John holds a pastoral staff instead of a cross as in the other (4). Above the heavens open, a star sparkles, and the dove descends (5). In the river the fish are seen sporting, and the river god in a human form is regaling himself like a joyous youth in a bath. By these emblems the artist intended to express that the whole world, rivers, and animals, and all nature,

(2) Christum Dominum cernis, qui fluvio mergitur

(3) Dexteram manum capiti J su imponit, quod cum solemnī precatione a ministro baptismatis semper factum ab ultima usque antiquitate comperimus

(4) Hieron. Rubei. *Hist. Raven.*

(5) Juvenal *Carm. na.*

rejoiced at the advent of Jesus. At the top of the piece in the left hand corner are these words, THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

The taste for adorning baptisteries seems to have originated, where all works of refinement have always originated, in the fancies of the ladies. John in the most ancient representations appears a rueful figure, having nothing but the shaggy skin of a beast, or unwrought camel's hair thrown loosely over his shoulders, and carelessly crossing his middle : but when the Greeks associated him with Jesus and Mary, which they did very early in triptychs, the ladies took their needles, and habited John like a gentleman, in company with Jesus and Mary, embroidered on the caps and gowns of those who officiated. John the patriarch of Constantinople had a head dress of this kind. His predecessors had always worn plain white, but he chose to ornament his with the images of Jesus, the virgin mother, and John the Baptist, in gold. There is now among other collections of a similar kind, in the Vatican at Rome an old stole, or long vest of the most exquisite needle-work of various colours, mixed with gold thread. It is embroidered all over with images of saints : but in the upper part, near the neck, are three small radiated circles. Jesus in the middle, Mary in the right, and John in the left. The transition from the dress of the inhabitant to the furniture of his habitation is natural. Nothing could be more proper than to cover the tables in the rooms adjoining to the baptistery. When they were in use cleanliness required it ; and at other times, to take off the air of a mere warehouse of goods, it seemed expedient to furnish the tables. First came frontals that hung down before : then dorsals or back pieces : side pieces followed of course. The ladies by the dexterity of their all-creating fingers embroidered these, and in squares and corresponding compartments placed the saints as their fancies directed : but whoever, or whatever they were, John the Baptist was always one. Several of these old cloths are yet to be seen at Milan, Venice, and many other cities. When these tables began to be used to set images on, it became necessary to carry the back cloth up higher against the wall, and the want of a finish at the top, probably sug-

gested the idea of the canopy. From needle-work, which is pretty, to embossed-work and solid plate, which is magnificent, and displays substantial and exuberant wealth, the way is natural: it actually took place, and the most elegant and costly of this kind of modern church ornaments is in the baptistery at Florence. On certain days of the year the Catholics, to excite people to imitate the virtues of their predecessors, set out the relicks of the saints. Every thing that can delight the senses is produced on these occasions. Pictures, jewels, musick, vocal and instrumental, illuminations, incense, the first performers in the finest habits conspire to communicate festivity, and to aggrandize the festival. The chief object in this noble city is what the Florentines call the silver *Dessale* of a temporary altar in the baptistery. This is an octagon building, now called the church of St. John Baptist. It stands opposite the cathedral. It has three brass gates, which were formerly gilt, and on which several scripture-histories were represented. The figures in basso-relievo so struck the famous Michael Angelo, that he exclaimed in an extasy, These are worthy of being the gates of paradise. The baptism of Jesus is represented in marble over the door. The font is large, and all the children born of Christian parents in Florence are baptized in it. There is a beautiful statue of John standing before it. John himself lies all over the catholick world. That finger with which he pointed to Christ, when he said, Behold the Lamb of God, is here. His others are at different places. The knights of St. John have his right hand, with which he baptized Jesus, enclosed in one of the richest and most elegant shrines: it is made of solid gold, and adorned with a profusion of jewels. A piece of the stone on which Jesus stood when he was baptized, is at Chiusi in Sienna: and there is another at the Lateran at Rome. This *dessale* was an offering to John the Baptist by the company of merchants. It was begun in thirteen hundred and fifty-six. Artists of every kind were consulted, no expense was spared, and several years were allowed to finish the work. It is divided into seventeen compartments, and each contains a representation of some part of the life of John the Baptist: his birth, his life in the desert, his preaching, his

baptizing, his addressing Herod, his imprisonment, his execution, the carrying in of his head to Herodias, his burial by his disciples : his whole history is exhibited in this most rich and exquisite piece of workmanship. Grand as it is, most likely it had its origin in the harmless napkin, with which some neat sister Phœbe, a servant of the church, covered the top of the homely table of the baptistery.

The baptistery of *Novara* is mentioned for the sake of a singular opinion of original sin, which Lorenzo the bishop stated in a baptismal discourse there. Lorenzo, or Laurence I. was first bishop of Novara, and was afterwards elected to the archbishoprick of Milan in the beginning of the sixth century. He died in the reign of Theodorick. His homily on repentance, preached whilst he was bishop of Novara, seems to have been a preparation sermon for baptism, or a directory discourse immediately after it (6). The baptistery, a separate building, near the church, yet remains. He begins, as all preachers of his sentiments do, with Adam, whose fall polluted all his descendants. He proceeds to shew how Jesus took away the sin of the *world* by being baptized in the river Jordan. He adds, that the old testament saints had not the ordinance of personal water baptism literally : but they had the benefit of Christ's baptism spiritually ; and when David said, *wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow*, it was as much as to say, Lord, thou hast cleansed me from the sin of my father Adam, by taking his flesh on thyself, dipping it in the font, and washing it in the river. His meaning is, that David had two sorts of sin, original and actual, that Jesus would take away, and in effect had taken away the first, which he calls the sin of the *world*, by washing human nature in his baptism, and that actual sin was taken away by repentance. His mysticism, as well as his occasional mention of the ceremonies of baptism, requires attention. He says baptism is a sign, and he asks, "What is there in baptism except water, chrism, and a white garment ? Christ, by being dipped in Jordan sanctified the waters. Baptismal water is water of remission. At the font you receive not a Jew-

(6) *S. Laurentii Novariensis. Episc. Homil. de Penitentia.*

ish but an evangelical sign. That day, that hour, when you come out of the laver, you have within yourself a perpetually running water, a daily remission. You have no need of a teacher, none of the right hand of the priest. As soon as you come up out of the baptistery, you are clothed with a white garment, and anointed with mystical ointment. Three times invocation is made over you, the trine virtue comes upon you, and your new vessel is filled with this new doctrine - - - John saith, I baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. After baptism, do not inquire for John, or Jordan, but be the Baptist to thyself. Art thou defiled after baptism, is thy heart vitiated, thy mind contaminated? Dip thyself in the waters of repentance, wash thyself in abundance of tears: let the fountain of compunction diffuse itself through every pore, let it be a living water overflowing every fibre." All this is very spiritual; however, the meaning is clear. Repentance and a teacher are necessary before baptism, and baptism is not to be repeated, because, although a christian may sin after baptism, yet as he continues to repent, anabaptism is unnecessary. Probably the good bishop meant this homily as a preservative from Novatianism, Donatism, Arianism, and so on. Moreover, the homily shews a principle received by many Christians, which accounts for the conduct of such as do not baptize infants, although they do believe original sin. They think Adam's sin charged on all his posterity was that, which John the Baptist called *the sin of the world*, and which he said Jesus took away, so that neither infants nor adults are accountable for Adam's transgression; of course, baptism is unnecessary before the commission of actual sin. The trine invocation, and the trine virtue, mean trine immersion, in the name of the Father one invocation, the name of the Son a second, the name of the Holy Ghost a third.

Milan is mentioned for the sake of describing Italian minor-baptism in the twelfth century. Having some time ago attended a baptism at Rome, celebrated according to the Roman ordinal, it may not be improper now to attend one at Milan, performed according to the Ambrosian ritual. The history of the liturgy

of St. Ambrose is of very little consequence to Protestants. Briefly it is this (7). Not prayers, but hymns are the first rudiments of a liturgy. Such as could not sing, said them, or said the last words by ways of chorus, expressive of approbation: hence a high sound at the end of a versicle whence came chanting. As few comparatively could get copies, or retain the whole in their memories, order rendered a choir necessary. Such rudiments were at Milan before the time of Ambrose. Ambrose digested and enlarged the service, intermixing portions of scripture called lessons, and prayers, and a sort of short homilies, arranged and suited to certain days. This was very different from the liturgies of the Greeks, Egyptians, Romans, Franks, Mozarabs, and others. There was however a general likeness. Rome endeavoured to impose her liturgy on all other churches, and exacted a promise of all her members to assist the design. Pepin and Charlemagne succeeded among the Franks, and they laid aside their own, and received the Roman ritual: but the Milanese opposed the attempt, and continued to use that of their own archbishop Ambrose. This hath undergone many alterations, and received many additions, so that the present office of St. Ambrose is neither that of Ambrose, nor that of the middle ages. In twelve hundred and eighty it was improved by Orrico Scacabarozio, an archpresbyter of the cathedral church. In fourteen hundred and forty, it was amended by archbishop Francis Pizzolpasso. In the same year cardinal Branda de Castellio endeavoured to get the Ambrosian office abolished at Milan in favour of the Roman: but the Milanese resisted, and the affair was dropped. In sixteen hundred and five it was revised again, and accommodated to modern use. The ordinals, which regulate the ceremonial of the liturgy, like those of Rome, keep continually veering about, retaining old names, and accommodating them to new persons and things. Thus the ancient deacons and deaconesses of Milan come gradually down to the modern *veglones* or *vecchioni* and *veglonissæ* of the cathedral, that is, to ten old men and as many old women of two orders, one of which wash the floor, and dust the house, and keep the

(7) *Murat. Antiq. Ital.* tom. iv. Diss. lvii. *De Ritibus Ambrosianæ ecclesiæ.*

furniture clean; and the other perform some slight part of the ceremonial on certain days: both have decent habits and pensions (8).

From a variety of original manuscripts of undoubted authenticity, preserved in the Ambrosian archives, referred to by many writers, and published by the incomparable Muratori, it appears, that in the twelfth century (to go no lower) the order of baptism stood thus (9). On the first Sunday in Lent, after the reading of the gospel for the day, the deacon gave notice, that such as thought proper might give in their names for baptism (1). The Saturday following, after mass, the doors were shut, and the children to be baptized arranged themselves without, the boys at one door, the girls at another. One deacon, and two sub-deacons went to the door, where the boys stood. The deacon remained within; the sub-deacons went out, and stood on the outside of the threshold, and the ceremony proceeded thus. *Deacon*: What do they require? *Sub-deacon*: Faith. *D.* Do they renounce the devil and all his works? *S.* They do renounce them. *D.* Observe well what you say, that you may never depart from it. *S.* We will be mindful of it. Then they went to the door, where the girls stood, and repeated the same ceremony: after which, all, boys and girls, entered the church, went to the place where chrism was kept, and were exorcised, crossed, and anointed, and so on. While prayers were saying, and lessons reading, the acolothysts informed the little flock when to lift up, or bow their heads, when to kneel, and what to do. The next day, Sunday, they went again, and so on every Saturday all Lent, and some Sundays. There was a service for each day, and the whole was called the scrutiny. The two most remarkable services were, the delivery of the creed, and the catechizing.

The delivery of the creed was performed in this manner. On one of the days of scrutiny, after mass, the bells were all rung, and the doors all shut, the people however keeping their places. A deacon cried with a loud voice: If any catechumen be present, let him

(8) *Murat. tom. iv. Diss. lvii.*

(9) *Antiq Ital tom. iv. Diss lvii. De Ritibus Ambrosianæ ecclesiæ.*

(1) *Manualis de singulis dominicis seu festivitibus in circuitu anni. Murat.*

depart. If any pagan be here, let him depart. If any heretick be here, let him depart. If any Jew be here, let him depart. If any one have no business here, let him depart. The catechumens but no others went out. Then a verse was sung: *Come, ye children, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord.* Then the archbishop retired to change his habits, as others of the clergy did, and when the latter were ready, they went together to the archbishop, and asked leave to admit the children, which being granted, they proceeded with great ceremony to the door, and on opening it said, *Enter, children, into the house of the Lord. Attend to your father teaching you the way of wisdom.* Then, the children being properly arranged, the archbishop from his stall, said, *Cross yourselves, and hear the creed: I believe in God the Father Almighty,* and so on, the whole being chanted, versicle by versicle, and the acolothysts frequently admonishing the women to cross the children, that is, such of them as could not cross themselves. Several services followed, and the catechumens were dismissed.

In all processions during the scrutiny, the master of the ceremonies used to carry in his hand a hazel wand, or more properly, a branch of hazel with its leaves; and the tables, as they were called. These were of bone or ivory, in form of the leaves of a mass book, and like them representing various actions of the life of Christ, which were depicted, and explained by several Greek letters, labels, or words. These were given the children to kiss, as they went in procession from place to place, or as they performed their devotions in the church. This custom continued at Milan till the year sixteen hundred and thirty-three. Before the reformation it was common in all catholick churches; the ivory leaf was called the pax, and in England it was latterly given the people to kiss at the end of the mass. The whole proceeded from the primitive kiss of charity, and the compliment appending to it: *peace be with you.*

All things having been prepared, early in the morning of holy Saturday the service began, and proceeded with lessons, hymns, psalms, benedictions, and so on, till the time of baptizing arrived. After the choir

had chanted the psalm; *Like as the hart doth pant and bray, the well springs to obtain*, and the rest, and a short collect, the archbishop put on his sacred vestments, the deacons their dalmaticks, the sub-deacons their surplices, some of the proper officers took their censers with incense burning, others wax torches and tapers lighted, and the procession set forward to go from the cathedral to the baptistery, where the catechumens were in waiting. First went a sub-deacon with a lighted lamp, to light up the baptistery, then followed others with lights, then came the children of the choir with the master, singing, *Up, Lord, why sleepest thou?* and so on. The officiating clergy followed, intermixed with sub-deacons carrying lights, and incense: and last came the archbishop. When the procession arrived at the baptismal church, as soon as the archbishop drew near the door, it halted; and, before he entered, he put off his ornamented habits, and put on the baptismal palliament; girded himself with a towel, the knot being on the left side and hanging down like a sword; fastened his sandals behind, the ties being over the heels like spurs (a memorial that former bishops had gone into the water to baptize, though his circumstances would not permit him to do so); and put a mitre on his head to signify who was king and pontiff. Then the procession set forward again, the choir singing, and the archbishop walking in his new dress to the baptistery. The baptismal church was illuminated with wax lights, and over the baptistery hung twelve glass lamps lighted. After the benediction of the water, the archbishop placed himself at the head of the baptistery without side, and two cardinals went into the water. Three officers then went among the catechumens, and inquired for three boys, one to be named Peter, another Paul, and a third John. Having found them, they were conducted to the cardinals. The archbishop asked them: *What they desired?* They answered: *To be baptized.* He asked again: *Do you believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?* They answered: *We do believe. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born and suffered death?* *We do believe. Do you believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholick church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resur-*

rection of the body; and life eternal? We do believe. Then the archbishop said to the cardinals. *Baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* One of the cardinals said, *Peter, I baptize thee, dipping him once, in the name of the Father (2): and dipping him a second time, in the name of the Son: and dipping him a third time, in the name of the Holy Ghost. Amen.* Then the archbishop knelt down; the cardinals delivered the three boys to their parents, and they gave them to officers, who conducted them to the archbishop, who rose from kneeling, and anointed their foreheads with crism in the form of a cross. Two officers then stood prepared, one with a vase of water, the other with a napkin, and the archbishop washed the feet of the three boys, and wiped them, and kissed them, and put a chrismal cap on the head of each. Instantly, all the bells set a ringing, and the company divided; the cardinals proceeding to baptize, and the archbishop mounting his horse, and going to the church of St. Ambrose to celebrate mass in honour of him; for it happened, that Ambrose died on a holy Saturday, and the two services clashing, the archbishop could not go into the water to baptize, as former archbishops had done. After the mass of St. Ambrose was over, the archbishop went back to the baptistery, where the cardinals having done baptizing, and having washed themselves in a warm bath prepared for them at coming out of the water, waited to proceed to the remainder of the service, which consisted of lessons, hymns, prayers, and so on. After all, six of the officials dined with the archbishop. It was a perquisite to one who carried the golden cross in the procession: to the two, who handed water and a napkin to the prelate to wipe the feet of the boys: and to the three who conducted Peter, Paul, and John, to the cardinals. Thus after a scrutiny, by trine immersion, was baptism administered, by the Catholics in Italy, in the twelfth century. So very difficult was it to accommodate an institution for men to the practice of babes, that the latter stole in by slow and wary steps, first a few, then a few

(2) Et statim archiepiscopus subjungit dicens: *Baptizate eos -- Et statim baptizant, dicendo nomina eorum: baptizo te, prima mersio; in nomine patris: secunda mersio; et filii: tertia mersio; et spiritus sanctus. Amen.*

more, and so on, till they became the majority, and outed the old possessors; for it is evident that both the ordinals, the Ambrosian and the Roman, were composed for minors and not for babes.

CHAP. XVII.

OF PICTURES OF BAPTISM.

WALAFRID STRABO, who flourished in the latter end of the ninth century, supposed, that *many* had been formerly baptized by pouring, and that therefore baptism might then be so administered (1). He collected this not from the practice of the times in which he lived, which was that of dipping, but from a book called the Acts of St. Laurence, in which it was said that Laurence had baptized *two* persons, Romanus and Lucillus, by pouring. Hence, being a just reasoner, he inferred, that not only many had been so baptized, but that *any body* might be so baptized in future in case of necessity, as when the size of a man was so great as to render a baptistery inconvenient, pouring might supply the place of dipping, and yet the picture did not shew two men in any case of necessity. It is to be observed, adds he, that in the first ages baptism was administered only to persons of mature age, who were capable of understanding the benefit of baptism, the articles of faith, the baptismal confession, and the obligations of such as were born again. He goes on to remark, that since original sin had been pointed out by Augustine, people had believed infants dying unbaptized would be eternally lost; and therefore to prevent such a misfortune, the priests had baptized them, contrary to the opinions of hereticks, enemies to the grace of God, who contended, that children ought not to be baptized, because they had not sinned. The latter remarks are true: but the former about St. Laurence are not so. Father Mabillon, and James Basnage, have set the matter in a clear light, and the fact is this (2). In the church of St. Laurence at Rome

(1) *De Rebus Gestis*. Cap. xxvi.

(2) Joan Mabillon *Iter Ital.* . . . Jac. Basnagii *Præfat in lection. Canisii*. Cap. v *De Immersione* Super Romanum effundebat aquam Laurentius, secundum morem Græcorum qui præter trinam immersionem aquam capitibus baptizatorum superfundunt.

part of the life of the saint is depicted. Romanus is represented naked, as having been just immersed. Laurence is pouring water out of a vessel upon him, according to the custom of the Greeks, who beside trine immersion poured water upon the heads of the baptized. The picture is taken from the book of the acts of St. Laurence. The book is either wholly spurious, or extremely corrupted. Nor is it likely that Laurence, a deacon of Rome, should practise a custom of the Greeks : or that the Greeks, who were always exceedingly attached to immersion, did practise superfusion in the time of Laurence : and if the whole account of Laurence were true, (and it is not supported by any ancient testimony) such a baptism was contrary to the laws and usages of the church, and therefore it would not prove that the fathers departed from the practice of immersion. These are the reflections of the learned and faithful Basnage (3).

There is an article in the primitive ecclesiastical history of Italy, which may not improperly be inserted here, because it proves at once the enthusiasm of the founders of Catholick churches, and accounts for one grand source of error, the works of artists, in a very just and ingenious manner.

All Italian ecclesiastical historians inform their readers that during the first three hundred and fifty years of the Christian era, the bishops of Ravenna were elected in the following manner. On the demise of any one, the clergy and people assembled, and prayed God to shew whom he would have them choose for a successor. In answer to this prayer, the Holy Ghost in form of a dove descended, and distinguished the man, who was immediately after duly elected, and invested with the ensigns of his office. The window at which the sacred dove entered is yet shewn. In the middle of the fourth century, on the demise of Agapetus II. the clergy and the people assembled as usual to elect an archbishop (4). Opposite the church lived a poor wool-comber named Severus. The procession awoke his curiosity, he took his hands out of the suds, left off washing his wool, and throwing his old cloak over his

(3) Nescio tamen an fides habenda vel imaginibus, vel etiam actis Laurentii, &c.

(4) Ughelli *Ital. Sac.* Tom. ii:

shoulders, out he ran to see the miracle of the dove. His wife, Vincentia, ran after him, and overtook him. She reproved him for his vain curiosity, and told him he would be much more in the way of his duty, if he would return to his work, and earn something for the support of his poor family. Severus was not a genuine son of Adam, he would not listen to his Eve: he would go, that he would. Go along then, exclaimed she, perhaps you will be chosen archbishop of Ravenna. When he got into the church, the grandeur of the place and the dresses of the company set him a looking on his own vile cloak and the rest of his tatters, and he crept into a blind corner. The priests said mass, and implored the divine token, and the eyes of all were fixed on the window in the roof. At length the holy dove appeared, sitting on the cell, and surveying the vast assembly below. A while the people prayed, and the dove sat still: but at length, taking wing, down he flew to the corner where Severus lurked, and flying round and round him, seemed as if he would peck his ears. The man was frightened, and would have driven him away: but the dove returned to the charge, and kept hovering round him. The priests and the people advised him not to resist, but to be still and see what the dove meant to do. In brief, he alighted, and perched awhile on his ear, and then flew away through the window to heaven. The assembly was astonished: but believing God the Holy Spirit had nominated the wool-comber archbishop of Ravenna, they elected him, took off his rags, clothed him in prelatical robes, conducted him to the archiepiscopal throne, and hailed him Lord Archbishop of Ravenna. When he ascended the rostrum to address the people, all perceived he had been divinely elected, for his fluent eloquence convinced them that he was filled with the Holy Ghost. His future life was exemplary, and after his death miracles wrought at his tomb were numerous; a church was erected over his grave, and he is worshipped as a saint to this day. Among other endowments, he had the gift of prophecy, and he foretold the people of Ravenna, that in the future elections they need not wait for the dove, for he would appear no more. A prophecy amply fulfilled; for the white pigeon hath not been seen at Ravenna at the election of any archbishop from that day to this.

The reflections of the learned and judicious Muratori on the descent of the dove, are both ingenious and just. He says : " It is generally believed at Ravenna that the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove indicated to the clergy and people whom they should elect for their first twelve bishops (5). I am not inclined to deprive them of this persuasion. However, I cannot help suspecting that the prevalence of such an opinion was owing to some ancient picture misunderstood. As the election of bishops was formerly made by the clergy and people, and as it was supposed, very truly, that the secret working of the Holy Ghost influenced the minds of the electors, particularly when the persons elected were men of eminent piety, so painters, to display this invisible work by a visible sign, painted, to represent the holy Spirit, a dove over the heads of the bishops so elected. It might happen that the ignorant vulgarity of after ages might take the emblem for a history of a fact. In like manner, when they see the pictures of martyrs who had been beheaded, standing and holding their heads in their hands, they instantly imagine a prodigy, and suppose they survived their martyrdom, when the painter meant nothing more than that such martyrs suffered death by being beheaded for their profession of Christianity. There are hundreds of such errors, which originated in the licentiousness of artists. Let the people of Ravenna contend as earnestly as they please for their tradition : and let me also be allowed in this place to express my doubts."

A Protestant cannot help observing, that either this tale is an absolute forgery, or a misrepresented fact ; and in both cases it is a proof of the enthusiasm of the first Catholics at Ravenna. If it be a forgery, the forgers were sharpeners, and the people were dupes to their own enthusiasm. If it be a fact misrepresented, when the misrepresentation is laid aside, the fact in the case of Severus was this. When the chief of the city was Pagan, one congregation of Christians at Ravenna first imagined themselves inspired to choose a wool-comber for their teacher, and then of course he and they supposed him inspired to guide them, and to despise, discountenance and oppress others, who were

(5) *Rer. Ital. Script. Tom. par. ii. præfat. in Spicileg. Ravennatis hist.*

not inspired. Nothing is more likely to be true than this ; for as this inspiration is the very essence of Popery, so in all countries it hath erected its throne among the least rational of the human species. Muratori as a man of learning and sense disliked the representation, but as a Catholick, he was obliged to admit the fact : for all such men as he thoroughly understand, that if once extraordinary influence were disowned, reason would succeed to the office of faith, and the whole system would fall into one general ruin. How much do learned men deserve pity when they are compelled by law to make sense of vulgar errors, and to expound for theology the dreams of the dregs of the people !

By a very natural train of metamorphoses, after simple facts come emblems to represent them by artists, then these emblems become patterns of actions, and in the end the fact is lost, and the shadow of a shade supplies its place. The illustrious antiquary Bishop Andrew ab Aquino observed some singular representations of baptism on a tomb at Chiaia, a villa near Naples, belonging to his relation, Prince Caramanici (6). He ordered drafts to be taken of two, and sent them to Rome to the celebrated Ciampini, who shewed them to Fabretti and Mabillon. The three connoisseurs supposed them representations of baptism by immersion and superfusion, or pouring water all over, administered by a layman. In one there are eleven human figures, some appear to be intended for Romans because they are clean shaven, others Greeks or Lombards because they have long beards. In the middle stands a large labrum, and in it a prince and princess are kneeling, both naked except the coronets on their heads. The water is supposed to rise above the waist, while a Roman in a lay habit is standing and pouring water plentifully out of a pitcher upon the head of the prince, who lifts up his hands as if in prayer, and who by his beard should be either a Greek or a Lombard. In the other there is the same number of persons. A laver of another form stands by. Four are kneeling on the ground, three clothed, and praying ; the fourth naked except a loose covering round the middle ; one pouring water on the head of the naked person out of a pitcher,

(6) Joan. Mabillon. *Iter Italicum* An. 1685.

and the rest waiting with habits to put upon the newly baptized, when the ceremony is over. Father Mabillon observes that these resemble that of the baptism of Romanus by St. Laurence at Rome, and that they are intended either to exhibit a Greek baptism, where beside trine immersion superfusion is practised, or a baptism where the laver was too small, and where the body was immersed in the laver, and the head was immersed by superfusion. When Strabo reasoned from such a picture for the validity of baptizing by pouring, he resembled the reasoners at Ravenna about their dove. In the opinion of three of the most learned antiquaries that ever lived, who saw and examined what Strabo never did see, both the church of St. Laurence and the drafts of the sepulchre near Naples, and who were not only celebrated antiquaries, but also thoroughly acquainted with ecclesiastical history, and who could not be under any bias to mislead, all are representations of baptism by immersion, and perhaps of a mode of immersing, which was never practised, and was intended by the artists only as emblematical of a ceremony in which persons were stripped naked, and covered all over with water. The conjecture of Strabo founded on an ill written book doth not deserve a moment's attention, in opposition to the united opinion of Fabretti, Ciampini, and Mabillon.

Every thing had a beginning, and there must have been a first artist, who introduced emblems of baptism. He thought, no doubt, he should give a just notion of immersion, (for he could mean no other, as no other was in practice) by placing the lower part of a person in water, either in a river or a bath, and by shewing another person pouring water over the upper part out of the water ; for what could he mean, except that to baptize was to wet all over, to cover the whole man with water ? This rude emblem has been taken for true history, and baptism has been supposed to be rightly administered by pouring, though they who plead for this never practise it, and though there is no proof that any ancient church ever baptized in this manner, and though if it were performed according to the emblem, a person would be, though in the most unpleasant way in the world, drenched in water. When accidents have

put a Greek priest on this expedient, he has, not improperly, accounted it immersion; but such modes were never allowed by law, and the occasional inventions of individuals ought not to pass for either the custom or the law of any church (7). Nor let any one mistake this emblem for a description of the capitulavium of some late Roman Catholics. The pictures intended are of too early date, and were in being long before this ceremony was heard of. Isidore, bishop of Seville in Spain, in the sixth century (8), and H. Rabanus Maurus, (so the manuscripts write his name) archbishop of Mentz in the eighth (9), both say, that on Palm-Sunday the heads of catechumens were washed from dirt contracted in Lent preparatory to their receiving the holy unction at their Easter-baptism, and they add, the common people from this circumstance called Palm-Sunday Capitulavium, or Head Washing Sunday: but ancient Greek and Roman artists could know nothing of this, and the baptism of pouring, a mere vulgar error, may rank with the white pigeon of Ravenna. This error, however, hath been taken for true history by administrators of baptism both before and since the reformation; and baptism hath been administered both by Catholics and Protestants in this manner, with this difference, Catholics did it only in cases of necessity when some impediment lay in the way of dipping, but Protestants by choice, under pretence of the sufficiency of it.

There are many representations of baptism in old church windows, and all in favour of immersion. In Canterbury cathedral, the union of baptism and Noah's flood; the drowning of Pharaoh and the passage of the Israelites through the red sea; the cleansing of a leper, the dipping of Naaman, apostolical baptism, the pool of Bethesda, and Peter's sheet, all explained of ordinary baptism by ancient monkish verses, clearly speak the sense of the designers.

(7) Goar. *Eucholog. Lutet. Paris.* 1647. p. 365. *In baptismatis officium* note. 24.

(8) *De Eccles. Officiis.* Lib. i. Cap. 27. *De die palmarum.*

(9) *De Institut. Cleric.* Lib. ii. Cap. 35. *De die palmar.*

CHAP. XVIII.

OF BAPTISMAL FONTS.

FONS is a fount, or spring, and by a very natural transition, it is frequently put for the stream, and *fontes* for streams, rills, rivulets, brooks, running waters. Buildings erected near such places took their names from them, as persons did from the names of the buildings. Thurstan, archbishop of York, in the twelfth century, founded a monastery near Rippon in Yorkshire, and named it *fontes*, or *monasterium de fontibus*: and in the thirteenth century the abbot of the house John *de fontibus* was bishop of Ely (1). It was for a similar reason that baptisteries and baptismal churches, which were usually dedicated to John the Baptist, were called St. John *ad fontes*. A Saint John *ad fontes* was a sacred edifice, in which there was one baptistery or more, supplied by running water. The building was frequently called *ad fontes*, or simply *fontes*, and so by degrees the bath itself obtained the name of a *font*. When the baptism of infants became an established custom, it was unnecessary for the administrators to go into the water, and they contrived cisterns which they called *fontes*, in which they dipped the children without going into the water themselves. In the first baptisteries, both administrators and candidates went down steps into the bath. In after ages the administrators went up steps to a platform, on which stood a small bath which they called a *font*, into which they plunged children without going into water themselves. In modern practice, the *font* remains, but a bason of water set into the *font* serves the purpose, because it is not now supposed necessary either that the administrator should go into the water, or that the candidate should be immersed.

This in England was custom, not law, for in the time of Queen Elizabeth the governors of the episcopal church in effect expressly prohibited sprinkling by forbidding the use of basons in publick baptism. "Last of all [the church-wardens] shall see, that in every church there be a holy founte, *not a bason*, wherein baptism may be ministered, and it be kept comely and

(1) Lelandi *Collectanea*. *Ex libro incerti auctoris de episcopis Ebor.* Vol. ii. p. 338. A. D. 1132.

clean (2)." "Item, that the font be not removed, nor that the curate do baptize *in parish churches* in any *bassons*, nor in any other form than is already prescribed, &c. (3)." Sprinkling, therefore, was not allowed, except, as in the church of Rome, in cases of necessity at home where a child born after one Sunday or festival was not like to live till the next.

That all fonts, fixed and moveable, were intended for the administration of baptism by dipping, is allowed by antiquaries, and an history of a few may serve to convince any man that their opinion is well founded. Artificial fonts are comprehended in three classes, original, missionary, and ordinary parochial fonts.

About the middle of the fourth century, during the pontificate of Liberius, Damasus, who was afterwards Pope, constructed a baptismal font in the old Vatican church at Rome (4). The spot had been a burial place, and stagnant waters rendered it offensive. Damasus caused the oozing waters to be traced to their spring, and by laying pipes under ground, received and carried the whole in a stream into the church, where it fell into a large receptacle of beautiful alabaster marble, the undulated veins of which produced a pleasing effect in the water, as also did the reflection of the ornamented roof, the pannels, and the altars of the chapel; for the figures above seemed to live and move in the transparent fluid below. Of this font, which was truly and properly an ecclesiastical bath or baptistery, the Catholicks tell two remarkable stories. They say, Pope Liberius in this font on a holy Saturday baptized of both sexes and of different ranks eight thousand eight hundred and ten catechumens (5). They add, that on another holy Saturday when Pope Damasus was baptizing here, the crowd was so great that a little boy was pushed into the font, and was drowned: that it was an hour before they could get the corpse out: that Damasus

(2) *A booke of certaine canons, concerning some parte of the discipline of the church of England. In the year of our Lord 1571. At London by John Daye. Cum privileg. &c. page 19.*

(3) *Aduertisements partely for due order in the publike administration of common prayers, and using the holy sacraments: and partely for the apparel of all persons ecclesiastical, by virtue of the Queenes Maiesties Letters, commanding the same the xv day of January. in the seauenth yeere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth, &c. Printed at London by Dawson, 1584.*

(4) Ciampini *De Sacr. Ædif.* Cap. iv.

(5) Ciampini *ut sup.*

lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed God to restore him to life : that the boy was restored to life and perfect health : and that the restoration convinced the multitude of the power of God and the holiness of his servant the pope (6). Of such tales, chiefly does the pontifical consist : but these do not effect the history of the font itself, which is taken from other, and undoubted monuments (7). Near the font Pope Symmachus erected a magnificent altar adorned with various emblems, and dedicated it to John the Baptist. It was commonly called the altar of St. John *ad fontes*. When it fell into decay, two cardinals of the family of the Ursini repaired and endowed it (8).

A font remarkable in ecclesiastical history, is that belonging to the church of Notre Dame, in which Clovis the first catholick, if not the first christian king of the Franks, was baptized. It stood without the church, and it is mentioned here for the sake of observing, that two opinions of baptism generally received are mere popular errors, expressly contradicted by this as well as by other ancient and authentick monuments.

It is commonly said, by such as allow immersion to have been the primitive mode of baptism, that dipping was exchanged for sprinkling on account of the coldness of the climates of some countries in connection with the Roman church. Here are two mistakes, the one that dipping was exchanged for sprinkling by choice : and the other, that coldness of climate was the reason. It is not true that dipping was exchanged for sprinkling by choice before the reformation, for till after that period, the ordinary baptism was trine immersion, and sprinkling was held valid only in cases of *necessity*. In this font Clovis was dipped three times in water at his baptism (9). Modern French writers observe, with becoming dignity, that their first christian king had too much spirit to submit to profess a religion before he had examined whether it were true ; and that Vedast and Remigius first instructed him in the doctrine of the holy trinity, which he afterward professed to believe by being thrice dipped at his

(6) Baron. *Annal.* 384.

(7) Ciamp. *ut sup.* Damasi *versicul. fragment in cryptis Vaticanis.*

(8) Ibid. N. 30.

(9) Car. Le Cointe *Annales An.* 496.

baptism (1). More than three thousand Franks were baptized at the same season in the same manner: nor did sprinkling appear in France till more than two hundred and fifty years after the baptism of Clovis; and then it was invented not as a mode of administering baptism in ordinary, but as a *private* relief in a case of necessity. The other opinion of the coldness of the climate operating toward the disuse of immersion is equally groundless. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, led all the first French historians into the error of believing that Clovis was baptized at Easter: but later historians have corrected this mistake, by remarking that Avitus, a contemporary writer, better informed than Hincmar, who lived in the time of Charlemagne, three hundred and fifty years after the event, Avitus, who was intimate with Clovis, and who wrote to compliment him on his baptism, expressly declares, he was baptized the night preceding Christmas-Day (2). Audofledis, the sister of Clovis, was baptized at the same time by trine immersion, and no change of the mode of administration was made on account either of her sex, or her rank, or her health, which probably was doubtful, for she died soon after, or the season of the year (3.) The baptism of this king was an event of so much consequence, that it made a principal article in the history of his life: it was recorded in an epitaph on his tomb, and the baptistery is there called a font: a full proof therefore that font at that time signified a spacious bath (4). This at the church of Notre Dame, and that at the Vatican were original fonts. The fonts of missionaries make a class divisible into three: fonts of choice; fonts of necessity; and fonts of fancy. So for distinction sake they may at present be named.

In the close of the seventh century some English and Irish monks went over to the Netherlands to convert the inhabitants of that country to catholicism. An accident at sea obliged them to land on an island which was called Fosteland, and which others name Helgoland or Heiligland. Here they found the inhabitants were

(1) *Hist. Littéraire De La France.* Tom. iii. Clovis i. s. i.

(2) *Aviti Episcop. Viennensis Epist. ad Clodoveum. De suscepta ab eo Christi fide, atque baptismo.*

(3) *Remigii Rhemorum Episc. Epist. ad Cloveum.*

(4) *Hist. Littéraire. ut sup.*

idolaters, and among other superstitions they held a certain fountain, or pit at a spring head, in profound veneration, so that when they fetched water from it, they observed a solemn silence. One of the missionaries determined by a publick action to break the charm and undeceive the solemn votaries of the fountain god. For this purpose he baptized three converts in the font in the name of the trinity, and the experiment succeeded among the common people (5). Rathbod, king of the Frieslanders, was offended, and persecuted them so that they fled. A few years after they returned to the charge, and one of them, Wulfran, then bishop of Sens, succeeded so far as to engage Rathbod himself to agree to be baptized. The day appointed for the ceremony came, and the people with the priests proceeded with the royal convert to the font. When the service had been performed so far that the king had set one foot into the water, he stopped short, and with a stern dignity becoming his rank solemnly adjured the bishop in the name of Almighty God to inform him, whether his departed ancestors, the ancient nobility and kings of Friesland, were in that celestial region, which had been promised him on condition he were baptized, or in that infernal gulf which he had been describing as the future abode of the unbaptized? Wulfran replied: Excellent prince, be not deceived: God hath a certain number of his elect. Your predecessors, former princes of the Frisians, dying unbaptized, are undoubtedly damned; but henceforth whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be happy with Christ forever in heaven. O, if that be the case, exclaimed Rathbod, withdrawing his foot from the font, I cannot consent to give up the company of my noble predecessors in exchange for that of a few poor people in your celestial region; or rather, I cannot admit your novel positions, but I prefer the ancient and universal opinions of my own nation (6). Having so said, he retired, refusing, says the historian, to be dipped in the font of regeneration; *fonte regenerationis noluit mergi*. By choice, therefore, sometimes missionaries baptized by immersion in open waters, and par-

(5) Alcuin. *apud* Sur. Tom. vi Nov. 7.

(6) Hæc audiens Dux incredulus (nam ad fontem processerat, ut ferunt) a fonte pedem retraxit, dicens, &c.---Baron. *Ann.* 697--719. *Æ.* Jona. *apud* Sur. *die* 20. *Martii*. Tom. ii.

ticularly at well, or spring-heads, where the god of the stream was honoured by the Pagans. They thought it was an act of heroism, a carrying of the war into the very heart of the enemy's country.

By fonts of *necessity* are meant such convenient places to baptize in as missionaries made use of when they had not time or ability to erect regular chapels for artificial baths. The old chroniclers of this country say, the first missionaries from Rome baptized the Anglo-Saxons in rivers; and John Fox observes, that "Whereas Austin baptized then in rivers, it followeth, there was then no use of fonts:" but this is not quite accurate, for the monks called those parts of the rivers, in which they administered baptism, fonts. It is also remarkable, that Paulinus, chaplain of the Queen of Northumberland, when he had prevailed on Edwin, her consort, to profess the religion of the queen, hastily ran up a wooden booth at York, which he called St. Peter's church, and in which he catechized and baptized the king and many of the nobility. Edwin after his conversion began to build of stone a cathedral on the spot, the walls of which were erected round about the wooden building, that being left standing in the centre, probably for a baptistery for the use of persons of rank, who might not choose to expose themselves undressed before a gazing multitude (7.) The same Paulinus baptized openly in the river Swale, "for, (says Bede), they could not build oratories or baptisteries there in the infancy of the church." Edwin afterward enclosed several springs by the road side in the north, and set there large basons of brass to wash or to bath in for the accommodation of travellers, and most likely by advice of the monks for the purpose of baptizing. Pope Gregory says, Austin baptized more than ten thousand persons on a Christmas-Day. (8) Allowing this saint his usual privilege of affirming the thing that is not, in regard to the number of persons baptized, it is very credible he spoke truth in respect to the day, for he had no interest to serve, but rather the contrary, for his interest in Italy was to set a gloss on Eastern baptism: and the baptism of Clovis on the same day renders his testimony highly probable.

(7) Bedæ *Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. Cap. xiv.*

(8) Gregor. i. *Epist. Lib. vii. Ep. xxx. Eulogio. Episc. Alexandrine.*

If so, this is an additional proof that dipping was not exchanged for sprinkling on account of coldness of climate. It seems, then, Paulinus baptized in a river because he had no baptismal chapels : and he baptized king Edwin and his court in a temporary wooden oratory, because he had not any such baptistery as the wealth and elegance of the Greeks and Romans had erected. In the 12th century, Otho, bishop of Bamberg, baptized his converts in Pomerania in bathing tubs let into the ground, and surrounded with posts, ropes from post to post, and curtains hanging on the ropes (9). Within the curtains the people undressed, were baptized, and afterward dressed again. Many of these also were used for baptism in the depth of winter, and the baths and tents were warmed by stoves.

Among fonts of necessity such are to be placed as were allowed to be used in private houses in cases of necessity. In a statute of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, it is ordered, that if a child should be baptized at home by a layman in case of necessity, the remaining water should be either cast into a fire, or carried to the church and poured into the baptistery : and the vessel in which the child had been baptized should be either burned, or appropriated to the use of the church (1). Canonists expound this statute by observing, that a true and proper baptism was trine immersion, by a priest, with orderly ceremonies, and nothing else : that, however, as baptism was essential to salvation, the church in her great clemency for infants allowed in case of danger of immediate death and consequent damnation, a priest, or a layman, or any body to baptize by pouring, or, even by sprinkling, yea, by touching a toe or a finger of the babe with water : that for these purposes a bathing tub was to be prepared, and water if possible to dip, or if that could not be, to use a part for sprinkling, on condition that the remaining water and the utensil were disposed of as above : and they add that the use to which the church applied such a vessel, was that of washing in it surplices and altar clothes, and other ecclesiastical linen (2). Such a bathing-tub, or wash-trough is the *pelvis* of an-

(9) B. Ottonis *vita apud Canisii Lecton. antiq.*

(1) *De Baptismo, et ejus effectu*

(2) Lyndwood *Provinciale. Oxoniæ* 1679. Lib. iii. tit. xxiv. pag. 242.

cient ritualists, and it is with great inattention that the word is rendered *bason*, and with greater still that an argument for sprinkling is drawn from it (3). Dr. Johnson observes, that the Saxon word *Baƿ*, *bat*, hath given rise to a great number of words in many languages (4). Ælfric in his Glossary translates it by the Latin word *linter*, and he places it first in his list of names of ships and their accompaniments, for *baƿ* with the Saxons, like *linter* with the Latins signified a little boat made of a tree hollowed or scooped out like a tray or trough. Such were the first boats of most nations. It was, therefore, with great propriety that the word *baƿ* was put, in after-times, both for a wherry and a trough, for at first both were one and the same thing. Hence came the Saxon word *Bæƿ*, *baeth*, a bath, with its compounds and derivatives, as *Stanbaeth*, a stone bath, *Baethan* to wash, to bathe, and hence, most likely, came the modern English word *bason*; a word to this day so vague that it is necessary to describe a size by an affix, as *hand-bason*, *rock-bason*, *sea-bason*, and so on. Dr. Johnson says, *basin* is the true spelling according to etymology, not *bason*: but this is probable only to such as derive the word from French or Italian. Elegant modern writers retain the old spelling, and it seems far more probable, as the word is of Saxon origin, that it was derived from *bat-stone*: as *bat-stone*, *base-stone*: *bason*. A *bat-stone* was a *base-stone*, or a concave or hollowed stone, the hole in which served as a socket to receive the foot of an upright pillar. However it were, all such vessels were fonts of necessity, and it is credible, various kinds and different sizes were used as exigences required.

By *fancy-fonts* are intended such as were erected and decorated with a variety of ornaments, merely to serve the temporary purpose of one baptism. These are put into the class of *missionary-fonts*, because they do not imply a stated administrator: and because they were set up in places where baptism was not ordinarily administered. It is at royal or noble christenings that these make their appearance. In these a baptizer was ap-

(3) R. Hospiniani *De Orig. Templorum*. Lib. ii. Cap. iv. *De origine Baptisterii*.

(4) *Dictionary* under the word *Bat*.

pointed to officiate for the time, and the ceremony was performed in royal or domestic chapels, or in conventual or collegiate churches, where no fonts were required, because no parish and no cure of souls were annexed to them (5).

Always before the christening, and generally before the birth of a royal child, a baptismal font was prepared. The church was hung with rich tapestry, or cloth of gold, called Arras, from the town of that name in Artois, where it was manufactured. The ceilings as well as the walls of the porch were covered with the same. The floor was boarded and carpetted. The altars were hung with rich embroidered cloths, and sumptuously furnished with images, and church-plate. In a conspicuous part of the church, an area was railed in, and on the rails was tacked with brass nails cloth of scarlet, or blue, or such colour as the mistress of the ceremonies directed, fringed or bordered according to her taste. Within the railing there were three open spaces: one faced the door of the church, and by this the company entered the area: the second faced the high altar at the upper end of the church, for the purpose of passing from the area to the altar: the third was opposite what they called the travers. Trave is a frame. A baptismal travers was a high frame of wood set on the floor like a skreen, and hung with curtains of coloured silks, satin, damask, or tapestry, plain fringed, or embroidered, and set off at the top with deep valence, and corniche, like the tester and head of a bed. The travers was a sort of retiring room for the ladies, who waited on the royal infant at his baptism, and it was furnished with chairs, cushions, pans of lighted well-burnt charcoal, basons, napkins, water warm and cold, perfumes, and so on, "ready for the chaungeinge of the childe out of the clothes, and makinge it ready unto christendome:" and "afterward, to *washe* the childe if neade be, and to make him ready," cleanse him in case of accidents, and dress him after his baptism. The case referred to often happened, and the manuals of the monks provided for it.

Infans in fontem si stercorat ejice fontem :

Si dimittit in huac urinam : quæstio non est (6).

(5) Lyndwood *ubi sup.* Edmundi canon.

(6) Raymundi *Summula.* Fol. xlviii. *De Sac. confirm.*

From this accident, some acquired a nick-name, which went with them through life, as Cyprian, Copronymus, and others. In the centre of the area a high platform was raised with steps carpetted all over. On a pedestal in the middle stood the font, by the side of which lay a broad step covered with scarlet cloth for the administrator to stand on. Sometimes an old font of stone was set, at other times a new one was made, but generally a silver font kept at Canterbury for the purpose was fetched and used on this occasion. Whatever it were, it was hung round withoutside with cloth of gold, and covered withinside and at bottom with raynes, that is, soft linen gathered and puckered in many folds, and intended, no doubt, to prevent any accidental bruising of the tender babe. Over the font was a large and rich canopy of damask, satin sarcenet, or raynes, bordered and valenced with fringe or cloth of gold. The whole was magnificent, and the taste of the ladies regulated every part, for before a queen lay in, "women were made all manner of officers for the month, as butlers, panthers, and so on." The ordinances now recited were chiefly drawn up by Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, who placed all the decorations of the queen's lying-in-room, the royal bed, and the cradles, the nursery, the church, chapels, and altars; the habits of the prince, the font, the traverses, and the rest, with splendour and taste, properly disposing cloths, silks, velvets, linens and trains, adjusting the places and sizes of ornaments; the colours of white, brown, blue, scarlet, purple, silver, gold, ermine, crimson, russet, stripes, and shades; the appendages of silk-fringes, embroidery, lace, lawn, tassels, pommels, devices and coats of arms, so as to exhibit a superb apparatus of the magnificence and taste of the times (7). On such theatres a courtly prelate in imperial robes represented John the Baptist, the part of Jesus was performed in crimson lined with ermine by a princely babe, the silver font set forth the river Jordan, and the noble mistress of the ceremonies with magick wand like a goddess created a scenery, supplied the place of a deity, and covered the beggarly elements of popes and councils from contempt.

(7) Lelandi *Collectanea* Vol. iv. p. 179. Vol. ii. p. 663. *Baptizatio regine Elizabethæ apud Greenwich.*

At the baptism of Prince Edward, afterward king Edward VI. in the chapel of Hampton-Court, Archbishop Cranmer stood godfather for the prince, as he had done four years before for the Princess Elizabeth, who was born at Greenwich, and baptized in the conventual church of the Franciscan friars (8). Similar pomp was displayed at both, and the whole ceremonial is inserted in histories of the times. A detail would be tedious : but two or three remarks may not be impertinent.

The princess was born in September, the prince in October : but both were carried to church and baptized in publick, and both by t ine immersion, so that dipping had not then been exchanged for sprinkling on account of cold.

This was no novelty, as the practice of one royal family will prove. Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII. was born at Winchester on the twentieth of October, fourteen hundred and eighty-six. The Sunday following he was carried in procession to the cathedral to be christened. Although the "*wether was to coulde and to fowle to have been at the west ende of the chirche :*" yet an accident happened, which obliged the company to wait in the church "*iii owres largely and more.*" The Earl of Oxford had been appointed one of the three godfathers. His lordship was at Lavenham in Suffolk when the prince was born. A messenger was dispatched, and a time fixed for the baptism. His lordship set forward, hoping to arrive in time : but as "*the season was al rayny,*" he could not reach Winchester so soon as he expected. The procession, however, set forward : news came the earl was near, yet he did not arrive. This was no inconvenience to the company, for there were traverses with fires in them in the church, and into one the prince was carried, while the nobility retired into others, and partook of spices, wines, and refreshments. At length, a courier arrived with intelligence that Lord Oxford was "*within a myle.*" The bishop then began the service ; for the Earl of Derby and Lord Maltravers had been appointed godfathers at the baptism, and the queen dowager godmother, and the Earl of Oxford had been appointed godfather at the confirmation, which followed baptism, and which was perform-

(8) *Baptizatio Eliz.* ut sup . . . Vol. ii. p. 670.

ed at the high altar where the child was carried as soon as he was dressed after his baptism. The service therefore proceeded, for the part of Lord Oxford came in toward the latter end : and "*incontinent after the prince was put into the fount, then entrede th' Erle of Oxinforde. From the fount the prince was had to his travers.*" From thence, after he was dressed, he was carried to the altar, upon which his royal godmother laid him. After some ceremonies, Lord Oxford "*toke the prince in his right arme, and the bishop of Excester confermyd him* (9).

Three years after, his majesty thought fit to create Arthur and some others Knights of the Bath. The thirtieth of November was fixed on for the ceremony, and bathing the night before was a part of it. Neither the tender age of the prince, nor the weak state of his health, (for some say he was born a month before his time : and it is certain he died before he was fifteen) nor the season of the year, nor the time of night, was supposed to render bathing hazardous : but "*when it was nyght the prince's bayne [bath] was prepared in the kinge's closet. And in the entre betwene the parliament chambre and the chapelle was the baynes of the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lord Maltravers, and the Lord Gray Ruthyn.*" While they were thus preparing for knighthood, about nine o'clock of the same night the queen was delivered of a princess, afterward Margaret, queen of Scotland. All the furniture of her majesty's lying-in-room is described with punctilious detail, but there doth not appear any utensil for a private baptism of necessity, and the abbey church at Westminster, and the rich font at Canterbury, were "*prepayred as of old tyme ben accustomed for kyngs chyl dren.*" Next day, the thirtieth of November, the new-born princess was carried in procession to the church to be christened : and "*as son as she was put into the font, all the torches wer light, and the taper also, and the officers of arms put on ther cotys of arms,*" and the herald pronounced her name and title. After the whole service had been performed, the procession returned "*wythe nois of trompettis, and with Crystis blessing. Amen.*" So little did the royal family dread bathing their chil-

(9) Leland. *ut sup.* Vol. iv.

dren, and so little did they encourage private baptism, that a female child, the day after her birth, was carried to church and baptized by trine immersion, when the court had begun or were about beginning to keep Christmas, and at a season when "*the meazellis wer soo strong and in especiall amongis the ladies and gentil-wemen, that sum died of that sikeness, as the Lady Nevill, doughter of William Paston: wherfor on Seint John's day the Qween was prively cherched or purified (1).*"

To return to the children of Henry VIII. The font used at the baptism of the Princess Elizabeth was silver, probably the old one of Canterbury: that of Prince Edward, "*the most dearest sonne of the king,*" was of silver gilt, and very likely a new one. This, however, is not certain, for there was one of silver gilt used at the baptism of Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII. Each was set upon a stage with steps carpetted, having above a canopy of crimson satin fringed with gold, and a travers on the floor near the bottom step with lighted charcoal, basons, water, perfumes, and all other conveniences to wash the children, "*if need were.*" "*All the tyme of the princes opening,*" noblemen, "*with aprons and towels about their necks,*" stood round the steps, the "*baptizer*" and the godfathers stood under the canopy, to "*abide the coming,*" of the lady godmother and the princes out of the travers, and the ceremony of hallowing the font was performed meanwhile. All this is a preparation for undressing in order to dip, and for dipping after undressing (2). Since sprinkling took place, no such services are necessary.

After baptism, "*in tyme the prince was making ready in his travers,*" the officiating part of the company were waited on with basons and towels: then they were "*served with spice in spice-plates, wyne and wafers, and all other estates and gentiles within the church and the court were served with spice and ypcras, and all other had bread and sweet wyne.*" Next Te Deum was sung: and lastly the prince was brought out of his travers, and carried home in procession along with the

(1) *The same*, p. 250.

(2) *Baptizatio* ---- *Christening* ---- *as above* ---- *Fox's Acts and Monuments. An. 1533. Queene Elizabeth christened*, p. 962.

rich gifts given by the godfathers. He had been conducted thither by the choir chanting : but he returned with trumpets sounding, and as the king on such occasions gave great largess, all manner of festivity crowned the day (3). The interlude in the church was well adapted to give time to dress royal infants. Such have been the sports of fancy in baptism, and so full of meaning is the saying of Jesus concerning John the Baptist, *Behold they that wear soft clothing are in king's houses* (4).

In the last class may be placed all fonts in *parish churches* for the publick ordinary baptism of children. These came forward along with infant-baptism. Before the coming of Austin, the monk, there were Christians in this country. When he came, he brought monachism, which he called Christianity, and endeavoured to unite that with the Christianity of the Britons. To this the Britons objected, because one of his requisitions was, that they should give *christendome*, that is, *baptism* to children, which they positively refused to do. King Ethelbert, the first royal convert of Austin, was a mild prince, he had no notion of converting men by fire and sword ; and although he was baptized himself, yet he did not attempt to force his subjects to become either Christians or Catholicks (5). Historians, who affirm he was taught by the catholick doctors liberality of sentiment, impose on themselves, for whatever they pretend, there is yet extant a letter of Pope Gregory to him fraught with maxims of fraud and force, supported by precedents of cruelty and luxury, and fired with false alarms concerning the end of the world. It is credible this great king was a much better man before his conversion than after. Even the Pagan priests had not learned to persecute before the Roman missionaries taught them. They bore no arms when they travelled, they either walked, or rode like those who tilled the ground mounted on dull and drowsy mares : but no sooner had Paulinus converted one, than out he sallied on a fiery steed full armed to destroy altars and temples, and of course to plunder property and oppress his

(3) *Christening of Prince Edward*, p. 674, 675.

(4) Matt. xi. 8

(5) *Bedæ Eccles. Hist.* Lib. i. Cap. xxx.

peaceful neighbours (6). In this spirit barbarous Austin, a foreigner, caused the murder of twelve hundred native British Christians, and forced monachism on the Pagans, and as a part of it infant-baptism. Fonts for this purpose rose out of ecclesiastical canons, and foreign customs and foreign laws were imported, by which each parish was ordered to provide founts of wood or stone, the latter if possible, for the baptism of children.

All these founts were evidently intended for dipping, as the size of them proves, and as the laws and rubricks of the church ordain. Writers on topographical antiquities mention a great many; and the learned and indefatigable author of that complete body of information, entitled *British Topography*, hath taken the pains on this, as on all other articles, to arrange and class the materials with wonderful precision, for the benefit of investigators (7). It may be proper to run the eye over some of the most remarkable founts. The continent would furnish many, but a few of this country will serve to elucidate this article.

Grymbald was a native of French Flanders, and Ælfred, the glory of the Saxon kings, brought him into England in the year eight hundred eighty five, and placed him at Oxford (8). There, in the first school founded by Ælfred, he taught divinity along with the Abbot Neot, and he may justly be reputed, as by the Oxonians he is, one of the founders and first ornaments of that noble University (9). The old church of St. Peter was built by Grymbald, and a part of it remains entire to this day. In this church there was till lately a very ancient baptismal font, of elegant sculpture for the time. Mr. Hearne thought, it was of the same date as that of Winchester, and he adds: after it had kept its place about five hundred years, it was ordered to be removed, and one much inferior to be put in its place.

(6) S. Gregorii. *Pape Epist. Lib. ix. Indict. iv. Ep. lx.* Aldiberto regi Anglorum.

(7) *British Topography, or an historical account of what hath been done for illustrating the topographical antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland.* London, 1780. Vol. i. Baptistry at Canterbury—Fonts at Luton—Rochester, Bridekirk—Alphington—Chipping—Vol ii. Font of Edward the Confessor—of Grymbald—at Winchester—at Oxford—at Worlingworth—at Brighthelmstone, &c.

(8) *Ex vita Grimaldi. apud Leland. Collectan.* Tom i. page 21.

(9) Ant. a Wood. *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxoniensis. Oxonii, 1674.* Lib. i.

It was therefore turned out, and put over a well (1). It is in circumference eleven feet, and of proportional depth. In separate niches the twelve apostles are represented. The upper part is bordered with a running sprig. The form is circular. The place, the size, and the sculpture, serve to inform a spectator, that, in the opinion of the donor, the *dipping* of children according to the prescribed form of the church was *apostolical* baptism.

In the church of Bridekirk near Cockermouth, in Cumberland, there is "a large open vessel of greenish stone," which antiquaries pronounce a Danish font (2). It is undoubtedly a very ancient, a very rude, and a very singular curiosity. That it was intended for a baptismal font *ab origine*, as bishop Gibson observes, cannot be questioned; for on the east side the baptism of Christ is represented. Jesus stands naked "in a kind of font or vase, with a nimbus almost defaced round his head, and over him a dove (3)." On his right hand near the font stands John the Baptist, his left hand being behind the shoulders of Jesus, and his right on his side. On the north side of the font is supposed to be a relief of the angel driving Adam and Eve out of Paradise. Eve kneeling at the foot of a tree, and clinging round it as if unwilling to depart (4). If the drawing be exact, it may be supposed, antiquaries are led to judge, that the artist intended the expulsion from Paradise, not because the sculpture necessarily exhibits such a meaning, but because three human figures and a tree are in a representation that *ought* to have some connexion with baptism. The conjecture, however, is ingenious, and very likely. Whether the sculpture on the east and west sides be merely ornamental, or hieroglyphical, is not determined. The inscription is on the south side, and it hath occasioned many conjectures. "The chief part of the characters are Runic, yet some are purely Saxon: and the language of the whole, says Bishop Nicholson, seems a mixture of the Danish and Saxon tongues, the natural effect of the two nations being jumbled together

(1) Thomæ Hearnii *præfat. ad Lelandi Collectan.* Vol. i. pag. 29.

(2) Camden's *Britannia.* Gibson's Edit. Vol. ii. p. 1007 *et seq.*

(3) Rev. Mr. John Bell's (*Vicar of Bridekirk*) letter Dec'r 11, 1767. in *Archæologia.*

(4) *Archæol.* Vol. ii. plate ix. p. 133.

in this part of the world." Thus his lordship reads it.
 ER EKARD MEN EGROCTEN : AND TO DIS MEN
 RED WER TANER MEN BROGTEN. *Here Ekard*
was converted : and to this man's example were the
Danes brought (5).

Bishop Lyttleton entirely agreed with his learned predecessor, that the inscription was Danish : but he strongly suspected that the font was of higher antiquity, and that the inscription was added on a memorable event about the beginning of the eleventh century, under the Danish government. Both their Lordships supposed Ekard to have been "a Danish general, who received baptism on his conversion to Christianity, and whose example was then followed by several of his countrymen at this place (6)." The Danes made their first incursions into this kingdom in seven hundred eighty-seven, and it seems not improbable that this font was set up about a hundred years after in the reign of Ælfred, or in that of his son Edward, for both entered into treaty with the Danes, and the treaties were confirmed by the baptism of the Danish generals (7). In that between Ælfred and Gothrun the Dane, the baptism of the Danes, was one condition, and Gothrun and thirty officers were baptized in a river. Some provision, no doubt, was made for the baptism of their children, for the catholick missionaries never forgot this favourite maxim of Austin their leader ; and as the Danes inhabited Northumberland, in which a part of Cumberland was then included, so it is credible that Bridekirk font is of earlier date than that in the church of Grymbald, and is the oldest font yet remaining in this kingdom, being of the ninth century, when the Danes first received the catholick religion. Whether the font be Danish or Saxon, the baptism represented on it is that of the Catholicks opposed to that of the old Pelagian Britons. The artist intended to represent the *reason* for baptizing infants, that is, original sin derived from Adam ; and the *mode* of baptizing, that is, immersion, after the example of Jesus the second Adam. To this the laws of the times of Ælfred, and of succeeding synods agree, and partic-

(5) Gough's *Topography*, Vol. i. p. 285.

(6) Bishop Lyttleton's *Description of an ancient font at Bridekirk, in Cumberland. Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 8, 1767. Archæol. Vol. ii. xxi.*

(7) H. Spelman. *Concilia. Leg. Eccles. ab Aluredo et Guthurno.*

ularly those which are entitled, *Northumbrian priests laws* (8).

Among the plates published by Mr. Strutt, there is one from a manuscript life of Richard, earl of Warwick, which represents "how he was baptized, havng to his godfathers King Richard the second, and Seynt Richard Scrope, then [1381] Bishop of Lichefeld, and after in processe of tyme he was Archebishop of Yorke (9)." This plate Mr. Strutt took from "a very curious and valuable manuscript in the Cotton Library, marked Julius, E. IV. The original delineations, together with the writing, are all done by the hand of John Rouse, the Warwickshire antiquary and historian, who died the 14th of January, 1491, the seventh year of Henry the Seventh. It is illustrated with 53 excellent delineations, which fully explain the manners and customs of the times in which they were done (1)." Round a neat Saxon font the company stand. A bishop is holding the child, stark naked, and just going to be dipped, over the font. The hand of the royal godfather is on his head. The archdeacon, according to custom, stands by the bishop holding up the service book open, which implies that the baptism is performing according to the Ritual. As the child's face is toward the water, this is the last of the three immersious, and the bishop may be supposed now uttering the last clause of the baptismal words: *and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.* The priest on the other side of the officiating bishop is holding the chrism. Fonts, like medals, form an history, and from an history of fonts incontestible evidence rises to prove that during the whole reign of Popery publick ordinary baptism was administered by immersion: that the mode was not changed to sprinkling here, any more than on the continent, for such considerations as climate or timidity, rank or caprice; and that in the publick opinion there was no hazard to health in dipping infants. The noble babe whose baptism is here represented was born on the twenty-eighth of January at Salwarp, in the county of Worcester.

Ordinary baptism was administered by trine immersion, and fonts competent to this mode of baptizing

(8) *Spelman ut sup. Circa an. 988. Lambard. Aluredi leg.*

(9) *View of Manners, &c. Vol. ii. Plate viii. p. 121.*

(1) *Page. 119. Account of the principal MSS. &c.*

were parts of the establishment. Doctor William Lyndwood, who was first Chancellor of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, next Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and lastly, Bishop of St. David's, and Ambassador to several foreign courts, compiled, at the request of the Archbishop, his *PROVINCIALE*, or the provincial constitutions of fourteen archbishops of Canterbury, beginning with Stephen Langton, in the reign of King John, and ending with the then archbishop Henry Chicheley (2). In Langton's time the papal despotism arrived at its summit: in the days of Chicheley it began to fall, when, by authority of a parliament holden at Leicester, one hundred and ten alien priories were suppressed, and their possessions given to the king, and to his heirs forever (3). Lyndwood began to compile this book in fourteen hundred twenty three, and to the statutes he added a gloss expository of every doubtful word, unquestionably taken from the practice of the courts. By a canon of Edmund, archbishop in the reign of Henry III. every baptismal church was required to provide a *competent* baptistery of *stone* or *other* material. The learned canonist observes, on the word *stone*, that it was agreeable to a foreign canon of the church: on the word *other*, that it signified a material solid, durable and strong, that would hold water: and on the word *competent*, that it meant such an one as would admit of the *dipping* of the person baptized; *sic quod baptizandus possit in eo mergi* (4). By a canon of Archbishop Peckham, and by that of Edmund, just mentioned, provision is made for cases of *necessity*. Lyndwood observes on the word, that canonists defined the several cases of necessity to be, imminent danger of *death*, a state of *hostility*; an *incursion of thieves*; an *inundation of water*, or any similar obstruction of the *road*; or a *legal* disability. In another statute of Peckham to confirm a former canon of the Cardinal Legate Ottoboni, baptism is called *immersion*. Here the commentator makes a great many curious remarks on the cases in which immersion may be dispensed with, and observes, that although, if a child died before it was fully born, it was held valid to salvation, and to christian

(2) Fr. Godwini. *de præsul. Angliæ.*

(3) Speed. *Hen.* iii. (4) Lib. iii. Tit. 24. *De baptismo et ejus effectu.*

burial, to touch any part of it with a *drop* of water; yet it was safer, if it could be done after its birth, to *pour* water on its *head*; that in case, after it had been wetted with baptismal water before its birth, it should live, it would not be amiss to baptize it by *immersion* in the conditional form, by saying, if thou hast not been baptized I baptize thee, and so on: and that in all possible cases it was safest to immerse the *whole* body; and most laudable to immerse *three* times (5). It hath been observed before, that baptisteries, strictly so called, imply an intermediate state of baptism between that in rivers, and that in fountains, and a very sufficient reason may be given for the paucity of such edifices in Britain. The baptism of minors prevailed for ages in some countries, and there many baptisteries appear among catholic antiquities: but catholicism arrived here late, monks were the missionaries, and the unyielding firmness of the old British Christians, who, probably, were not believers of original sin, and who certainly opposed infant baptism, inspired the monks with caution on this head. There were, however, as Bede observes, some of these oratories or baptismal chapels erected here at first, and a chapel of the abbey at Braintree in Essex seems to have been one. The period of these is that between the coming of Austin and the conquest by the Normans, and this chapel is supposed to be of that period. In seventeen hundred seventy-two, Mr. Strutt preserved the last remnant of this antique from oblivion, and hath giving both a drawing of the east front, and a description of the whole. It was dedicated to John Baptist, and it was about fifteen feet in breadth, and its length measuring in the inside was about thirty (6). The size agrees with that of many baptisteries abroad. The Balneum or bathing-room of a Roman Bath at the west end of the parish church of St. Mary at Dover measures, one side, twenty-five feet, and the learned antiquary who surveyed it supposed it had been forty feet in length (7). Very

(5) *Tit. 25. d. immersio. An debeat esse trina, vel unica, et an sufficit aspersione?* - - - Tutius est quod totus mergatur in aqua. - - 24. e. *Vas illud. Licet immersio possit solum esse una, ut dixi in principio, probabilior tamen est consuetudo quæ ter immergit, quia significat fidem trinitatis, et triduum sepulture Christi.*

(6) *View of Manners, &c. Vol. i. pag. 35. Plate ii. Fig. 2.*

(7) *Rev. Mr. Lyon's Description of a Roman bath at Dover. Archaeol. Vol. v. xxxiii.*

likely it had been used at first for the church baptistery. The baptistery of St. Sophia at Constantinople (8), and that at Milan (9), were larger than this: those at Ravenna are between this and the chapel at Braintree; and, in brief, they differed in size as all other buildings did (1).

Some baptisteries and fonts are connected with ecclesiastical history of the places where they are. Thus, for example, the remarkable circular building situated near the north door of the cathedral church of Canterbury, vulgarly called BELL-JESUS, and which the accurate and ingenious Mr. Gostling with great reason supposed to have been a baptistery, is historically connected with the more ancient font at St. Martin's, the moveable silver font mentioned in royal christenings, and the modern font, which was given by Bishop Warner in the reign of Charles I. (2). These are connected with another article, the date of the church of St. Martin, and that with the original character of the Bishop of St. Martin, and the nature of his bishoprick. Somner, Lambarde, and others, prove from the archives of the cathedral, that there was a bishop's see at the church of St. Martin from the time of Theodore to Lanfranck, that is, three hundred and forty-nine years (3). "Then Lanfranck, not liking to have two bishops to one city," either converted the bishoprick into an archdeaconry, or changed the chorepiscopal archdeacon into a simple archdeacon, that is, stripped him of his chorepiscopal title and power: as, probably, some early catholick bishop had ages before deprived a former bishop of St. Martin of his Saxon or British independency. This leads back to the state of Christianity in Britain before the coming of Austin, and of course the Canterbury fonts and baptisteries are monuments closely connected with history.

(8) Dufresne *Hist. Byzant.* - - *Notæ in Pauli Silent. Descript. S. Sophiæ Baptistarii.*

(9) Vicecomitis *Observat. Eccles.* Tom. i. Lib. i. cap. 4. *An Baptisteria semper in ecclesia fuerint? Et de more in fluminibus, fontibus, viis, ac carceribus baptizandi.*

(1) Ferd. Ughelli *Italia Sacra passim.* - - -

(2) Rev. Mr. Gostling's *Walk in and about the city of Canterbury.* Cant. 1774. - - - W. Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury.* London, 1640. p. 181. *Plate of the Font.*

(3) W. Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent. Canterbury* - - - Somner as above, pag. 65.

Almost every antique of this kind affords reflections local or periodical, which cast rays of light on the written ecclesiastical history of Christianity in this island. As the font at Bridekirk sets Danish baptism in a just point of light, so others refer to Norman or Saxon times. It is far from improbable, that the present bath near one end of the church of East Dereham in Norfolk was a baptistery : but the conjecture is connected with historical anecdotes. If a bishop of Coventry granted to the abbey of Haghmon in Shropshire an officer, whose province it was to baptize Jews as well as infants, it is natural to infer, there were at that time Jews resident in Shropshire, and baptisteries, at least one, in or near the abbey, for the purpose of baptizing men and women (4). The old circular font at Brighthelmstone is on the outside a piece of history sculpture (5). The institution or administration of the Lord's supper is represented in one compartment : and Jesus and his disciples are sitting at the table. In another, baptism is described : a man is standing naked "in the water up to his middle ; one on the right holding his clothes ; another on the left dressed in a canonical habit, like that of an officiating priest, presenting two rolls of linen. The figures are shewn as if standing under arches, possibly meant for those of a baptistery." In another compartment, four persons are represented, two in a boat, and two in or upon a rough water. Perhaps this might be intended to represent a baptism in the sea. If so, the sculpture hath a local propriety. The beautiful old octagon font in Orford chapel, Suffolk, is of a date not difficult to be guessed by the inscription on the surface of the octagonal base of three steps (6). The two catholic reasons for trine immersion are represented here : the one by an angel holding an escutcheon in his hand charged with a triangle to represent the Trinity ; the other, a woman sitting and holding a dead corpse in her lap, to signify either the dead body of Christ, or a dying and being buried with him in baptism by trine immersion, which represented the three days' burial of Jesus. These and many others deserve more attention than the limits of

(4) *Exception to Gostling's Walk.* Gent. Mag. Nov. 1774. pag. 509.
note --- Mr. Gostling's *Answer* Jan. 1775.

(5) *Antiquarian Repertory* London, 1780. Vol. iii. pages 56, 254.

(6) *The same.* Vol. i. p. 181.

this chapter will allow ; and here it is sufficient to remark, that all, various as they are, were evidently formed to be used in the practice of immersion, and some of them to teach the doctrine, or the history of it. The rude figures on that at Winchester seem intended to preserve an history ; and whether the boat refers to a local sea baptism, or to a foreign mission, is a question not easily answered (7).

To finish this article. A conjecture, on one class of miracles in baptisteries, may not improperly be inserted here. The Catholicks speak of baptisteries abroad, which used to flow with water at Easter without the aid of art, and to become dry of themselves after the priest had done baptizing. They gave this out for a miracle in proof of the doctrine of the Trinity into which they baptized. Their enemies, the Arians, taxed them with imposture. Writers of natural history may, perhaps, settle the difference. They mention a variety of springs distinguished by remarkable properties : and some that ebb and flow several times in an hour. There is one at Laywell, near Torbay : and another at Giggleswick, in Craven, a district in Yorkshire : and there are many in other countries (8). A monk of the middle ages would naturally meet with much to excite his astonishment, and cherish his credulousness in such places. In all such cases, supposing the illiteracy of the times, the fact might be affirmed and denied with equal sincerity on both sides. In modern times, enlightened by philosophy, the ancient Spanish Catholicks may be acquitted of a charge of fraud ; the Arians, their opponents, of the guilt of wilful slander ; and both may be regarded only as innocent spectators of a real fact, on which neither party knew how to reason. On such an axiom it may be charitably hoped, the good Parent of mankind will in all cases of unavoidable ignorance hold his children less guilty than some are willing to imagine.

CHAP. XIX.

OF INFANT BAPTISM.

INFANT baptism is an ancient practice ; but infant sprinkling is more ancient than the institution of baptism

(7) Antiq. Rep. Vol. iv. 1784. pages 40, 252.

(8) Dr. Campbell's *Political Survey of Britain*, Vol. i. Book i. Chap. v.

itself. Let no serious man take offence at the distinction between baptism and sprinkling, for it is necessary in ecclesiastical history, and it is impossible to relate, with any degree of accuracy, the history of baptism without it. To baptize is to dip : to sprinkle is to scatter in drops. The application of water to infants in these two modes forms an history naturally divisible into two distinct branches. The dipping of children for a religious purpose rises to view at a certain period in the ecclesiastical history of Christians : the sprinkling of children is an article of Pagan mythology, and it is traced by antiquaries from monument to monument, on Roman and Etruscan remains, till it hides itself in depths of the most remote antiquity (1). Among the Pagans, it was lustration : when it first appeared in the church, it was under the name of exorcism : when the monks united exorcism with baptism it became confounded with baptism itself : and in the end it came forward, and supplied the place of it. In a future chapter ON ASPERSION, all this will be investigated at large. At present it will be sufficient in brief to observe, that baptism was universally performed by immersion, single or trine, for the first thirteen hundred years (2) : that from thence till after the reformation it was generally performed by trine immersion : that pouring or sprinkling began to be allowed for baptism only in the eighth century in cases of *necessity* : and that in this country sprinkling was never declared valid ordinary baptism till the assembly of divines in the time of Cromwell, influenced by Dr. Lightfoot, pronounced it so (3). In the Eastern and Greek churches it hath been invariably administered by dipping from the first introduction of it to this day (4).

(1) Gorii *Museum Etruscum*. Florentiæ. 1737. Tom. ii. Tab. clxxii. *Figura in sepulchro marmoreo*.

(2) Jac. Basnagii *Thesaur. Monument. eccles. et historic. sive Henrici Canisii lectiones antiq. digest.* Antwerpæ 1725. Tom. i. Cap. v. *De ritibus.* Jam satis de *immersione*, quæ per tredecim sæcula perseveravit dictum. Nunc de *numero immersionum*.

(3) Martini Gerberti. *S. Blasii Abbat. Vetus liturg. Aleman. Typis San-Blasianis.* 1776. Tom. ii. Disq. v. Cap. i. *De baptismo.* Tab. vi. Baptismus Christi. . . . Naaman se lavans. Tab. vii. *Vita S. Nicolai.* Infantum baptisma. Ex rotulo bibl. Casanatensis Romæ. n. 3. &c.

(4) Dr. King's *Rites of the Greek church.* *Euchologion.* Tzanfurnari *Menologia.*

Before the history of infant baptism be investigated, it is above all things necessary to define the terms, especially the word *infant*. The necessity of doing so is obvious : for, on the one hand, divines, who defend *infant*-baptism, do so by proving the antiquity of *pædo*-baptism ; and, on the other, undoubted monuments shew that ΠΑΙΣ did not signify a natural infant, and that Christians in the fifth century did baptize boys. Many such will be mentioned hereafter : at present two may serve to prove that a definition of terms is suggested not by caprice, but by a real state of facts.

The first is a Greek inscription on a sepulchral monument, which was taken out of the church-yard of St. Agnes at Rome, and was first published by that learned antiquary, Raphael Fabretti, and since with amendments by Montfaucon. In this, a child of eight years and five months old is called παιδα.

ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΚΕΙ ΠΟΛΥΠΕΝΘΕΑ
ΠΑΙΔΑ ΟΝ ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΣΣΩΝ ΠΑΝΕΠΗΡΑΤΟΝ
ΕΙΔΟΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΑΙΝΟΤΟΚΩΝ ΕΩΝ ΦΟΝΟΣ ΗΡ-
ΠΑΣΕ ΝΟΝ ΚΑΘΟΡΑΤΕ ΟΚΤΩ ΜΟΝΙΟΣ ΕΤΕCΙΝ
ΒΕΒΙΩΚΑΤΑ ΜΕCΙΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΕ.*

This tomb contains Menophilus, an infant, to be lamented with many tears : whom, adorned with the beauty of the three graces, cruel fate snatched away from his unfortunate parents. Here you behold him, who lived eight years and five months (5).

The second is a Roman inscription published by Father Mabillon, who received it from Fabretti, while he was making that collection, which he afterward made publick. This speaks of the baptism of a child of six years of age in the fifth century. The learned and ingenuous father inserted it in a small but inestimable treatise addressed to his brethren to direct the studies of young monks, and, among many other curious articles, he advises them to take hints from such monuments as this, and inquire why the primitive Christians deferred baptism, and whether infant baptism were practised before the fifth century. This is the inscription (6).

* In this inscription C is used for S. Editor.

(5) Montfaucon *Ital.* p. 321.

(6) Mabillon *Traite des etudes Monastiques.* A Paris. 1691. pag. 551. Siecle v.

NATU SEVERI NOMINE PASCASIUS
 DIES PASCALES PRID. NOV. APRIL N
 DIE JOBIS IL CONSTANTINO
 ET RUFO V̄V̄C̄C̄ CONSS. QUI VIXIT
 ANNOR. VI. PERCEPIT
 XI KAL. MAIAS ET ALBAS SUAS
 OCTABAS PASCAE AD SEPULCHRUM
 DEPOSUIT DIIII. KAL. MAI. FL. BASILIO

V. C. CONS.

This inscription says, Paschasius was born on the fourth of April in the year four hundred and fifty seven, Constantine and Rufus being consuls : that he was baptized at Easter on the twenty first of April in the year four hundred and sixty-three, in the consulship of Basil : and that eight days after, he gave up his life along with his white baptismal garments, being six years of age. It is in such monuments as these, and not in vague lexicons, or in the treacherous disputations of polemical writers, that the history of ecclesiastical rites is to be sought ; and the present inquiry seems on this principle not improper.

It is generally supposed, the baptism of children was first mentioned at Carthage in the third century, and Tertullian, who first mentioned it, wrote a book to shew the reasonableness of baptizing as the church at Carthage did, and to expose the impropriety of baptizing children. Hence it is inferred, that some Christians in the third century did baptize infants, although the church at Carthage did not. There is, also, a report, that infants had been baptized before this time at Alexandria (7). The facts will be examined in their proper places : now, it is only observed in general, that, supposing infants were baptized in the early ages of the church, the terms ought to be defined. Baptism in the third century signified *dipping*, and infant-baptism was the dipping of an *infant* : but the meaning of the word infant cannot be determined when it stands alone, or when it is connected with baptism only : for the question will always be asked, Who is an infant ? Is it a *natural* infant, or is it an infant *in law*, that is, a minor ? If it signify a minor, it may stand for an infant,

(7) Dr. Wall's *History of Infant Baptism*. Origen. . . . Tertullian. . . . Nazianzen, &c. . . . Vossii *Theses, De Baptismo*.

and it may not, and circumstances must be examined to determine the point. Now, there are four unquestionable evidences of the position, that the words infant, child, and all others synonymous, as *παις*, *βρεφος*, *βρεφυλλιον*, puer, puerulus, parvulus, infans, infantulus, *εἰς*, *ἑτερον*, barne, figliulo, piccierillo, infante, infanta, infanzo, enfant, and so on, are used indiscriminately for minors. These evidences are manuscripts, books, inscriptions, and laws.

To begin with manuscripts. The learned and indefatigable Muratori, in his inestimable treasure of Italian antiquities of the middle ages, hath furnished a great many examples, of which the three following may suffice at present (8).

The last will and testament of ADALD, A LITTLE INFANT of Lucca.

In the name of God - - - in the twenty-first year of the reign of our Lord Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards - - - I Adald, the *little infant* son of Waltper, being sick and in danger of death, considering in myself the mercy of Almighty God, for the redemption of my soul, and according to a statute of King Liutprand of holy memory, offer to God, and to the church of blessed S. Martin - - my house - - out-houses, gardens, lands, vineyards, oliveyards, woods, underwoods, meadows, pastures, cultivated and uncultivated, and all my effects movable and immovable, - - and also my house at - - and also my house at - - and also all other rights whatsoever and wheresoever - - I offer as aforesaid, and confirm by this deed, which Ghislebert wrote at my request. Done at Lucca in the year of Christ seven hundred and ninety-four.

Witness my hand Adald, who ordered this deed to be made.

I Gumpert presbyter, being desired by Adald the *little infant*, subscribe as a witness.

I Asprand presbyter, being desired by Adald the *little infant*, subscribe as a witness.

I Pascal presbyter, being desired by Adald the *little infant*, subscribe as a witness.

I Ghisprand, at the request of Adald the *little infant*, subscribe as a witness.

I Erminari presbyter, being desired by Adald the *little infant*, subscribe as a witness (9).

The last will and testament of the LITTLE INFANT
COUNT GAIFER.

I a *young infant* under age, named Gaifer, Count, son of the late Count Landoar - - by this deed offer to God, and to the famous church of S. Mary - - my estate at - - - &c - - - Done at Salerno in the year one thousand (1).

The last will and testament of the LITTLE INFANT
HUBERT.

Be it known that I Hubert, a *little infant*, called Melio, the son of Hugh of the race of the Saracens - - - and so on. Dated one thousand eighteen (2).

In all these places the word is *infantulus*, which answers to the Greek βρεφουλλιος, the one diminutive of *infans*, the other of βρεφος : words, say lexicographers, so little that there are none less, and of course they must be rendered *babe*. No, in Italy, in the middle ages, they must not be rendered babe, but minor. In a future part of this work it will be proved, that the ordinary infant baptism of Italy in the middle ages was the baptism of minors who were taught before they were baptized, and who, in a country where they were allowed in certain cases to alienate their property, were, very consistently, supposed capable of choosing a religion, and of disposing of themselves (3).

Books are a second class of evidences. The evangelist Luke observes, in the prologue to his gospel, that many had taken in hand to set forth the history of Jesus. Several spurious books entitled gospels and epistles were published in the East. Some of these apocryphal writings were attributed to Jesus, others to the evangelists, one to James, another to Nicodemus, and one to

(9) Tom. v. Adaldus *infantulus* Lucensis, ex ægritudine decumbens, domus nonnullas et agros majori ecclesiæ Lucensi S. Martini donat - - pag. 619.

(1) Pag. 621. Ego *infantulus* infra ætate nomine Gaiferio comes, filius quondam Landoarii comitis - - - per hanc chartulam obtulimus Deo et ipsæ ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ - - Actum Salerno An. 1000.

(2) Pag. 622.

(3) See Chap. xxvii.

Thomas, which was entitled, *THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY OF CHRIST*. Such a book is mentioned by Irenæus, Epiphanius, Origen, Eusebius, Cyril, and other early writers. They censure it as a spurious work full of idle tales, and the production of some heretic. Whether the book, which now bears this title, be the original is very doubtful: but, certain it is, either this, or one like it under the same title, was handed about in the earliest times in several languages through all the East. Cotelierius published a Greek version of it (4). Sike published an Arabick version (5). De la Brosse in his Persick lexicon quotes a passage from a Persick copy (6). The book itself is, as the fathers have described it, a fabulous account of miracles performed by Jesus in his infancy, and Fabricius, who published it from the version of Cotelierius, hath prefixed the opinions of divines ancient and modern concerning it (7). One of these is that eminent critick father Simon, who allows the very high antiquity of this and similar books on the infancy of Jesus, although he censures the writers of them (8). The book needs no refutation, and it is mentioned here only for the sake of observing the sense of the words *παις, παιδιον, παιδικα*, infans, infancy, among early eastern Christians. The writers, whoever they were, evidently intended to fill up an apparent chasm in the evangelical history of the life of Jesus. Here are accounts, such as they are, of what he did at play with other children; what he did at five years of age; what at seven; what to the dyer, to whom his mother put him to learn the art of dying: in a word, it is a fabulous history of a minority (9).

The style of writing, however, is strictly just and accurate, as innumerable instances would prove, were it necessary to produce them. One from an imperial historian may

(4) *Evangelium infantie Christi, adscriptum Thomæ apostolo: Græcæ cum versione Cotelierii.*

(5) *Evangelium infantie.*

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 55.

(7) Fabricii *Cod. Apoc. Hamburgi*. 1703. *Liber de pueritia et miraculis Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi* Λογος εις τα παιδικα και μεγαλει τε κυρις και σωτηρις ημων Ιησους Χριστος.

(8) Simon *Hist. Crit.*

(9) *Evang. Cap. ii.* Το γαρ παιδιον Ιησους ΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΗΣ γενομενος.
- - - Cap. xxxvi.

serve. Nicephorus Bryennius Cæsar, who married Anna Comnena, daughter of the emperor Alexias, wrote an history to set forth the just title of his father-in-law to the crown, and the glory of his reign to the empire. He begins by relating the demise of Manuel Comnenus, who left the care of his two sons, Isaac and John, both minors, to Basilus. In a concise and elegant manner he describes the education of the princes, and the care taken by Basilus to provide them the two sorts of tutors necessary to the education of noble Greeks: pedagogues to cultivate their minds; and pedotribes to form their bodily exercises. The princes are called *παιδες*, their companions sons of noble families are named *παιδες*, the cultivator of their minds is *παιδαγωγος*, the riding-master is *παιδοτριβης* (1). Hence it is easy to infer, that whoever first described the baptism of natural infants by the Greek word *pædo*-baptism made a very awkward choice. The word is compounded of *παιδος* and *βαπτισμα*, and when it is put for English infant baptism, it is used in a sense totally different from that of the Greeks, with whom pedagogue, pedotribe, pedo-baptist, signified the tutor, the gymnastick, the baptizer of a Greek infant, that is, a minor. Could it be ascertained that the primitive Greeks practised pedo-baptism, it would not immediately follow that they baptized new-born babes.

Books use the same words in various figurative and allusive senses. John Zonarus, a man of rank and learning, who flourished in the twelfth century, first in the court of the Comneni, and then in a monastery where he retired, wrote an history entitled *Annals*. Speaking of the emperor Romanus, he says, he was called Romanus the infant, *παιδιον*, not on account of his age, for he was a man, but to distinguish him from his grandfather, who was of the same name; and, he adds, the emperor might very properly be so called for his boyish manners (2).

The same writer published a comment on eighty-five canons commonly attributed to the apostles, and received

(1) Nicephori Cæsaris Bryennii *Commentarii de rebus Byzantinis*. Edit. Petri Possini. *Parisiis*. 1661.

(2) Joannis Zonaræ *Annales*. Interprete Hieronymo Wolphio, et notatore Carolo du fresne. *Parisiis*. 1686. Lib. xvi. 23.

by the Greek church as rules of action. He begins the preface with a quotation from the Greek version of the Psalms: *The entrance of thy words giveth light and understanding to infants* (3). He expounds this not of infants in years but in understanding, which is evidently the true meaning of the word, and the English translators understood it so, and rendered it properly *the simple* (4). Long before the time of Zonaras, Ambrose Autpert, a native of Provence, and abbot of the monastery of Saint Vincent in Italy, who flourished in the eighth century, published a commentary on the apocalypse, entitled *Speculum PARVULORUM*, the mirror of *little ones*, that is, the *simple* (5). Many more such instances might be given. Books, therefore, use the words literally for a minor in years, and figuratively for an imperfection of knowledge, a sort of infancy of the mind, a puerility of manners, and so on.

Inscriptions make a third class of evidences. Out of a great number two may suffice. The learned father Montfaucon hath exhibited one, of many sepulchral monuments of the Greeks, which describes different stages of infancy. The first figure is that of a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in the lap of the parent who is sitting in a car. The second shews the parent in the same manner, and the child sitting up on the knee, as if grown. The third represents him on the ground playing with a kind of go-cart with two wheels. The fourth describes him at play with some birds, as having arrived at a further period (6). What would an history of the baptism of an infant mean, when infancy includes persons so different, and the term covers more than twenty years of life?

The following is a rude inscription of the eighth century at Naples. It says, Basil the son of Silibud and Gregoria lost his life in the twelfth year of his infancy. The antique form of the letters cannot be expressed here.

(3) Psal. cxix. 130.

(4) Zonaræ in Canon. Apost. Comment. Parisiis. 1558. H. *δηλωσις*, &c.

(5) *Hist. Litteraire de la France*. Tome. iv. A Paris. 1738. pag. 146.

(6) Montfaucon. *Supplement de l'antiquite expliquée*. Paris. 1724. Tom. v.

CREDO QUIA REDEMPTOR MEUS BIBIT* ET IN NOBISSIMO
DIE DE TERRA SUSCITABIT ME ET IN CARNE MEA VIDEBO
DEUM MEUM EGO BASILIUS FILIUS SILIBUDI ET GREGORIA
CONJUGEM EJUS DUM IREM IN MANDATUM IPSORUM
MALUS HOMO ADPREHENDIT ME, ET PORTABIT ME IN RIBUM
ET OCCISIT ME MORTEM CRUDELEM IN *INFANTIAE* MEÆ
ANNORUM *DUODECIM* IN INDICTIONE QUARTA DECIMA
VIGESIMA SEXTA (7).

TRANSLATION.

I believe that my Redeemer lives, and in the last day will raise me up from the grave, and in my flesh I shall see my God : I, Basil, son of Silibud and Gregoria his wife ; while I was behaving myself like a dutiful child, a wicked man caught me and carried me into a river where he put me to death in a cruel manner, in the *twelfth* year of my infancy, &c.

[Ed.]

A fourth class of proofs is taken from laws. These ought to be divided into four sorts : imperial ; gothick ; ecclesiastical ; and monastick. It is a part of natural justice to take care of infants, and all nations have found it necessary both to guard the tender age of infancy by express law, and to fix a moment when care passes from the guardian to the ward.

In the present case it is unnecessary to inquire into the moment of majority in the empire before the institution of baptism (8). After the division of it into an eastern and a western empire, the law in both fixed twenty-five years as the term of infancy (9). The question of baptizing an infant, or a person under age, was first agitated, where it might most naturally be expected, in the writings of an eminent Christian Lawyer, who, for wise political reasons, objected against it on account of its interference with sponsion (1).

When the northern nations dismembered the empire, and settled themselves, the Vandals, the Goths, the Lombards, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Saxons, and the rest, (who may all be considered as of one family) guarded their minors by express laws of their own,

* In this inscription, in bibit, and a number of other words, B is used for S. Editor.

(7) Gul. Fleetwood *Inscript. Antiq. Sylloge*. Par. ii. *Monument. Christian.* pag. 520. *Londini* 1691. *Not. Neapoli*.

(8) Gronovii *Thesaur. Antiquitat.* Græcar. *Ludg. Batav.* 1697. *et ann. seqq.* Tom. viii.

(9) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΑΞ *Edit.* Car. Annibal Fabroti. Paris. 1647. Tom. i. Lib. x. Tit. iv. *De restitutione minorum*.

(1) Tertullian. *de baptismo*.

and fixed the expiration of infancy at eighteen, twenty, or twenty-five years of age, during which period, different in different governments, minors were called infants, little infants, *infantuli*, and so on (2). Hence in all these states, laws for the *maintenance* of infants of twelve years of age, the nullity of the *marriage* of an infant except on certain occasions; the *alienation* of property by an infant: the *punishment* of an infant for killing a man; and so on. Among the Lombards, an infant in time of scarcity might, if he were in danger of perishing for want, alienate his property: and he might if in danger of death alienate to endow the church: but his doing so did not make him of age, and he could not alienate to the king on any pretence whatever, nor could the king give what they called a *thinx*, a *thingatio*, a *laune-child*, a *quid pro quo* (3). A Lombard infancy expired at eighteen by a law of king Liutprand. In those times infant baptism was an affair of the utmost consequence, on account of its connexion with the person and property of the infant, and it was disputed accordingly between the Trinitarian Roman Catholics, and the Unitarian Goths.

Ecclesiastical laws respecting infants, that is, minors, are extremely numerous, and among other things concern the catechizing of them, and in express terms enjoin the instruction of them previous to baptism, and the administration of baptism by immersion (4).

Father Martene, one of the most indefatigable collectors of monastical antiquities, hath comprised in a narrow compass from a variety of authentick monuments of Italy, Germany, England, and France, the laws by which infant monks were governed. The code was called the discipline of the *infants*, or the discipline of the *boys*, the *barnes*, the *catechislings*: in the choir, in the cloister, in the refectory or eating-room, in the

(2) Frid. Lindenbrogii *Codex legum antiquar. in quo continentur leges Wisigothorum, edict. Theodorici regis, Lex Burgundior. Lex Salica, Lex Alaman, &c. Francofurt. 1613.* - - - Longobardor. Leg. Liutprandi L. lxiv. *De ætate infantum.*

(3) Muratorii *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. v. *Notæ in leges Pippini, Liutprandi, &c. De ætate.*

(4) *Ordo Roman. De Sabbato Sancto* - - - Qualiter catechizantur *infantes* - - - Interim autem dum lectiones leguntur, presbyteri catechizent *infantes* et præparent ad baptizandum - - - Dicet hanc orationem ad catechizandos *infantes* - - - Deinde pontifex baptizet unum de ipsis *infantibus* - - - Ibi baptizentur *parvuli, &c.*

kitchen and scullery, in the dormitory or sleeping-room, in the infirmary, in the lavatory laundry or washing-room, and every where else. Each article is adjusted with the utmost precision, as lessons, hymns, and processions, the shaving of their crowns, the correction with the rod, and some other articles too indelicate to be mentioned (5). The whole proves beyond all contradiction that the term infancy signified nonage in general.

The same language prevails in all modern laws. Hence the late learned Judge Blackstone says, "Infancy is nonage, which is a defect of the understanding. Infants under the age of discretion ought not to be punished by any criminal prosecution whatever. What the age of discretion is, in various nations, is matter of some variety (6)." In this country twenty-one is generally understood to be the period of minority, but in France twenty-five is the usual term fixed for the expiration of infancy, which however admits of exceptions (7).

Such being the language of manuscripts, books, inscriptions, and laws, it may not be improper to remark the general conformity of the popular style to the legal sense of the word, though nothing can be more vague than the popular use of all the words that belong to the subject, nor can any thing less conclusive be imagined than arguments derived from single vague equivocal terms.

Child. Established rituals introduce the baptism of babes with the words of Mark. They brought *young Children* to Christ (8). Others quote, in affirmation of the same practice, a passage in Acts. The promise is to you and to your *children* (9). Both are single words in a book, which uses the term for *posterity*, without the least regard to the age of any one, as children of Israel - - - Children of Benjamin - - - Children of promise - - - Children of men - - - Children of God - - - Children of light, and so on (1). In this book one of at

(5) *Edm. Martene De Antiq. Monachorum ritibus* Tom. i. Lugd. 1690, Præfat. Lib. v. Cap. v. *De puerorum oblatione et disciplina.*

(6) *Commentaries on the Laws of England.* Book iv. Chap. ii.

(7) *Hist. du Droit pub. ecclesiast. Francois.* Tom. i.

(8) Mark x. 13.

(9) Acts ii 38, 39.

(1) Israel, Exod. xii. 37. Benjamin, Num. i. 36 - - - Promise, Rom. ix. 8. - - - Men, Gen. xi. 5. - - - God, Matt. v. 9. - - - Light, Luke xvi. 18.

least sixteen years of age is called a *child*, and another of thirty a *child*, a *little one* (2).

The word *child* is of Celtick original, and it exactly answers to the general idea of offspring, descendants, or *posterity*, but can by no means be understood of any precise age. "*Child* is from *ac-hil-id*, he is from our race or our offspring (3) " Before the reformation, in the year fifteen hundred sixteen, there was a folio book published, entitled *Nova legenda Anglie*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde at the signe of the Sun in Fleet-street, London (4). It contains the histories of the lives and miracles of British saints, or of saints whose lives were connected with British story, alphabetically disposed, beginning with the life of Saint Adrian Abbot at Canterbury, and ending with that of Bishop Wulstan. The life of King Edgar came to hand too late to be inserted in its place, and it is subjoined to that of Wulstan. This book, which is a complete legend of British saints, is a fair specimen of all writings of this kind, and it exhibits variety of proof of the vague and indeterminate use of the words under examination. In the life of Adrian, school boys are called *pueri* : *parvuli* : Saint Hugh, a *child* of about eight years of age, is called *puer* : and Bede is called *puer*, when he was taken into the monastery at seven years of age, and yet the next stage of his life is called his *infancy*.

A clergion is a young clerk : a young student. Strictly speaking, a child was *infant* till seven, and *puer* till fourteen : but the order is not preserved, and the whole minority is called *infancy*, *childhood*.

Such is in general the vague language of ecclesiastical writers : but when they fix the sense of the terms by reporting circumstances, the narration is in disfavour of the baptism of babes. Near the close of the sixth century a monk named Junian founded an abbey of Benedictines at Maire L' Evescant in France, and of course was Abbot of the house. One day as he was at prayer, in a time of great scarcity, a poor woman, who was pregnant, came to ask relief. Junian supplied her wants, and in-

(2) Joseph. Gen. xxxvii. 30. - - - Benjamin, xliv. 20.

(3) R Jones, Esq. *The Origin of Language and Nations* - - - *After the method of an English, Celtick, Greek and Latin-English Lexicon.* London. 1764.

(4) *Nova Legeda Anglie.*

formed her that she was with child of a son, and that if she would take care of him, and bring him to the monastery after he was grown up, he would baptize him, and make him a scholar, and appoint him his successor. The woman did as she was directed, and when the *child* arrived at boy's estate, that is, seven years of age, she carried him to the monastery, where Junian baptized him with his own hands, became his godfather, trained him up in monastical science, and in the end the youth was ordained a priest, and succeeded to the Abbacy. Such were the children of the middle ages who received baptism : but such as these were not babes, although they are called in a vague sense infants.

In this style it would be easy to shew, it was the perpetual custom of this country to express the subject in quest ; and as there was no danger, so there is no example of a mistake, except in the case of baptism.

In the reign of Henry III. a statute made at Merton, says, " Whatsoever layman shall be convicted of withholding any *child* led away or married, he shall yield to the loser the value of the marriage. And for the offence his body shall be taken and imprisoned until he hath recompensed the loser, if the *child* be married. This must be done of an heir within the age of fourteen years. And touching an heir being fourteen years old or above, until his full age, if he marry without license of his lord to defraud him of the marriage, and his lord offer him reasonable and convenient marriage without disparagement, then his lord shall hold his land beyond the term of his age, that is to say, of one and twenty years (5)." Again, in a statute of Henry VII. which regulates the wages of artificers, labourers, and servants, it is enacted : that

A *childe* of the age of xiiii yere vi s. vesture pryce iii s. with mete and drynke.

Here are English *children*, the poor at service earning meat, drink, three shillings a year for clothes, and six shillings for wages : and the rich married, and disputing with their guardians.

(5) Stat. An. 1235. Hen. iii. xx. . . . Hen. VII. xi. Cap. xxiii. See in the statutes the words *Enfant*—*age*—*infant*—*nonage*—*deinsage*—*parol*, *demeur*—*coron*—*aliens*, &c.

The free-school at Stamford in the county of Lincoln, was founded by William Radcliffe, Esqr. and the act of parliament for carrying into execution the will of the said founder, made in the reign of Edward VI. begins thus, "Forasmuch as it is a right godly and charitable deed to educate and bring up *children* and *youth* as well in learning as also in civil manners; and a great number of persons having children be not able to keep the same to school, therefore William Radcliffe, of the town of Stamford, of his godly zeal and good mind, intending to found and erect within the same town, one school wherein such poor young *children* and *infants* be freely taught in learning and manners without taking any salary or reward of the parents of such poor scholars (6)." Infant baptism like infant tuition implied something more than mere animal life.

About eight hundred years ago Ælfric wrote a grammar and a glossary for the use of *iunǷ cildum* *young children* (7). The learned editor, who first published it, rendered the words with the utmost propriety *pueros*, and the book was evidently intended for school-boys: and the words of Chaucer, just now quoted, are to be understood of such a grammar-school.

There is an English catechism printed by Edward Whitechurch in 1550, which quotes the famous passage in Mark in the title page, in its true sense. "A short cathechisme. A brieft and godly bringinge up of *youth*, in the knowlege and comaundementes of God in fayth, prayer and other articles, necessary to be knowen of all those that will be partakers of the kingdom of Jesus Christ: set forth in maner of a Dialogue. Marc x. Let the *chyl dren* come vnto me, and forbidde them not, for vnto suche belongeth the kyngdom of God."

That incomparable picture of ancient men and manners, the Northumberland household book, represents in miniature various classes of the world of ancient *children*. The minors of the most noble Percy family are called *childre*, *childer*, and *chillder*. There were *childeryn* in offices in the household: as six *childryn of the chapel* - - - a *childe* to attend in the nurcy, nursery

(6) W. Harrod's *Antiquities of Stamford*. Vol. ii. Chap. iv.—*Hospitals—Schools—Callises—Stamford* 1785.

(7) Gul. Somneri Ælfrici *Gram. una cum Ælfrici Glosario. Prefat.*

----- a childe of the wairdrobe ----- a childe of the bak-
 hous ----- a childe of the squyllery ----- and a childe of
 chariote ----- Each of his lordship's brothers had his
 chapleyn or his clerk, *his childe*, and his horskepar -----
 The chambrelayn had his chapleyn, his clerk, two yo-
 men, a *childe* of his chambre, and his horskepar ----- The
 steward had his clerk, *his childe*, and his horskepar :
 and so on (8). Such as these are the *tiny foot pages* of
 ancient song.

Mr. Warton says, "Some criticks may be inclined
 to deduce the practice of our plays being acted by the
 choir boys of St. Paul's church, and the chapel royal,
 which continued till Cromwell's usurpation, from the
 entertainments exhibited by boys on the festival of the
boy-bishop (9). Annually, either on the day of St. Ni-
 cholas, Dec. 6, or on that of the Holy Innocents,
 Dec. 28, in all the collegiate churches of France and
 England, the festival of the *boy-bishop* was celebrated.
 One of the *children* of the choir was completely apparel-
 led in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and a cros-
 sier, bore the title and the state of a bishop, and exacted
 canonical obedience from his fellows who were dressed
 like priests." The little prelate was called the *barne*-
 bishop, the *chylde*-bishop, bishop of the *boys*, bishop of
 the *choristers*, bishop of the *little ones* (1). He and his
 chapter performed divine offices in the cathedral in imi-
 tation of the bishop and his prebendaries. After dinner
 they acted plays called miracles, moralities, interludes,
 or farces, in different parts of the town. In one of these,
 which was composed by Baie, afterward bishop of Os-
 sory, both the words child and baptism are used prop-
 erly. God the Father is represented as sending John to
 baptize : and John gives his modest answer, which is
 evidently taken from the history of Jeremiah. These
 are the words :

(8) Pages 42—83—43—86, &c.

(9) Warton's *History of English Poetry*. Vol. i. Sect. vi.

(1) Episcopus puerorum ----- Episcopus choristarum ----- Episcopus
 parvulorum. Dugd. *Hist. S. Paul*.

“Pater cœlestis” - Preache to the people, rebuk-
 ynge their negligence
 Doope them in water, they
 knowledgynge their offence
 And say unto them, the king-
 dom of God doth cum.

Johannes Baptista. Unmete Lord I am, Quia
 puer ego sum (2).

Sir John Hawkins, who in his celebrated history of the science and practice of musick, hath omitted nothing that could elucidate his subject, or exhibit views of ancient men and manners, hath inserted a particular account of the *infant bishop*, from which it appears, that the annual festival of electing a *child bishop* from among the choristers, according to the usage of the church of Sarum, was in honour of St. Nicholas (3). Nicholas was remarkable in his infancy for his piety, and for knowing the scriptures, as Timothy did in his childhood. He was afterwards bishop of Myra in Lycia, and was present in the council of Nice, where it is said he gave Arius a box on the ear. In time he became the patron of young scholars. By the statutes of St. Paul's church school, founded by Dean Colet, it is required that the *children* there educated “shall every *childermas* day, come to Paulis church, and hear the *chylde-bishop* sermon, and after be at the hygh-masse, and each of them offer a i. d. to the *childe-byshop*, and with them the maisters and surveiors of the schole.” The *infant-bishop* bore the name, dressed in the habits and ornaments, and maintained the state of a bishop, as the other choristers did that of his prebendaries, from the anniversary of Saint Nicholas, being the sixth day of December, until Innocent's day, as it is called, the twenty-eighth day of the same month. The *infant-prelate* had an episcopal throne in the cathedral, and he and his prebendaries performed divine offices, and went in procession, guarded from all interruption by express statutes, which forbade all persons whatsoever, under pain of the greater excommunication, to interrupt them.

(2) Collection of old plays. A tragedye or enterlude. Compyled by Johan Bale, 1538.

(3) Vol. ii. Book i. Chap. i. - Bayle. *Life of John Columna, or Colonna. Marg. 15. N. B.*

It appears also, that this *infant bishop* did, to a certain limit, receive to his own use, rents, capons, and other emoluments of the church." It should seem, too, that in certain cases the infant bishop presented to preferments vacated in his month : for "a chorister-bishop in the church of Cambray disposed of a prebend, which fell void in the month or year of his episcopate, in favour of his master." In the household-book of Henry Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, which was compiled so lately as fifteen hundred and twelve, are the following entries : "Item, my lord usith and accustomyth yerely, when his lordship is at home, to yef unto the *barne-bishop* of Beverlay, when he comith to my lord in Christmas hallydayes, when my lord keepeth his hous at Lekynfield, xx s. Item, my lord useth and accustomyth to gif yearly, when his lordship is at home, to the *barne-bishop* of Yorke, when he comes over to my lord in Christynmasse hallydayes, as he is accustomed yearly, xx s." In case the little bishop died within the month, his exequies were solemnized with great pomp, and he was interred, like other bishops, with all his ornaments. The memory of this custom is preserved, not only in the ritual books of the cathedral church of Salisbury, but by a monument in the same church, with the sepulchral effigies of a chorister-bishop, supposed to have died in the exercise of this pontifical office, and to have been interred with the solemnities above mentioned.

The custom of instituting an anniversary boy-bishop was not peculiar to the cathedral of Salisbury, or to this kingdom : it was observed at Canterbury, St. Paul's, Colchester, Westminster, Eton, York, Beverly, and all the churches that had cathedral service, as well as at Antwerp, Tullus, Cambray. These are nearly the words of that judicious antiquary, Mr. Gough, who quotes his authorities (4).

INFANT. The word *infant* is Gothick, and of wider extent than the former. *Fant*, one under the care of another, from *affano* I take care (5). Thus servants are called the masters *infants*. Foot soldiers are the *injantry* under the command of general officers. The children

(4) *British Topography*. Vol. ii. *Wiltshire*, p. 362.

(5) J. Loccenii *Leg. Goth. cum not.*

of the house of Spain are called *infants*. In the Gothick laws a man's *infants* were disqualified for sitting as jurymen in his law suits, for being his tenants they would be tempted to be partial. So many instances have already been given of the vague meaning of this word that it seems unnecessary to add any more (6).

BABE. Even the word *babe* is too indeterminate to be quoted on this subject, as it is not confined to a certain age.

There was near two hundred years ago a singular old man at Peterborough in Northamptonshire, whose memory is yet preserved by a portrait at the west end of the cathedral. His name was Scarlet. He was sexton of the church, and, as he lived to the great age of ninety-eight, he had dug the graves of the householders twice over, and had interred two queens, Catharine, whom Henry VIII. divorced, and Mary, Queen of Scots. The lines under his picture say, he was a man of great size and sturdy in proportion, and, as his visage was grim, and his voice loud and rough, he was known by the name of *Old Scarlet Scarebabe*.

Second to none for strength and sturdy limm,
A *Scarebabe* mighty voice with visage grim (7).

Babe here must mean a child capable of making observations.

What then is the baptism of children, bearnes, infants, babes of former times? Nothing at all. The words singly crumble all away in the hands of an investigator: they may signify a new-born babe, or a little boy of seven, or a great boy of fourteen years of age, or a young man turned of twenty. Circumstances must determine. The truth is, minor baptism began with young gentlemen under age at the Alexandrian academy, and in after times gradually descended to boys of seven years of age, where it stood many centuries, and at length it settled on babes of a few days old; but this is only to be understood of Catholick hierarchies, for it does not appear that those Christians, whom the domineering parties called hereticks, made any such alterations in baptism.

(6) F. Lindenbrogii *Cod. leg. antiq. -- Wisigoth -- Theodor -- Burgund -- Alaman -- Ripuar -- Sax, &c.* Francofurt. 1613.

(7) *The Antiquarian Repertory*, 2d Edit. Vol. i. p. 52. London, 1780. Obiit 1594. Ætat 98.

It should not pass unobserved that if the words above mentioned, particularly *infant*, be understood of a *minor*, it will remove a great many difficulties in ecclesiastical history. One example shall suffice. In the year three hundred and seventy-four the church of Milan assembled to elect a bishop instead of Auxentius lately deceased. They were divided into two violent parties, the one Arian, as the last bishop had been, the other Trinitarian, and each aiming to bring in a bishop of their own sentiments. Disputes ran so high that the city was in an uproar; and Ambrose the governor, who was only a catechumen, and therefore had no vote, went thither to keep the peace. The crowd was so great he could scarcely get in: but the news of his being come ran about, and in a little time silence was ordered, and the governor stood up to speak. He addressed the assembly in a manner so calm, and with so much prudence and moderation recommended peace and freedom of election, that, to his great surprise, the whole assembly shouted, Let Ambrose be bishop, Let Ambrose be bishop! and he found himself unanimously elected. Thus Protestants relate the affair: but the people of Milan, who should know best, say, that though their archives confirm all this, yet they add one circumstance which is omitted in this account (8). There it is recorded, that the first person, who exclaimed, let Ambrose be bishop, was an *infant*, and the assembly only repeated the exclamation. Catholics give this as a miracle; some Protestants laugh at it as a forgery: but probably it is neither a miracle nor a forgery, but a true historical fact, and to be understood of a minor. When such a fact as this is published under the direction, and with the imprimatur of the cardinal archbishop, the office of the inquisition, the senate of the city, and the college of St. Ambrose, it is rash to tax the author with forgery (9). The licensers for the press pledge their honour for the truth of the record in the archives, of which the history is a copy: but the

(8) Jos. Ripamontii *e collegio Ambrosiano Hist. Eccl. Mediol. Mediolani.* 1617 pag. 164.

(9) Federicus Borromeus Cardinalis - - decreto nobis stipendio datisque legibus, &c.

Imprimatur. BARIOLA pro reverendiss. inquis.

BOSSIUS pro illust. D. Card. Archiep.

SACCUS pro excellent. Senatu.

A. RUSCA Coll. Ambros. Præf. suo et collegarum nomine.

pretence of a miracle is a mere opinion of the publisher, and the holy office would not tax an examiner with heresy for denying that it was a miracle, because the church hath not declared that an article of faith. Let it not seem strange that such a fact should be thought worthy of a record. Here was a violently contested election. The publick safety was at stake. The governor acted wisely to go to the spot to prevent an insurrection. He had no authority over the consciences of the people as a magistrate. He had no vote as a citizen, for it was not a civil affair. He had no vote as a Christian, because though his family were all Christians, and had given great examples of piety, and though he himself was a Christian, yet he had not been baptized, and was not a member of the church. He was, some say, thirty-four, others forty years of age, and all the authority he had was what his prudent reasoning as a magistrate gave him. Here then, it should seem, was an unavoidable division taking place, which no power could prevent. It is not supposable any young infants were there; but it is very credible, that a minor was a member, and had a vote at the election of a pastor. Here then lay the wonder, that none of the elder members or officers should think to nominate Ambrose, and yet that a nomination made by a minor, who in civil offices could neither elect nor be elected, should instantly appear so wise and judicious that all parties at once saw the propriety of it, and their unanimity recovered order, and prevented all bad consequences. Ambrose was soon after baptized, and settled bishop of the church (1). There are other similar tales in other histories, which probably owe their being to some true facts, and their miraculousness to a mistake occasioned by the equivocalness of the terms in which they were recorded. Thus infants are said to have nominated kings (2), erected churches (3), composed hymns (4), and suffered martyrdom (5). A monk half asleep, overlooking an old church register with a fancy dreaming of mysteries and miracles, on

(1) S. Ambros. *Vit.*

(2) Duardii Nonii in *Teix libel. Censura. xlv. apud scriptor. Rer. Hispan Tom. ii. Franc 1603.*

(3) Greg. Turon. *De Glor. Mart. Cap. ix.*

(4) Niceph. Lib. xiv. Cap. 46—Joan. Damas. *de Trisagio com.*

(5) Martyrol. Rom. Jul. xiii. *Infantuli confessores, &c. passim.* Victoris Vitens. *Hist. Vand. pers.*

finding such simple vague accounts, might very soon confuse facts by composing declamatory legends and uttering them for true histories. That this hath been frequently done is beyond all doubt.

CHAP. XX.

OF EXTRAORDINARY CHILDREN.

A FRENCH writer truly remarks, that the capability of children is but little understood : they are puerile because their education is puerile. "I saw, adds he, a little child in the country, who had been under the tuition of the parish priest, at seven years of age promiscuously open the Greek New Testament, and I heard him explain it with more facility than children in general read it either in Latin or French. I heard two other infants, brother and sister, the one 9 years of age, the other 11 or 12, speak Greek and Latin perfectly well, and dispute in logick in both languages (1)." A little superstition, of which there are numberless curious instances, added to such cases, handed baptism downward from minors to babes. A very few examples may serve to give a sketch of this subject, and a few monumental inscriptions follow.

[The inscription is in abbreviated Latin.—The following is a correct translation. *Ed.*]

This inscription informs the reader, that Joanna Baptista De Peruschis, daughter of Alexander De Peruschis and Beatrix Garzei, when she was only six months old, most sweetly and freely pronounced the name of Jesus every day before she sucked the breast, and most devoutly adored the images of the saints : but, after she had excited great expectancies of her eminent sanctity, she fled to that Jesus whom she had used to invoke, being only one year eight months and ten days old.

It is not worth while to inquire whether the modern dolls of little girls be the successors of the puppet saints of young ladies of former ages : but it may not be improper to observe, that when, in any church, the mere uttering of certain words goes for proof of an inward

(1) M. De Vigneul-Marville. *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature.* A Paris, 1701. Tom. i. p. 150.

operation of the Holy Ghost, rational religion is discarded, enthusiasm hath succeeded to its place, and inspired children are fit subjects of baptism. In such a case religion is brought down very low indeed, and churches are duly prepared for the admission of these odd propositions - - - extraordinary invisible influence is a title to baptism - - - baptism communicates grace - - - infants are as capable of baptismal grace as men, yea, they are more so, because they have nothing but original depravity to oppose against the omnipotence of grace, but men have that and actual sin beside. Pity that Protestants ever adopted such ideas!

It must appear strange at first sight, that on the monumental inscriptions of a church which held the doctrine of original sin, innocence is ascribed to infants. A little observation solves the difficulty. The church held, that children were born in sin, guilty of Adam's transgression : but that baptism restored them to innocence.

It is further observable, that the innocence supposed to be acquired at baptism was attributed to the influence of the Holy Ghost, and this was represented by a dove. When this influence was bestowed on a babe, it was called miraculous, and it is very credible that in the style of those writers *mira innocentia*, miraculous innocence signified on tombs extraordinary baptism. Such inscriptions were frequently ornamented with doves. The following is one of this kind.

MIRAE INNOCENTIAE ANIMA
DVLCIS EMILIANVS QVI
VIXIT ANNO VNO MENS. VII.
D.XVIII DORMIT IN PACE

Columba cum ramo.

Innocens and innocentia in inscriptions are sometimes proper names : and the departed spirit of a person who had been restored to innocence by baptism is often called the innocent or the holy spirit, or the holy ghost of such a person, the inscription being intended to inform the reader that the deceased, although born in sin, had been baptized for the remission of sin, and had *acquired* innocence by baptism. This is called in the canon law a distinction, and it is a distinction absolutely

necessary to the history of catholick baptism, for in the church of Rome it is expressly declared by law, that innocence is not natural but acquired, and acquired by baptism.

Had it been true, that all these infants had been sanctified from the womb, it would not have followed that they ought to have been baptized; for baptism is neither intended to wash away sin, nor to signify that it hath been put away by any other means, but it is a mere form of putting on the profession of Christianity: as such it is proper, significant, and beautiful; but in every other view it either implies the knowledge of the heart, or a moral effect produced by a mechanical cause, which would be preposterous. Happy to be content with the simplicity of Revelation! Baptism is for the use of the living, not for the benefit of the dying or the dead.

CHAP. XXI.

OF BAPTISM IN AFRICA IN THE TIME OF TERTULLIAN.

FEW writers have been so often quoted in the controversy concerning infant baptism as Tertullian, and yet the subject is not so much as mentioned by this father. They are boys and not babes, of whose baptism he writes. This looks as if a subject might be greatly disputed without being much studied; however, such oversights render it necessary thoroughly to examine the whole of the business as far as it regards Tertullian of Africa.

Christianity coming out of Africa into the West resembles old Jacob the shepherd tottering into the presence of King Pharaoh, and may very properly adopt his language, and say, *Few and evil have the days of my pilgrimage been.* In the East and in the West it took some centuries to enervate the religion of Jesus, to wear out the spirit of it, and to reduce it to a skeleton, or rather to turn it into an engine of absolute dominion: but the Africans went on more rapidly, and in a very short period gave the world a system for a gospel, of which most readers of the four evangelists had never entertained a thought, and gave it as tyrants give orders

to their slaves. As the intelligence of a corporation, like that of an individual, is to be appreciated by its speculative productions, it should seem easy to determine the worth of the speculations of Africa. No, it is not. Christians are extremely divided in opinion about the doctrine of this church. Some consider their disputes about grace and freewill, original sin and the divine decrees, in the most solemn light, and think salvation depends not only on investigating these subjects, but on determining concerning them precisely as they did. Others behold them with perfect indifference, and, instead of disputing these points, repeat a tale of a Jesuit missionary, the substance of which is this (1). The bigots among the Persians and the Turks, both Mohammedans, have a mortal hatred of each other. Both agree, as the Koran directs, that men ought to purify themselves by washing their hands before they pray, and it is clear to both, that they ought to wash to the elbow : but the manner of doing this is the cause of the abhorrence just mentioned. The Turk puts his hand into the water, and taking up some in his palm, holds up his hand, and lets it run up the arm to the elbow. The Persian takes water into the palm of one hand, carries it up to his contrary elbow, and lets it run down his arm, and off his fingers ends. In this dispute, whether water should run up to the elbow or down to the elbow, Almighty God takes a side, and will as certainly destroy one party as ever he created both. It is much easier to determine the moral character of this church. When in the eleventh century there were only five poor bishops in all Africa, they held a council to determine which of two pretenders was Lord Primate (2). Two and two, and a casting vote. What a general council ! Some Christians consider this as a glorious effort of sublime piety to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Others say, it proves nothing, except that love of dominion was the last disposition that died in the heart of an African prelate (3). Probably, had a certain person been there, he would have decided the matter by setting a little child

(1) *Father Avril's Travels into Tartary.* B. i.

(2) *Leonis Pape ix. Epist. iii. Ad Thomam Episc. African.*

(3) *Jaques Basnage Hist. Eccles. Tom. i. Liv. iv. Cap. viii.*

in the midst, and by saying, *Except ye become humble as this little child, ye may exercise dominion, but ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven* (4). Having never heard of this, or never attended to it, they appealed to the pope, and he settled the dispute by informing them, that there was but one Lord Primate, and that was himself.

By Africa in ecclesiastical history is not to be understood that immense tract, which geographers describe under this name : but that part only, which extended from the Atlantick ocean to Cyrene, a border lying all along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, from the straits of Gibraltar, upward (5). The whole continent was peopled originally by the descendants of Ham, that son of Noah, on whose posterity the patriarch, foreseeing that a family likeness would descend from father to son, and that the meanness of their minds and the profligacy of their manners would produce natural effects, denounced the curse of servitude (6). This hath been their general condition under the descendants of both Shem and Japheth. In a very early age the Phœnicians settled colonies on this coast, and built Utica and Carthage, one of the finest situations in the world for trade (7). Trade produced population, population wealth, wealth magnificence, and magnificence ambition of dominion over petty surrounding kingdoms. Hence followed appeals to foreign states, alliances, events that made a breach of faith : then came as natural effects the dreadful Punick wars, and in the end the total destruction of Carthage, and the reduction of the whole coast to a Roman province, where solitary garrisons to keep slaves in awe took place of manufactories and warehouses, population and plenty, and all the blessings of trade. When Hannibal was obliged to yield to the superior power of Rome, he exclaimed, “I know the fate of Carthage.” Fate was always in Africa an apology for misconduct.

(4) Matt. xviii. i. &c.

(5) Emanuel a Schelstrate *Ecclesia Africana*. Paris. 1679. Diss. i. Cap. iii.

(6) Bocharti *Opera. curis* Leusden et Villemandy *Lugd.* 1712.

(7) Livii *Hist. cum notis* Joan Doujatii - in *usum Delph.* Paris. 1679.

To begin from the Atlantick, the first part is Mauritania, which was divided into three provinces : Tingitana, so called from the city Tingis, now Tangier : Cæsariensis, so named from the city Cæsarea where King Juba anciently resided : and Sitifensis from Sitifi the capital. Next lay Numidia, and then Africa properly so called, the dominions of the Carthaginians. When the Romans had conquered Carthage, they divided this district into two provinces ; that in which Carthage was, they called Proconsular, the other Byzacena from the city Byzacia (8). Beyond this lay the Tripolitan province, which reached as far as the confines of Cyrene. The whole is generally now called the coast of Barbary. When Jesus was upon earth, this country was inhabited by three sorts of people : the ancient Mauritanians and Numidians : the descendants of Phœnician colonists : and the Roman provincials. Loss of liberty is always attended with dejection of spirit, and this generates indolence, ignorance, and brutality. When foreigners are quartered upon natives, it is natural for each native to say, *For whom do I labour and deprive my soul of rest ?* It was easy for Scipio and Cæsar to hire panegyrists with the spoils of Britain and Africa.

By what means, or at what time the gospel was first taught in Africa nobody knows (9). The Roman Catholics, as usual, contend, that some saint was sent thither by the bishop of Rome : but this is said, as all such fables are, for the sake of an inference, that is, that Africa was dependent on Rome, and ought to be subject to its jurisdiction. Whoever casts his eye on the maps will think it not improbable that it made its way thither through Egypt (1); yet nothing is more likely than that it should go from Rome along with some provincials. However it were, no African churches appear in history till the close of the second century. The obscurity of the history of almost all christian churches affords a high degree of probability, that the first disciples of Jesus were poor plain men, beneath the notice of the magistrate and the historian : that they taught a very simple

(8) Sexti Rufi *Notitia imperii* Concil Carthag. vi. An. 419. ---- Guil. Beveregii *Synodicon Oxon.* 1672.

(9) Basnage *Hist. ut sup* - - - Carthag. *Collat.*

(1) Guliel. Sanson *Geograph. Patriarchalis apud Labbei. concil.* Tom. xvi. - - . Nicephori *Hist. Lib. ii. Cap. iv.* - - - Schelstrate *ut sup.* Diss. i. Cap. 2.

gospel: that their worship was a very plain affair: that their converts were chiefly of the lower sort of people: and that their persons were not distinguished by any habits different from those of their neighbours, or by any thing except their piety and virtue. Authentick histories of some churches give this probable conjecture a sort of demonstration in regard to others of which there are no accounts. How wise the institution: *He shall not lift up his voice, nor cry in the streets!*

Although this church continued only about eight hundred years, yet the history of it ought to be divided into five periods. The first begins with the appearance of the first Christians, and ends with the council of Nice: a period of about one hundred and thirteen years. During this time Christianity shifted for itself in the hands of the people, and Christians were dissidents: but no party was established. The second period contains about one hundred years from the council of Nice to the irruption of the Vandals. This term exhibits establishment, and persecution. The third is the next hundred years, the time of the duration of the kingdom of the Vandals: the time of the triumph of Arianism. The fourth period includes about one hundred and fifty years from the ruin of the Vandal kingdom to the irruption of the Saracens. In this period the condition of the African church resembled that of the Greek church. The last period extends from the irruption of the Saracens to the disappearance of Catholicks, and contains about three hundred years. A question, it may be hoped, not more curious than wise, naturally enough occurs here. On supposition it had been the duty of a christian to profess the religion of the civil magistrate: and on supposition one Carthaginian Christian, suppose Tertullian, had lived through all these periods and discharged his duty, of what religion would Tertullian have been? Let it not pass unnoticed that great numbers did live in a part of two periods.

The first man that appears in this church is Tertullian, one of the most singular characters in history, and the first Latin father (2). His father was a centurian under the proconsul. He was born at Carthage, and brought

(2) *Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani. Opera. ex. edit. Nicolai Rigaltii. Parisiis. 1664 - - Du Pin. Bibliot. des Auteurs Eccles. Tertullien. Sæc. ii.*

up a lawyer. He became a Christian and joined the church at Carthage in the close of the second century. The church elected him an elder, and he wrote several books, the chief of which is his apology for Christianity, which is an admirable work full of information. He was a man of allowed virtue, and considerable learning; but his judgment was not equal to his zeal, and he fell into the snare, too common to primitive Christians, of writing books to explain the whole of a religion which he did but half understand. In the latter part of his life he removed his communion, and joined the people called Montanists, in defence of whom he wrote more books to contradict what he had published before. Most Christians condemn him as an apostate and a heresick: but many think, he proved the sincerity and goodness of his heart by following his own convictions, and regarding nobody. He lived to extreme old age: but as he died heterodox, nobody knows when or where, or how he finished his course. This is the first writer who mentions the baptism of children, and he dissuades from it: but the question is whether he means natural infants, or infants in law (3). It is not incredible that this book has been garbled and interpolated: it is certain one other book is attributed to him in which Sabellius is mentioned, though Tertullian died before Sabellius was born (4).

The *mode* is not in dispute, for it is clear the Roman Africans administered baptism by dipping three times in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (5). Trine immersion to represent the three days burial of Jesus Christ, or faith in the Trinity, is of uncertain origin: but the practice was universal among Christians of the Catholick kind; and some who did not believe the Trinity performed baptism in the same manner. It is therefore the subject, whether a natural infant or a minor that rises to view. The introduction of infants into the christian church is such a singular innovation that it hath

(3) *De Baptismo advers Quintil. Liber.*

(4) *Abr Sculteti Analysis Script Tertull. De Penit. De Trinit.*

(5) Tertul. *De Bapt.* cap. viii. In aqua mergimur - - Coron. Mil. cap. iii. Dehinc ter mergimur - - *Advers. Prax.* Post resurrectionem spondens missurum se discipulis promissionis patris, et novissime mandans ut tingerent in Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum non in unum. Nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tingimur. *De tri-na mersione vide Cyprian. Epist. ad Jubaianum ad Pompeium.* - - Basilium Cyril Hierosol - - Ambros. *de Sacram.* - - Hieron. in Cap. iv. ad *Ephes.* - - Chrysost - - Basnag. Canisii *Lectio prefat.* Cap. v. S. 19.

attracted the eyes of many to Africa to spy out the cause. Baptism is a ceremony. Ceremonies are founded not on moral, but positive law. There is no law to baptize infants in either testament, so that there is not even the pretence of Judaism to give a shadow of sanction to such a practice. Infants are mere machines, and utterly incapable of every thing requisite to baptism. It subverts the very base of the christian church, by giving those the name who have not the thing, and by transferring the whole cause of Christianity from the wise and pious few, to the ignorant and wicked multitude, who, being supposed Christians, interfere in religion, derange the community, invade the offices, and convert the whole into a worldly corporation. Had the Royal or Antiquarian Societies, or any of the academies abroad, taken in their own infants in such a manner, they would have been lost in a crowd of ignoramuses before now, because the qualities of the parents are not hereditary. All these reflections have weight : but there is another of more importance than all these to some people, who think it sinks the credit of Jesus Christ, by making him impose his name upon children before they know who he is, or what he teaches : as if he could not trust mankind to use their reason before he imposed his gospel on their belief.

As Africa is the place, where infant baptism first makes its appearance, it would be unpardonable, in an history of African Christianity, not to keep the eye full fixed on infants ; it should never lose sight of them. When they appear in the church, they who bring them should be examined, and cross-examined, fairly, but with all possible severity ; first to come at the fact, who these infants are : and then at the law of the case, or the reasons, which are assigned for the baptism of them. Strictly speaking, it lies upon those who practise it, to shew how they came by it ; and it is spoken of here merely as a matter of curiosity.

The fact is, infants appear three times, at three different and distinct periods, and the baptism of them is each time claimed for a new and different reason. The first time, it is an infant in law, able to ask to be baptized, and accompanied by his sponsor or guardian. This happens in the time of Tertullian, about the beginning of the third century.

The second, is an infant of eight days old, brought in by a country priest, who reasons from circumcision, and is confirmed in his opinion and ordered by his master Cyprian to baptize before eight days. This happened about forty years after the former.

The last, is a new born babe in danger of damnation for his original sin, to be cleansed and saved by baptism by the bishop of Hippo, fourteen of his party, and their successors. This falls out near an hundred and eighty years after the second. Each of these will be spoken of in its proper place. Only the first is to be considered now.

To discuss this subject properly, it is necessary to arrange it, and first to state the case - - - then to inquire who proposes the baptism of infants - - - thirdly, to examine the word infant - - - fourthly, to hear what Tertullian has to object - - - fifthly, to inquire the condition of these infants - - - and lastly, the new office of sponsor.

The case is this. Quintilla pleads for the baptism of infants, on condition they ask to be baptized, and produce sponsors. Tertullian, a lawyer and an officer of the church, dissuades from it, and assigns his reasons. This is the case.

Next, who was this Quintilla? She was a lady of fortune, who lived at Pepuza, a town in Phrygia. Either she, or Priscilla, or both, formed a christian society where they lived. One of the members of this church was named Montanus, a poor obscure man, of no learning, but like all the rest of the church of severe morals. He taught in the church. His air was captivating to the lower sort of people, and his example and instructions led multitudes into this mode of Christianity, so that the church multiplied and spread itself all over Asia, Africa, and a part of Europe.

In this church the women preached and were called prophetesses. They believed both the Testaments, Old and New, and had a deal to say from both in defence of themselves. Miriam the sister of Moses prophesied. The daughters of Philip prophesied. The wise virgins took their lamps and went out to meet Jesus. They used to say, there was neither male nor female in Christ Jesus: and therefore women were both elders and bishops in their congregations(6), and taught and baptized(7).

(6) Epiph. *Heres.* (7) Tertul. *De Bapt.* Cap. xvii.

They disowned priesthood, despised literature, and never flinched from persecution. Some called them Phrygians, others Priscillianists, and Quintillianists; some named them Montanists, others called them Pepuzians; and, if any body inquired of them what they called themselves, they answered, we are Artotyrites, that is, bread and cheese eaters. Monsters, exclaim the the serious Catholics, do ye offer bread and cheese in sacrifice to your gods!

Epiphanius, who wrote a history of what he did not know as well as of what he did, gave those good ladies a place in his list of hereticks; and though he says he did not know their history, yet he pretends to tell even their dreams, which probably they never told except jocularly in their dressing rooms, where writers of folios seldom come, especially such as Epiphanius, who write slander in folio. How they contrived to be bishops themselves, and yet to despise priesthood in the other sex, is hard to say. Probably a Pepuzian bishop was a teacher: a very different person from Bishop Epiphanius, who mistook himself for governor of the Isle of Cyprus.

The third inquiry is, who are these infants, as translators have been pleased to call them? There is an absolute certainty that these children were not infants in the usual popular modern English sense, and that the word infant among the Africans meant a minor, or an infant in law in general. It might mean a sucking child, or it might not. To determine the sense precisely, and once for all, it is necessary to examine the circumstances mentioned by Tertullian in the case of the present infants, though he does not call them infants, but little ones.

An African bishop is an unexceptionable evidence; and one who hath no inducement to mislead is the most proper to speak to this point. Let Bishop Victor be the man. He lived early enough to determine, and he lived after Austin had settled the dispute by law, and was not interested in the affair; he is therefore the nearest disinterested African to be found. He says, "There were in the African church at Carthage, when Eugenius was bishop, a great many *little infants*, readers, who rejoiced in the Lord, and suffered persecution with the

rest of their brethren (8).” He says in another place, when a great many Christians were fleeing into exile, many *little infants* accompanied them, crying, We are Christians, we are Catholicks, we believe the Trinity, (9). Some of their mothers were Arians, and ran crying after them to dissuade them from going with the Catholicks, and trying to prevail with them to return home, and be rebaptized into the Arian faith: but they persisted. “Once, says the bishop, as we were travelling in the night to avoid the excessive heats of the sun and the sand, we espied a little old woman running, carrying a bag and some clothes, and having a *little infant* in her hand, and we heard her say, run, run, my little king, do but see how fast the saints go to obtain their crowns. The pilgrims paused, and when she came up, they reproved the old woman for pretending to associate herself with a company of men. God bless you, God bless you, said she, pray for me, and for this little grandchild of mine, for, though I am a sinner, yet my father was bishop of the city of Zuritana, long since dead. Do, added she, let me go along with this your little servant into exile, for if I leave him alone the enemy will decoy him from the way of truth into the way of destruction. Well, replied we, let the will of the Lord be done!”

There was in the church at Carthage a man named Theucarius, who used to read, and was master of the singers. Twelve of these were *little infants*, as the bishop calls them (1). There were also *little infants*, who in time of persecution ran up and down the streets crying, “We are Christians, we are Christians, we are Christians:” and as they repeated this three times, both Catholicks and Arians thought they held the doctrine of the Trinity: the latter knocked them on the head, and the former registered them for martyrs (2). There were seven monks put to death—Maximus, a *little infant*, was one (3). The officers pitied his youth, and tried to persuade him to recant. “No, (said he,) nobody shall persuade me to leave my father Abbot Liberatus,

(8) Victoris Vitensis Hist. Persecut. Vandal. Edit. Theodorici Ruinart. Parisiis. 1604. Lib. v. Cap. ix.

(9) Lib. ii. Cap. ix.

(1) Lib. v. Cap. x.

(2) Lib. v. Cap. xiv.

(3) Ejusd. Passio beat'iss. Lartyrum pag. 104. Inter eos infantulus, nomine maximus . . . Infantule, quid festinas ad mortem.

and my brethren, who nursed me in the monastery. They brought me up in the fear of God ; with them I desire to suffer, and with them I trust I shall enjoy eternal glory. Do not think you can seduce me because I am young - - - If I deny Christ before men, he will deny me before my Father in heaven : but if I confess him, he will confess me before his Father, and the holy angels." These are *Carthaginian infants*, children of the choir, taught to read, and sing, and instructed by such men as Theucarius, the church school-master ; or brought up in monasteries, and prepared by the monks for baptism ; and Theucarius, Abbot Liberatus, and such men, were sponsors.

The bishop speaks of Vandal youths suffering with other infants : but if it were necessary, it would be easy to prove that in Africa, not provincials only, but Vandals, Goths, and natives, all used the word infant in a vague sense. Tertullian's word is *parvulus* a little one, which if possible is more vague still. The first linguists in Europe, by tracing all the words in question to their parent roots or first sounds, which are always found to be very simple, and very much alike, abundantly prove what is here affirmed (4).

As the single words prove nothing more than that the infants proposed for baptism at Carthage were such as could not dispose of themselves, circumstances must determine their age, or if there be none, the age of these candidates must be left undetermined. A very little affix may determine the precise meaning of a word, as for example in the old Saxon compound word *cradle-child*, which fixes the age, and *Godbearn* which describes the condition, in regard to baptism, that it hath been baptized under the care of a sponsor : but where the words are uncompounded as these are here, some foreign circumstances must be sought for. It is not said whether these minors were the children of Pagans or Christians, but it should seem by a circumstance, which will be mentioned presently, they were the children of poor Pagans.

(4) Georgii Hiccesii *Linguarum vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus*. Oxon. 1705. Tom. i. *Gram. Anglo-Saxonica et Moeso. Gothica*. pag. 14.

Tertullian in a small book of less than six pages in folio, objects to the baptism of these little ones. This is his objection.

Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Carthaginensis presbyteri De Baptismo, Adversus Quintillam. Libri caput xviii.

Baptismum non temere credendum esse, sciunt quorum officium est. Omni petenti dato, suum habet titulum, perinde ad eleemosynam pertinentem. Immo illud potius perspicendum, nolite dare sanctum canibus, et porcis projicere margarita vestra, et manus ne facile imposueris, ne participes aliena delicta. Si Philippus tam facile tinxit eunuchum, recogitemus manifestum et exertam dignationem Domine intercessisse. Spiritus Philippo præceperat in eam viam pretendere; spado et ipse inventus est non otiosus; nec qui subito tingui concupisceret: sed ad templum orandi gratia scripturæ divinæ impressus. Sic oportebat deprehendi, cui ultro Deus apostolus miserat. Ad quem rursus spiritus ut se curriculo eunuchi adjungeret jussit. Scriptura ipsius fidei occurrit, in tempore exhortatus assumitur, Dominus ostenditur, fides non moratur, aqua non expectatur, Apostolus perfecto negotio eripitur. Sed et Paulus revera cito tinctus est. Cito enim cognoverat Judas hospes vas eum esse electionis constitutum. Dei dignatio suas præmittit prærogativas: omnis petitio et decipere, et decipi potest. Itaque pro cujusque personæ conditione, ac dispositione, etiam ætate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est: præcipue tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? Quia et ipsi per

The eighteenth chapter of Tertullian's book on Baptism against Quintilla.

That baptism ought not to be administered rashly, the administrators of it know. Give to him that asketh, every one hath a right, as if it were a matter of alms. Yea, rather say, give not that which is holy unto dogs, cast not your pearls before swine, lay hands suddenly on no man, be not a partaker of other men's sins. If Philip baptized the eunuch on the spot, let us recollect it was done under the immediate direction of the Lord. The spirit commanded Philip to go that way; the eunuch was not idle when he found him, nor did he immediately desire to be baptized: but having been at the temple to worship God, he was attending to the holy scriptures. There was a propriety in what he was about, when God sent his apostle to him, the spirit gave Philip a second order to join himself to the chariot. The eunuch was a believer of scripture, the instruction given by Philip was seasonable, the one preached, and the other perceived the Lord Jesus, and believed on him, water was at hand, and the apostle having finished the affair was caught away. But Paul, you say, was baptized instantly. True: because Judas, in whose house he was, instantly knew he was a vessel of mercy. The condescension of God may confer his favours as he pleases: but our wishes may mislead ourselves and others. It is therefore most expedient to defer baptism, and to regulate the administration of it according to the condition, the disposition and the age of the person to be baptized: and especially in the case of little ones. What necessity is there to expose sponsores to danger? Death may incapacitate

per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, et proventu malæ indolis falli. Ait quidem dominus, Nolite illos prohibere ad me venire. Veniant dum discunt, dum quo veniant docentur; fiant Christiani, quum Christum nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum? Cautius agetur in secularibus, ut cui substantia terrena non creditur, divina credatur. Norint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris. Non minori de causa, innupti quoque procrastinandi, in quibus tentatio præparata est, tam virginibus per maturitatem, quam viduis per vacationem, donec aut nubant, aut continentiae corroborentur. Si qui pondus intelligant baptismi, magis timebunt consecutionem, quam dilationem: fides integra secuta est de salute,

incapacitate them for fulfilling their engagements: or bad dispositions may defeat all their endeavours. Indeed, the Lord saith, forbid them not to come unto me: and let them come while they are growing up, let them come and learn, and let them be instructed when they come, and when they understand Christianity let them profess themselves Christians. Why should that innocent age hasten to the remission of sins? People act more cautiously in secular affairs, they do not commit the care of divine things to such as are not intrusted with temporal things. They just know how to ask for salvation, that you may seem to give to him that asketh. It is for a reason equally important, that unmarried women both virgins and widows, are kept waiting, either till they marry, or are confirmed in a habit of chaste single life. Such as understand the importance of baptism are more afraid of presumption than procrastination, and faith alone secures salvation.

On this book there are eight remarks, which ought not to pass unnoticed.

First, The book itself is not addressed to the church at Carthage, it is a pamphlet written against the Quintilianists, whom the writer reputed hereticks, who were not in communion with the church, and who did not believe the doctrine of the Trinity; for he says, they had not the same God, and therefore it was no wonder they had not the same baptism. Beside, these people suffered women to preach and baptize, which the church at Carthage did not allow. This book, therefore, doth not prove that infants were baptized at Carthage; and the prerequisites to baptism, which Tertullian says the Carthaginian church demanded of candidates, were impossible to infants. He describes baptism as it was practised at Carthage: but it is the baptism of adults by trine immersion.

Secondly. He observes two sorts of texts, or more strictly speaking, two texts urged for the baptism of infants: the one, *Suffer little children to come unto me*; and the other, *Give to him that asketh*. His answer seems

clearly to be, let them be relieved and taught, and when they understand let them be baptized; at present they ask for what the officers of the church have no power to dispose of.

Thirdly. He remarks, that arguments taken from scriptural examples of persons' being baptized immediately on their desiring baptism, as the Eunuch and Paul, were not applicable to this case. Here is no divine command: in the case of the eunuch there was. Here is no proof of conversion: but Paul was known to be a vessel of mercy before he was baptized.

Fourthly. He adds, that the baptism of children was not only unsupported by scripture, but it was contrary to the reasonable customs of the world and the church. The world doth not entrust minors with secular affairs: the church doth not admit either single women or widows till they have proved the virtue of their characters by a continued habit of living chastely and irreproachably in a single state.

He asks, what there is in the children, that should tempt people to baptize them? If baptism be considered as a renunciation of sin, what have children to do with this, their age is innocent?

He says, sponsors would expose themselves to great danger: they might die, or the untowardness of the children might defeat their intentions.

He observes, further, that though children might ask to be baptized, yet they might not know what they asked for: and that the whole implied a want of understanding, for they who knew what baptism meant, would rather defer it, than rush unworthily into it.

Lastly. It is highly probable, that this book answered Tertullian's end, and prevented, what had only been proposed, the baptism of minors; and it is absolutely certain that about six years after, Tertullian joined the very people against whom he had written this book, and the baptism of children is not once mentioned again till at least forty years after. Tertullian published more books after he joined the Montanists; but it does not appear by any of them that he had altered his opinion about baptism; and the most probable conjecture is, that they convinced him of some errors, which he reformed: and he them of some others, which they gave up; and

that hurrying forward the baptism of children was one. If it were necessary to give any opinion on the age of the infants in question, there is one line in Bishop Victor's history of the Vandal persecution of this church, that would lead a reader to conjecture, they were about seven years of age (5). This is a mere guess; but it seems to accord with every thing said by Tertullian. Such children could ask to be baptized, and so they answer the character proposed by the Quintillianists; but they were comparatively innocent of sin, and yet ignorant of the intent of baptism, and so exposed to all the objections of Tertullian.

The condition of these children is the next inquiry. Africa was a Roman province. A Proconsul resided there, as a Lord-Lieutenant does in Ireland. The conditions of the people in general were the same as in other parts of the empire. Slaves could not dispose of their children, and those of the gentry were guarded by express law. On a comparison of the conditions of the people with the laws of the country, it should seem, these infants could be no other than either orphans of free christian citizens, or children of poor free Pagans, who embraced the proposal made by Christians to bring up their children, as the poor now accept the favour of a charity-school (6). Of the two the latter is most likely. The Carthaginian Christians had in after times two sorts of institutions of this kind for both sexes: the one, church-schools; the other, monasteries. Theucarius, just now mentioned, was master of that at Carthage, and had 12 infants under his care, who held the Trinity, and probably more who did not hold it: but they were wholly supported by the church; and Victor says, they lived together, ate together, and sung together in the church (7). They were what would now be called choristers, or children of the choir. Liberatus, also, was master of a monastery, where the monks took in children; and most, if not all monasteries did so (8). In both these schools children were taught and prepared

(5) *Filius cujusdam nobilis, annorum circiter septem, a parentibus separatus est . . . raptorem, infantulo clamante, Christianus sum, insontem infantiam in suum gurgitem demerserent.*

(6) *De tutela . . . De servis . . . De testamentis . . . De bonis . . . De intestatis . . . De tutoribus vel curatoribus illustrium vel clarissimarum personarum . . . De infantibus . . . De libertis, &c.*

(7) Victor. pag. 5

(8) Pag. 91.

Pag. 102.

for baptism. In Tertullian's time these schools were small, and comparatively inconsiderable : but the question between him and his opponents was precisely this. Shall children be baptized when they are first admitted, or shall baptism be deferred till they have been instructed? Administer it, say the compassionate ladies, for the Lord said, Give to him that asketh. No, replies Tertullian, the Lord did not say so of baptism : maintain them, and instruct them ; but do not baptize them, till they know what baptism means.

The last article regards sponsors. Tertullian was a lawyer, and before he became a Christian he had been consulted as a man eminent in his profession. It was very natural for him to start the difficulties of sponson or suretyship, and particularity at a time when Christians began so to multiply as to alarm Proconsuls, who had not then learnt what they meant to be at. During the lives of parents, they were the natural guardians of children. On their death, the nearest of kin became guardians or parents of minors. Guardian in England includes two offices, discharged among the Romans by two different persons, the one called a tutor, who had the care of the person and education of the minor ; and the other named a curator, who had the care of the estate. It happened sometimes that they who made wills, which slaves and some others could not do, nominated a guardian, who did not choose to act. Was this man under any obligation to execute the will of the deceased ? No, he was not. But let him take care, for if he does any one act, he will render himself accountable for the whole, for the law will consider him in a condition of sponson, and will suppose, as it very well may, that he acts *sponte*, of his own choice, and without any compulsion. It was very wise and kind in this primitive church lawyer to warn his brethren of danger. It is as if he had said : Have you well considered this affair ? minors are not of age till they are twenty-five (9). Till then they are under tutors and governors. Government cannot and will not harm you for feeding and clothing poor children, and teaching them to read and sing ; but per-

(9) Dionysii Gothofredi *Notæ in Cod. Justin. Lib. v. Tit. xxviii.* *Sub ætates fieri, est puberem fieri, Dion. liii. τοὺς ἐν τῇ ηλικίᾳ.* Puberes vocantur, qui nondum pervenerunt ad annum xxv. ætatis.

haps they will not consider baptism in a light so favourable, for this is embodying them in a corporation unknown to the law, and it is a disposing of them without their consent. The law hath not yet taken any cognizance of baptism, but if it should, and should determine the administration of it to minors an act of sponson, you may bring yourselves into trouble; and if this should never happen, how can you answer for the dispositions of the children, when they come of age (1)? And what will you say to the church when they censure you for transferring their property, their offices, and their religion, to drunkards and blasphemers? Had Tertullian been a divine, divine motives should be ascribed to him: but as he was a prudent lawyer, it is natural to suppose, he determined his opinion by professional reasons, and though he was too wise to mention them in a publication under a pagan government, yet he knew the practice of the courts.

Many years after, when Christianity was incorporated into the law, and the administration of baptism was accounted an act of sponson, an event fell out at Carthage, which discovers the power that sponsors or tutors had over their little wards, and at the same time it shews who the African sponsors were. The Roman Christians first established the doctrine of the Trinity by law in Africa. The Vandals followed, and established Arianism. This made a dreadful dispute about baptized children, who were not always of a mind with their sponsors. Three cases will exemplify the meaning of this.

There was a gentleman at Carthage named Elpidoforus, who on his own profession of faith was baptized, and admitted a member of the Trinitarian church. The second deacon, named Muritta, assisted him at his baptism, that is, he attended him to the baptistery, and immediately after he was baptized, and came out of the water, put upon him the sabana, or white linen vest, in which he walked to the dressing-room, and which he afterwards wore eight days. Muritta is called on this occasion the susceptor of Elpidoforus, or the person who received him coming up from the font. This word is now-a-days rendered very inaccurately god-

(1) Sever et Anton. *Impp. De testamentaria tutel.*

father. Some time after Elpidoforus became an Arian, and they say, got into power and persecuted the orthodox, and among the rest, Muritta. The old man was a genuine Carthaginian, fell as a tyger. When he came before Elpidoforus, he reproached him not for persecuting, but for being a disbeliever of the Trinity. Out he pulled from under his cloak the sabana, and holding it up exclaimed: "Here, Elpidoforus, you minister of error, this linen will accuse you at the day of judgment. I diligently keep it for a testimony of your perdition, to plunge you into the bottomless pit burning with fire and brimstone. This, you wretch, adorned you when you came up innocent from the font. This, you sorry fellow, this will fiercely increase your punishment, when you are cast into the flames of hell, because you have put on cursing like a garment, and have torn and thrown away the sacrament of faith and true baptism. What will you do, you wretch, when the king comes in to view his guests? Will he not resent your laying aside this nuptial habit, and say, where is the wedding garment I gave you?" If Muritta was a godfather, this is a part of his lecture to his child, who had been born of water about ten months before this time, but over whom he had no control (2).

Theucarius, the church school-master, became an Arian as Elpidoforus had done, with this difference, twelve of the singing boys had been under his care, and he claimed them to go with him over to the Arians. The boys liked the old church best, and protested they held the doctrine of the Trinity. With the Trinitarians they staid; but Theucarius recovered every one of them on the ground of the right of a tutor; and probably he acquired this right by having performed an act of sponsorship at their baptism. The orthodox could not prevent it, the children went against their will, and there was no remedy, though Theucarius gave them a Carthaginian education, and drubbed them soundly and frequently to convince them of the truth of his creed (3).

The third case is that of Maximus, mentioned some time ago, who suffered with Liberatus, the abbot, who had brought him up. The Arians could recover twelve in the last mentioned case, and yet they could not recover

(2) Victor *Vitens*. Lib. v. Cap. ix.(3) Victor *ut sup.*

this one, though they were exceedingly desirous to do so (4). The truth is, they were called *infantuli*, and were all under age, and at the disposal of their guardians. Theucarius recovered his twelve, and Liberatus retained his one, because both had performed an act of sponson in baptism at taking the children under their care. They that think ignorance the parent of infant baptism are very much mistaken. None of these answer exactly to the English godfather. Muritta was an assistant to an adult for a day at his baptism. Theucarius and Liberatus were guardians, *fidejussors*, or sponsors for the whole minority of the children under their care. Nothing in all this history touches the question in dispute, for the arguments that belong to the baptism of boys do not affect the case of new-born babes.

CHAP. XXII.

OF THE BAPTISM OF BABES IN THE TIME OF CYPRIAN.

THE baptism of babes first appeared in the most ignorant and impure part of the catholick world, Africa. It was not the offspring of critical learning or sound philosophy, for it sprang up among men destitute of both, nor did any one ever take the African fathers for philosophers, or critical investigators of the sacred oracles of God; and if they be all taken for moral men, they are overprized, for an eye-witness hath characterized African christians quite otherwise. He says, "In spite of their vain boasts of an orthodox faith, they were Pagans and blasphemers, who worshipped idols in secret, and dedicated their children in their infancy to demons. They were more wicked in their morals than the Pagan Romans had ever been. They resembled the frantick followers of Bacchus. There was no crime that they did not practise; perjury, debauchery of every species, oppression, tyranny, madness and wickedness of every kind, so that the people groaned for a revolution. When in the time of Augustine the Vandals surrounded Carthage to besiege it, the members of the church were lying along in luxury at the play, or at some publick amusement,

(4) *Ibid.* Passio vii. Monach.

and the poor were more wretched and more wicked than they had ever been under the Romans (1).

It may be asked how a church so grossly wicked obtained the character of purity, and on what account some of the clergy were canonized for saints, and the principal of them considered as pillars of the Catholick church to this day ? The true answer is, they placed all religion in faith, not in virtue, and their bishops were the most zealous contenders for hierarchical power of any that ever appeared under the Christian name ; and nothing serves the purpose of absolute dominion more directly than the baptism of babes.

About the year two hundred and fifteen the tenth part of the inhabitants of Carthage were reputed Christians, and there were many congregations in other parts. Tertullian had thought they increased too fast, and lost in the crowd the simplicity of the Christian religion. Awhile he had endeavoured to stem the torrent, by a strict scrutiny at the admission of members, and as several came to join the church, who had been, or who pretended they had been baptized elsewhere, he insisted on re-examining and re-baptizing them, unless they could make it appear they had been baptized by churches in communion with that at Carthage (2). Congregations of the same faith and order held communion with each other then exactly as all congregations do now in states where none of them are established by law. This had not fully answered the end of Tertullian, who was an austere man ; and, finding that the churches of his own communion became more corrupt, he quitted them, and joined the Montanists. There was a separate congregation formed by him at Carthage, which continued two hundred years, and then fell into the established church, as Augustine says. Agrippinus, the first bishop of Carthage that appears in history, and seventy other bishops, agreed to pursue Tertullian's method of admitting members, and they re-baptized all such as joined them from other communities (3). Successive bishops continued to do so for the space of forty years, and when Cyprian became bishop of Carthage,

(1) Salviani *De gubenat. Dei*. Lib. viii.

(2) J. Forbesii. *Instruct. Hist. Theol.* Lib. x. iv. *Cencil. Arelatens*, i. Du Pin --- Mosheim --- Labbei *Cencil.* An. 217.

(3) Cypriani *Epist.* lxxi. *ad Quintum*.

the affair caused an open rupture between him and Stephen, bishop of Rome. Each had his partizans. Each assembled councils and anathematized the other, and hence came a multitude of volumes ancient and modern about an uninteresting dispute, whether Stephen the Baptist at Rome, or Cyprian the Anabaptist at Carthage, should be the pope and the tyrant over all other bishops (4). Neither side ever entertained a thought of making the people free : but bishops and schism, schism and bishops, like serpents, run hissing through every line of the disgusting history of the contentions of these men. Cyprian was an ignorant fanatic, and as great a tyrant as ever existed. A man, who loves liberty, will see very little in Africa to stay his curiosity, except it be hereticks, who, believe what they would, had the virtue to resist the torrent, and worship God in freedom and peace. The orthodox reproach these people because they had neither saints nor martyrs. They had no saints : because they had no popes to canonize any. They had few or no martyrs : because they exercised no dominion, and gave Pagan governors no umbrage. No, hereticks had no martyrs till Christians made them, for before the orthodox got themselves established, they were as good Christians as the rest. Hereticks were numerous in Africa in this period, but as the orthodox had not then got the sword of the magistrate in their hands, they took no harm, though they formed separate assemblies, because they thought the orthodox churches consisted mostly of tyrants and slaves. Basnage observes, when two country bishops write to Capreolus, the bishop of Carthage, thus ran their style : “ Vitalis and Constantius, two humble sinners, your most humble slaves, prostrate themselves at your feet, and conjure your apostleship to instruct their littleness, and to inform them what the church ought to believe on the question, whether God was born of a virgin : because some condemn this expression. We beseech your blessedness to pardon our simplicity. If we err it is through ignorance (5).”

(4) Cyprian. *Op* ---- Stephani *Epist* ---- Concil. Carthag. iii. ---- Valesii *not. ad Euseb. Blondel. de primat* ---- Facundi *Defens. trium.* Cap. &c. &c.

(5) Sirmondi *Op.* Tom. i. See the whole letter in *Card. De Aguirre's* 2d vol. of the *Councils of Spain*, p. 195.

One of this sort of humble bishops, named Fidus, in the year two hundred and fifty-seven, wrote to Cyprian of Carthage to know whether children might be baptized before they were eight days old, for by his bible he could not tell ; nor could Cyprian tell without consulting a council, which was about to be assembled on two very important affairs. While these wise men are preparing to attend the association where the baptism of babes is to make its first appearance by a motion from a country bishop, it may not be improper to run the eye over the district where this bishop resided, inhabited by Pagans, and Christians of two sorts. Each must be examined apart.

To begin with the Pagans. Had not a great number of authors of undoubted veracity ascertained the fact, it would be difficult to believe, that any class of mankind could be reduced to such a state of barbarity as the Africans were. There was a ferocity in the manners of the old Carthaginians, and their history is full of examples of the cruel insensibility, with which they shed the blood of citizens as well as foreigners. There is one remarkable instance of this at the surrender of Carthage to the Romans (6). The soldiers set fire to a temple. Asdrubal the general of the Carthaginian forces took an olive branch, and went to the Roman general Scipio to sue for favour. The lady of Asdrubal, transported with fury, immediately dressed and ornamented herself and her two children, and placing herself in the sight of the two generals, said with a loud voice to Scipio : "I make no imprecations against you, O Roman : for you only use the rights of war. But may the gods of Carthage, and you in concert with them, punish the perfidious wretch, who hath betrayed his country, gods, wife and children, as he deserves." Then addressing herself to Asdrubal : "Vile, perfidious, basest of men, this fire will soon consume me and my children : as for you, unworthy general of Carthage, go and adorn the triumph of your conqueror, and suffer in the sight of Rome the punishment due to your crimes." Having so said, she cut the throats of her children, and threw them into the fire, and then leaped into it herself.

(6) Rollin's *Roman History*. Vol. viii. *Third Punic war*. Sect. iii.

This ferocity they carried into their religion. When Agathocles was upon the point of besieging Carthage, the inhabitants imputed their misfortune to the anger of Saturn, because instead of children of the first quality, which they used to sacrifice to him, they had fraudulently substituted the children of slaves and strangers in their stead (7). To make amends for this pretended crime, they sacrificed two hundred children of the best families of Carthage to that god ; besides which, more than three hundred citizens offered themselves voluntarily as victims. A brazen statue of Saturn was set up, his two arms, brought almost together, were extended downward over a fierce fire. The mothers kissed and decoyed their children into mirth lest the god should be offended with the ungracefulness of his worshippers. The priests were habited in scarlet, and the victims in a bright purple vest (8). The infants were laid upon the arms of the statue, and rolled into the fire ; and a rough musick drowned their shrieks lest mothers should hear and repent. Plutarch says, they who had no children, used to purchase those of the poor for this horrid purpose (9). So the citizens of Jerusalem purchased pigeons and lambs of the country people for sacrifice in the temple.

Historical scepticism is a virtue in a great many cases : but there is no room for it in this, for evidences both sacred and profane, put it beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Phœnicians, the Druids, the Gauls, the Carthaginians, and even the Greeks and the Romans, offered human sacrifices to their gods (1). The Greeks and Romans reformed the abuse ; and as the Romans subdued barbarous nations they obliged them to reform it. The first decree of senate that forbade human victims was issued about ninety-seven years before Christ, when Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Crassus were

(7) Rollin Vol. iv. Sect. i. - - - Justini *Hist.* Cap. xvi. - - - Plutarch. *De ger. Reip* - - - Schelstrate *Eccl. Afric.* Diss. i. Cap. i. - - - Pescenius Festus *apud Lactant. Histor.* - - *Ex Diodoro refert Cælius Rhodiginus.*

(8) Tertullian *De Testimon. animæ* - - - *De Pall.* Cap. iv.

(9) *De superstitione.*

(1) Levit. xviii. 21 - - xx. 2, 3. - - Deut. xviii. 10. - - 1 Kings xi. 5, 7 - - 2 Kings xvii. 31. - - xxiii. 10 - - 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. - - Psal. cvi. 37, 38. - - Jer. xix. 5. - - Ezek. xvi. 20, &c. - - xxiii. 37, &c.

Jacques Saurin *Discours sur les evenemens du vieux et du nouv. Test. A la Haye.* 1728. Tom. ii. Disc. xv. *Le Vœu de Jephtha.*

consuls (2). The Africans were the last to suppress this infernal custom, and it was necessary in the consulship of Tiberius to make publick examples of some, who persisted in it (3). Tertullian declares, and he lived among them, that they continued to practise it in private when he wrote his Apology, which was above two hundred years after people had been executed for it. Ought any man to wonder at the obstinacy of the custom of infant sprinkling, when it required more than three hundred years to suppress infant burning ?

Mr. Bryant hath collected and arranged, with the utmost perspicuity, undoubted ancient evidences of the almost universality of the horrid custom of offering human sacrifices. The Egyptians, the Cretans, the Arabians, the Persians, the Cyprians, the Rhodians, the Phoceans, the Ionians, the inhabitants of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, all had human sacrifices. All the Grecian states, the Romans, the Gauls, the Germans, all the people of the North of every denomination offered human victims. The like custom prevailed to a great degree at Mexico, and even under the mild government of the Peruvians, and in most parts of America. Mr. Bryant adds : “ In Africa it is still kept up ; where, in the inland parts, they sacrifice some of the captives taken in war to their Fetiches, in order to secure their favour. Snelgrave was in the king of Dahome’s camp, after his inroad into the countries of Ardra and Whidaw ; and says, that he was a witness to the cruelty of this prince, whom he saw sacrifice multitudes to the deity of his nation. He mentions four thousand Whidaws being sacrificed, besides people of other nations. To part of the tragedy he was an eye-witness (4).”

As Christianity extended itself into the chief towns of any kingdom, heathenism retired into the remote, interior and back parts ; and this it was that induced Christians to give idolatry the name of Paganism, and to call idolaters Pagans, because while Christianity was professed in the cities, idolatry continued to be practised in what they called the pagos, which are now called villages. In Africa, behind the border on the coast

(2) Dionis Cassii *Hist. Rom.* Lib. xliii. *Hamburgi.* 1750. *cum notis Valesii, Fabricii, &c.* Plinii Secundi *Hist. Nat.* Lib. xxx. i. xxvii. 1. *Ad usum Delphini. Parisiis.* 1685.

(3) Tertulliani *Apol.* Cap. ix.

(4) Snelgrave’s *Joyage to Guinea.* pag. 31, 34.

occupied by the Romans, lay an immeasurable country, and the inhabitants both of the back Roman borders, and the adjacent territories, having no intercourse with the rest of the world, continued to practise an idolatry as barbarous as ever, and which they had learnt of the old Carthaginians, who had been merchants, and who had driven a vast trade with the interior part of Africa (5). In the time of the Romans trade took a different turn, and the back-settlers purchased when they could, and when they could not, killed and plundered, and carried off booty, to sell to others like themselves, who sold again and again, till the commodities got down to the coast. One chief article of this traffick was children. The innocent lambs were purchased for the two purposes of servitude and sacrifice. This vast country, extremely populous, and consisting of many large kingdoms, as Mandingo, Æthiopia, Congo, Angola, Brutua, Quiticui, Monomotapa, Cafati, Mehenemugii, and others, abounding with riches, as gums, ivory, wax, civet, ostrich feathers, the finest copper in the world, and gold in abundance, this country hath always neglected foreign commerce, and trafficked with such as visited their coasts in one another's persons (6). Hence those bloody wars with each other, which Europeans have tempted them to undertake for the sake of procuring slaves. The natives of Africa are all swarthy, from a light copper colour to the deepest black; and as they have in all ages sold one another into slavery, they have habituated the rest of mankind to connect the two ideas of black and slave (7): a prejudice which some have so thoroughly imbibed, that they have turned it into an argument, and applied it to defend that horrible combination of all crimes, the slave trade (8). It was common in the times under consideration for these savages to make incursions where Christians lived, and to carry away whole families. There is a letter of Cyprian yet extant, written to eight bishops of Numidia, in which he deplores the condition of such captives, and along

(5) *Leonis Africae Descript. Lugd 1632.*

(6) *Postlethwayte's Dictionary of trade. London, 1774.*

(7) *Granville Sharp's Just Limitation of slavery. Append. Mr. Bryant's Letter to Mr. Sharp. London, 1776.*

(8) *Hume's Essay on National Characters----Estwick's Considerations on the Negro Cause. London. 1773.*

with which he sent a large sum collected at Carthage to redeem them (9). What was worse, it was in almost all countries the custom of rusticks, long after they professed themselves Christians, to sell one another when they could conveniently find purchasers; and even here in this country, it was all that instruction, seconded by law, could do to put an end to the practice. The laws of king Ethelred, and the old Saxon homilies of those times, in which the Danes infested Britain, before the coming of the Normans, expressly mention it (1). Lupus in his homily says, parents sold their children, and children their parents; or in his own terms, *fader sealde his bearn, and bearn his moder* (2). Such were the Pagans, and the pagan Christians of the country places of Africa. The practice prevails at this day among the Tartars, as an unquestionable authority declares (3). Paul of Tarsus, who was commissioned to teach the religion of Jesus to the Pagans, was, assuredly, one of the wisest of mankind, highly qualified to discharge that office, which the God of goodness had committed to him. He was a Jew, but so free from national prejudice, that he perpetually inculcated the fitness and perfection of Christianity to the condition of mankind at large, and was always remonstrating against the incorporating of Judaism in whole or in part into the Christian religion. *If an angel from heaven*, said he, *to one of these churches, should teach you otherwise, hold him accursed.* Judaizing teachers, adds he, *come to spy out Christian liberty, and to lead you back into bondage.* Some African Christians entered into the views of this angel of a man, and had they been let alone would have effected, by cool reasoning and example of virtue full of conviction, a slow but certain cure of all the ills of that country: but these people were overpowered by the other party of Jewish Christians, who called them hereticks and hard names, and exposed them to popular hatred under pretence that they denied

(9) Epist. lx. *Ad. Episcopus Numidas. De redemptione fratrum ex captivitate barbarorum.*

(1) Hen. Spelmanni *Leges Æthelredi.* 1012. *Ne quis vendatur extra patriam.*

(2) G. Hicessii *Thesaur.* Tom. i. *Diss. Epistolar. Sermo Lupi ad Anglos.* pag. 102.

(3) Baron De Tott's *Memoirs.* Vol. i. pag. 31, &c.

the inspiration of the Old Testament. For their parts they held the Jewish scripture as they did the four gospels as a rule of faith and practice, and so brought out for a Jesus a sort of Egyptian mummy spiced with silly-saws, which they agreed to call eloquence, and hung all over with awkward hieroglyphicks of the East. The stupid people stared, and the masters of the show told them it was all a mystery, but there was something alive and wonderful within. Of this sort were those called saints and bishops of Africa.

The African fathers were the least of all others tinctured with the true spirit of the sublime religion of Jesus. Slaves themselves, they never thought of Christian liberty; and even Cyprian, the guide of the rest, durst not think for himself, but, when he ordered his servant to give him Tertullian, used to say, give me my master. A late learned prelate says truly, "It was Judaism misunderstood that supported them in their ill judged schemes. They travestied obscure uncertainties, nay, manifest errors into truth; and sought in philosophy and logick analogies and quibbles to support them. They did not know, that the more perfect dispensation could not take place, till the less perfect, which prefigured it, and prepared its way, was set aside and abolished (4)."

Collecting into one point of view all the forementioned facts, the eye fixes on Fidus, the honest and humane bishop of a company of Christians in a country place of Africa, where some of his neighbours bought, stole, captivated, and burnt children: where some of his flock returned to Paganism, others intermarried with pagan families, and went with them into the old practices of sacrificing as formerly children to their gods: himself filled with Jewish ideas of dedicating children to the true God, and marking them by circumcision: and sending for advice to Cyprian, exactly such another confused genius as himself. Is it a very improbable conjecture, that Fidus bethought himself of baptizing new born infants as an expedient to save the lives of the lambs of his flock? Nothing could be more natural, or to a man of his principles come more of course; and if Fidus did so, he deserves to be reckoned among the first benefactors

of mankind. To prevail with such savages to dedicate their infants to God : to take possession of them by the soft method of dipping them in water : to procure some persons of more influence than the parents to become sponsors for the babes : this resembles the great Alfred's uniting Britons into tens, and forcing every nine to pledge themselves that the tenth should enjoy his liberty and his life. Monks were the men, who took care of such children, and the complaints of bishop Victor in Africa, and Bishop Lupus in England, though ages apart, are exactly alike ; for both say that they who destroyed monasteries dispersed children educated there, both boys and girls, some resident in the houses, and others day scholars (5). Lupus says, servants and neighbours betrayed such houses into the hands of invaders, and gossips and godbears were killed or carried into captivity (6). A fact it is, that the African Catholics never left off idolatry ; they at Carthage worshipped idols in private, and dedicated their children to them several hundred years after this time (7), and Augustine says, in his days the Numidians retained so much reverence for Saturn, to whom their children had been sacrificed in flames of fire, that they would not pronounce his name, but instead of saying Saturn's town, which was the name of the place devoted to this monstrous worship, they used to say the town of the old one (8). Just so the Jews treated the name of Jehovah, which, because they could not pronounce with reverence enough, they used to call the name of three letters (9). There is but one objection against this conjecture of the rise of infant baptism, that is, that Cyprian doth not expressly mention this as a cause. Cyprian's letter is an answer from a body of men, but neither doth it contain the letter of Fidus, nor all that was said in the company ; and it would have been very unwise in a letter intended to be made publick to expose the crimes of their proselytes, for they would have been amenable to the law, and the Roman accusation of infanticide would have been charged home

(5) Victor. *ut sup.*

(6) Lup. *Hom. ut sup.*

(7) Salviani. *De Gubernat. Dei.* Lib. vii. 240.

(8) S. Augustini. *Op. De consensu evangelist.* Lib. i.

(9) Bern. de Montfaucon *Antiq.* Tom. ii. Par. ii. Lib. v. *Religio veter. Gallor. Hispanor e Carthaginiensium.* Cap. 8. *Carthaginienses liberos suos. Saturno sacrificabant.*

on all Christians through the brutality of a few, whom others were striving to reform. The subject is certainly a vast field, and not to be traversed here ; but whoever examine the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, Salvian, Victor, Optatus, Arnobius, Minucius, Julius, Augustine, and Fulgentius, all Africans except Salvian, and some say he was, will find reason to conclude that this is not a mere guess, but a natural and well grounded probability on the introduction of the baptism of babes (1). Peace be with the ashes of Fidus ! he ought to have been canonized ; for it was a well judged temporary expedient, and some who do not see it necessary to follow his example, because they are not in the same circumstances, honour the man for his faithful attachment to the dictates of humanity, and his ingenious scheme in favour of benevolence. There are three observations of great weight, which deserve consideration. First, there are several reasons to suspect that the letter to Fidus is all a *forgery*. Secondly, canonists expound it as a direction to be followed only in cases of *necessity*. And lastly, it is absolutely certain it had *no* authority out of the province, no more in it than people choose to give it, and, as it was written in two hundred and fifty-five, and Cyprian was put to death in two hundred and fifty eight, it could not have much effect.

The council at Carthage proves the mildness of the Roman government, and at the same time it displays the disposition of Cyprian and his brethren, and fully proves that they were erecting an hierarchy on the plan of the old Levitical economy, and as Cyprian lived at Carthage, he acted the part of Aaron. It was for this, and neither for their faith nor their virtue that the Romans punished them. Never had any men a more violent passion for absolute power than those African bishops ; and never had men less ability to exercise it. Other tyrants gloss despotism over with power, or splendour, or eloquence, or something ; but these men had not one qualification in the world to recommend them, and none

(1) Optati *Op. cum notis* Albaspinæi et Balduini. --- In can. concil. Eliberini not. Cap. I. De his, qui post baptismum idolis immolaverunt. --- De sacerdotibus gentilium, qui post baptismum immolaverunt. accedente homicidio --- Cap. iii. De eisdem si idolis munus tantum dederunt --- Cap. iv. De eisdem, si catechumeni adhuc immolant quando baptisentur. Can. v. Si Domina per zelum ancillam occiderit. Can. vi. Si quicunque per maleficium hominem interfecerit, &c. &c.

but Africans would have submitted to such masters, unknown to the state, and unsupported by authority. Meanness is the parent and nurse of insolence.

This council of about sixty or seventy met (2). The solemn affairs came on. One was this. There was a bishop named Rogatian, who had in his church a contumelious deacon, against whom Rogatian complained that he treated him his bishop with contumacy, that is, disobedience. Nothing else was laid to his charge, except an insinuation that he was a younger man than his bishop. My Lord of Carthage took the opinions of his colleagues as learned in the law as himself, and wrote for answer to Rogatian: "that the council was extremely shocked at the contents of his letter, which informed them that his deacon had treated him with contumacy: that he himself had power to vindicate the dignity of his office by excommunicating such a refractory man, though in his great humility he had applied to his brother bishops in council. God himself had decided the case in the 17th of Deuteronomy, by saying the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken to the priest, even that man shall die. And all the people shall hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously. This was the sin of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. It was for this God said to Samuel, they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me. If Paul said, let no man despise thy youth; how much rather may we say, let no man despise thine old age. This is the spring of all heresies and schisms. Deacons ought to recollect that the Lord Jesus himself elected apostles, that is, bishops; but as for deacons, they were instituted after the death of Jesus only by apostles. This deacon, therefore, ought to repent and give his bishop full satisfaction; and if not, he ought to be excommunicated. If others encourage and imitate him, they ought to be treated in the same manner. Farewell, Brother."

The second cause tried before the court was this. A Christian man, it should seem a bishop, named Geminus Victor, had departed this life, and by will, duly executed, had appointed his brother Geminus Faustinus, a preaching elder, executor of his will, and guardian of his

(2) Labbei. *Concil. Tom. i. Concil. African. ad Collapsam ecclesiæ disciplinam reformandam. An. 257. Cypriani. Epist. lxy. ad Rogatianum episcopum. De superbo diacono.*

children (3). This was an heinous crime in the eyes of the Fathers. For a man to presume to employ the clergy in secular affairs, when God had appointed them as the tribe of Levi, to exercise themselves in divine things, and had commanded all other men to cultivate the earth, and to follow businesses, and to support the Lord's priests with the tenth of their labours, was a great crime, and a dangerous precedent. It was ordered that the dead man's name should be struck out of the diptychs : and that such as in future should imitate his example, and employ the clergy to do any secular business, should be excommunicated.

Lastly, comes the question about infant baptism (4). The letter written by Fidus was read : but as it is lost, a judgment of it can only be formed by what Cyprian hath said of it. It is not known who Fidus was. The precise question before the association was, at what age may infants be baptized ? Fidus thought at eight days, because the law of circumcision prescribed this time. "No," replied the council ; "God denies grace to none ; Jesus came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them ; and we ought to do all we can to save our fellow creatures. "Beside," added they, "God would be a respecter of persons, if he denied to infants what he grants to adults. Did not the prophet Elisha lay upon a child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands ? Now the spiritual sense of this is, that infants are equal to men : but if you refuse to baptize them, you destroy this equality, and are partial."

Fidus had a second difficulty stronger than the first. It was the custom to kiss the persons newly baptized ; but he informed the council in his letter, that infants were reputed unclean the first seven days, and therefore people did not choose to kiss them. This was an article of great consequence. The fathers answered ; "You are mistaken, Fidus ; children in this case are not unclean, for the apostle saith,—to the pure all things are pure. No man ought to be shocked at kissing what God condescends to create. Circumcision was a carnal rite, this is spiritual circumcision, and Peter saith we ought not to call any man common or unclean."

(3) Cyp. *Epist.* lxi. *Ad clerum et plebem Furnitanorum.*

(4) Cyp. *Epist.* lxi. *ad Fidum.*

They proceed, and say : “ If baptism ought to be deferred, it should be to adults who have committed great crimes ; but if they be admitted on repentance, how much rather should infants be baptized, who have not committed such crimes, and who come into the world crying for baptism.”

On this part of church history, different persons make very different reflections. A statesman asks, Did the proconsul of the province know that seventy obscure men, without any authority from government, held a court of judicature, and by a foreign law of Judea adjudged a citizen, without hearing him, to die for refusing to obey the mandate of one of their order ? This, then, accounts for many events falsely called persecutions, and many executions called martyrdoms. The correspondence between Cyprian of Carthage and Cornelius, bishop at Rome, is a system of the most atrocious tyranny ; and it is astonishing if government had any knowledge of their practices, that patience deferred their martyrdom so long.

A gentleman of the long robe asks, Who are these that hold a court of *Nisi prius*, and unauthorized by any legislative power of the empire set aside wills, and exempt some citizens from offices under the false pretence that they are Jews of the family of one Aaron, while all the world knows they are natives of Africa, and subjects of Rome.

A philosopher inquires, What branch of reasoning this belongs to : Elisha at the command of God restores a youth to life ; and therefore Fidus by order of Cyprian ought to dip new born babes ?

African ladies, who had been accustomed to burn their children, might not be much shocked at a man’s intruding into a lying-in-room, and agitating in publick, before seventy other men, questions about the uncleanness of new born infants : but European ladies must be excruciated at the indelicacy of such men, and the horror of making such debates parts of a body of theology to be studied by candidates for the ministry.

Divines will observe what it was that made a saint : and what constituted an heretick ; and some will think that the African arguments for infant baptism are as good as any that have ever been invented since : but which

of its two qualities hath contributed most to support its credit in the world, the logick or the ferocity of Carthage, must be left to the wise to determine.

On the whole it is manifest, this infant baptism is entirely different from that proposed in the time of Tertullian. That was the baptism of little ones, who asked to be baptized : this, of new-born babes. That was supported and rejected by New-Testament texts and arguments : this is grounded on, and defended, and regulated by Jewish law. That required the consent of sponsors : this mentions none. That was a joining of them to the church : this is a dedicating of them to God. Scholiasts observe, this was contrary both to Tertullian and the practice of the apostles (5). It doth not appear that infants were baptized at Carthage, or any where else, except in the country where Fidus lived, and there because, says Cyprian, as Jesus came to save men's *lives*, we ought to do all we can to further his kind intention, and like the prophet recal to life children under a sentence of death. An opinion of council that Fidus ought to baptize infants is very far from proving that the advisers, who were in different circumstances, did so. In brief, infant baptism subverts the great principle of the Christian religion, which is, that men are made Christians, and not born so.

The idea of dedicating children to God, was very specious, and had the air of superior piety. It met also the general notions of those Christians, who had changed the primitive ground of action, and had taken the old testament for a rule of religion to Christians. There they found the history of Hannah, and the dedication of her son Samuel to God before he was born. This was a very agreeable history to ladies, who desired children, and as monks and priests thought themselves the successors of Eli, they encouraged the frenzy, and pretended to obtain children by praying for them. By this well conceited fiction they became spiritual fathers, and then it became their duty to educate their children, which they were ready to do in their monasteries. It is evident to a demonstration that a vast number of legends are fables formed on the history of Samuel. A man and woman live together many years, and have no

(5) Rigaltii. *Note in loc.*

children. The good lady becomes wretched, and applies to some holy monk or priest for the aid of his prayers. He, as a condition, requires her, if God should answer his request, that she should dedicate the child to God. She agrees; presently she has a son. When she hath suckled and weaned him, she carries him to the spiritual father to educate, who, having learnt him to say mass, and work miracles, sends him out to fill some conspicuous station in the church, where he lives a virgin, dies a saint, and shines through successive ages in red letters in the calendar.

Under all this mass of fable lie a few truths. It is a fact, that dedicating children to God by baptism was first heard of in Africa. It is certain the notion of dedication is found all over the empire within one hundred years after the time it appeared in Africa. It is also certain, that many who dedicated their children to God before their birth did not baptize them in infancy, as was observed in the two most eminent families of the Greek church, those of Basil and Nazianzen. It is equally clear, that monks took dedicated children to prepare for baptism, and nothing would be easier than to demonstrate that baptism went down by degrees, and did not arrive at dedicated new born infants, except in Africa, where it was intended to save their lives, till the fifth century. Bishops who all did what they pleased in their own dioceses, and monks who had no masters, brought forward baptism by visions, and some who were overstocked with children published resolutions that they would receive no more (6). One example of this sort of legends may suffice. Near an hundred and fifty years after the time of Cyprian there lived at Melitene, a city in Armenia, a gentleman named Paul, who had been long married to Dionysia, and had no children. In their distress they applied to Polyeuctes teacher of a church in the neighbourhood. He advised fervent prayer. One night as they were all employed in this holy exercise they had a vision, and a voice said; Be of good comfort, God hath granted you a son, Euthymias, a son of joy. In due time Dionysia lay in, and the child was named Euthymias, and the parents

(6) E. Martene. *Veter. Script. et Monument. Collectio nov. Rotomagi.* 1700. *Antiq. Con suetud. Canon. Regular. Monast. S. Jacob. de Monteforti.* Cap. xxv. *De pueris.*

vowed to dedicate him to God. About three years after Paul died. Dionysia consulted her brother Eudoxius, who was an assistant to the bishop of the church in the city, what she should do with the child. He told her Otreius the bishop was a very holy man, and he advised her to offer Euthymias to him. She did so. Otreius inquired whether she had determined on any line of life for him. Eudoxius the uncle then told him the whole story of Polyeuctes, and the vision, and that the mother had only dedicated him to God in general. Otreius was astonished, and looking intently on the child, he exclaimed, "Verily the spirit of God rests upon this boy." He therefore provided for the mother by making her deaconness of the church, and he became a parent to the child, whom he ordered in the end to be baptized, his hair clipped off, his name to be put on the list of church officers, and himself to be employed first as a reader, and afterward as a teacher in the church (7). At what age precisely this dedicated child of christian parents was baptized is not certain : but it is clear he was not baptized at his birth, or during the first three years of his life. The whole, however, it is expressly said, was conducted by a rule written in the book of Samuel, not as a rule even for Jesus, but as an anecdote of ancient history. This mistake of the Old Testament was the source of almost all the errors of those times. The teachers acted the part of Eli, and became priests. The people acted that of Elkanah and Hannah, and dedicated their children to God (8). The children thought themselves extraordinary persons, and acted the part of Samuel, and in process of time, behold ! like Samuel, they made and unmade kings : distracting and dethroning Sauls, anointing Davids, and hewing Agags to pieces before the Lord. Hence the divine right of kings, for God always spoke by his servants, the priests : and hence unction by the clergy to this day. They perpetually quote passages from the Old Testament, and particularly from Samuel, for all this in their deeds. Behold ! how great a matter a little fire kindleth !

(7) Cyrilli. *Scythopolatini Vita S. Euthymii Abbatis. Interprete Jacobo Loppin. apud. Analect. Græc. Benedictin. pag. 6.*

(8) Melchioris Goldasti *Monarchia Hanoviæ auctor tractat. varior. 1611. Philoth. Achillini. De Jurisdict. Reg. et Sacerdot. Cap. 167.*

There were many of the clergy of those times, who were unmarried, but who, however, kept single sisters, or beloveds, as they called them, of singular beauty, and in the prime of life (9). This abuse, as all others, prevailed most in Africa; and Cyprian, to his honour be it said, endeavoured to reform it: but it was out of his power. It is a subject too indelicate to be unfolded: but it may be easily imagined, that if any of these virgins became mothers, their children were eminently children of God, and if others were dedicated and baptized, these ought to have had the Lord's supper administered to them.

Putting these facts together, the result forms not a very improbable conjecture on the rise of the baptism of babes in Africa. Priscilla, Quintilla, and Maximilla were "ladies remarkable for their opulence, and for a high degree of warmth in religion" (1). Where could the zeal and tenderness of the fair sex find such scope for the effusion of those soft passions, which are the glory of their sex, as in the back parts of the Roman provinces in Africa? On the coast the laws against human victims guarded the lives of infants: but up high in the country the law had spent its force, and the custom of the desert stepped over the line, and purchased the innocent lambs for sacrifice. To persuade the poor parents to dedicate them to God, and to prevail with a man of account to become a sponsor, and put his name on these little innocents, was at once to place them under the shadow of the gospel and the law. A hazardous undertaking, said the stern Tertullian: True, replied the compassionate ladies: but Jesus said, Give to him that asketh: and suffer little children to come unto me. Fidus improved upon this, and reduced baptism to the size of babes.

CHAP. XXIII.

OF THE EFFORTS OF AUGUSTINE TO BRING IN THE BAPTISM OF BABES.

AUGUSTINE, who, for his zealous labours in favour of the cause of enthusiasm and church power, hath been since his death canonized for a saint, was the

(9) Muratorii *Anecd. Græc.* Pag. 218.

(1) Mosheim *Eccles. Hist.*

principal doer in Africa during his episcopate ; and his conduct was so much governed by the violence of his own passions, irritated by the unremitted opposition of his neighbours, that it is absolutely necessary to give a sketch of his character and that of his opponents, in order to account for the fraud and force used to introduce the baptism of babes.

Augustine was not always a saint, and his history in brief is this (1) He was born in the year three hundred and fifty-four at Tageste in Africa of poor but Christian parents. His father was a soldier named Patricius, his mother was called Monica, and celebrated for her eminent superstition, which her party called piety. His parents forced him to go to school, but he discovered no inclination for learning. He had a fit of sickness in his youth, in which he was very near being baptized, being in fear of death : but his mother as he got better persuaded him to defer it, for she knew him and the world better than he knew either. He recovered, and justified all her fears, for he became a debauched, unsettled, profligate young man to the excessive grief of his mother. In the sixteenth year of his age he began to plunge into vice, and though he was very poor, and partly supported by the charity of one Rominian, yet he kept a mistress. He picked up a few scraps of learning at Carthage, and after that lived a rambling life, teaching what little he knew of grammar and rhetorick, first at Tageste, and then at Carthage. His mother, whose husband had died when her son was about eighteen, more miserable about the profligacy of her son than the loss of her husband, went to Carthage to try if possible to reform him. He, without acquainting his mother, or Rominian his benefactor, got a board a vessel, crossed over to Italy, and went with his lady to Rome, where by some means he became acquainted with Symmachus, the Præfect of the city, who knowing they wanted a teacher of rhetorick at Milan, sent him thither. His mother hearing he persisted in his former course of life crossed over to Milan,

(1) Bayle's *Gen. Dict. Life of Augustine* - - - Posedi *Calamensis Episc. Vita Aug.*... C. Lancillotti *Vita Aug* - - - Aug. *Op. Confess.*.... *Tract* - - - *Confess. Epist. &c.* S. Augustini *opera omnia cum vita per* Francisc. Delfau, Thom. Blampin, Pet. Constant, et Claud Guesnie *Benedictinos Parisiis* 1679, et ann. seqq. xi. tom. in viii. vol. fol. - - - Joannis Clerici *appendix Augustiana* - - - cum notis, nec non *Dissert. censur et animadvers.* in *S. Augustini Opera.* Antuerpiæ 1703.

to try once more to reform him. She found he went sometimes to hear Ambrose the bishop at Milan; but this did not satisfy her as he continued his former course of living, and kept the woman whom he brought from Carthage, and the child which she had by him, now about thirteen years of age. She, good woman, lamented his condition, and besought him to marry, and reform his life. He pretended, that he was not a Pagan, that indeed he was not of his mother's church, but however he was of one much better, he was of the Manicheans, a people so remarkable for love of virtue, that they called themselves Puritans. This did not content the old lady, who thought, let him be of what denomination he would, he was of that class which God had threatened to judge. At length he gave out that as he was walking in a garden he heard a voice from heaven calling to him and saying, Take up the epistles of Paul and read them. He obeyed the voice, opened the book, and found out what any Pagan could have told him without a revelation from heaven, that rioting and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, were grievous crimes. He determined therefore to marry, and as a proof of his sincerity he put his name on the list of Catechumens. He fixed his eyes on a girl who would be marriageable two years hence. He sent his old mistress back to Carthage. He kept the child, and put him also into the Catechumen list, and while father and son were preparing for baptism, he took another mistress into keeping till the young lady should come of age. Mean time he wrote books in defence of that religion which he was about to embrace. He understood neither Greek nor Hebrew; however, he expounded both the Old Testament and the New. In the end he became intimate with Ambrose the bishop, set his heart on the ministry, renounced rhetorick for a better trade, laid aside the proposed marriage, turned off his mistress, vowed he would become a monk, and in company with his bastard son, then fifteen years of age, and his friend Alypius, was baptized by immersion in the baptistery at Milan by Ambrose, at Easter, in the year three hundred eighty-seven, and in the thirty-third year of his age (2). The Cistercians at Milan have preserved the

(3) MURATORII *Anecdota* Tom. i. *Mediol.* 1697. Diss. xv.

memory of this by a publick monument (3). Soon after he became assistant to Velerius bishop of Hippo, in his own country, and lastly his successor, and continued almost half a century the light and glory of Africa. How thick that darkness must be where such a genius was taken for sunshine may be easily guessed.

[Here follows an account of Austin's labors, his persecuting spirit and measures, and his contentions with the Arians, Pelagians, Manicheans, and Donatists; the last of whom gave him the greatest trouble. *Ed.*]

There were two African teachers of the name of Donatus, the one bishop of Carthage, called for his learning and virtue Donatus the great, the other bishop of Casa Nigra. A violent dispute about the choice of a teacher, like the dispute of Henry VIII. with the Pope about his divorce, was the event in the chain of Divine Providence, that set these men a thinking for themselves. They found, as Tertullian had formerly, they were somehow incorporated into a very corrupt community. They dissented, and in a very few years there were in Africa four hundred congregations, all called Donatists (4). They did not then differ from those who called themselves Catholicks in doctrine, but their chief difference lay in their morals, which were pure and exemplary, and their discipline, which was exact, for they not only baptized converts from Paganism, but they rebaptized all on their own profession of faith, who came from the pretended Catholicks to join their churches. They did so, not for a reason of faith, but morals, for they thought immorality had unchurched the Catholicks, and sunk them into a mere worldly corporation. This dissent began forty years before Austin was born. The disputes between them and the Catholicks were at their height when Constantine came to the throne. The Catholicks, who had no idea of toleration, except in times of Paganism for themselves, tormented the Emperor to settle their differences. He appointed commissaries to hear both sides, and he even condescended to hear them himself: but it was out of his power to reconcile them, and in the end

(3) *Ibid* Pag. 174.

(4) Hen. Norisii *Cardinalis opera*. Veronæ 1729 - - - Gab. Albaspinæi *Notæ in Optati opera* - - - Fr. Balduini *Delibatio Hist. Afric.* - - - Collat. Carthag. Papirii Massonis et P. Pithæi *Gesta Collat. Carthag. in Catholicos et Donatistas* - - - Valesii *Dissert. de Schismate Donatistarum in Hist. Euseb.*

he yielded to the wicked advice of his bishops, and deprived the Donatists of their places of worship, banished their teachers under pretence of sedition, and put some to death. There was a set of fierce people in Africa, called Circumcellians, men of no religion, and even of barbarous dispositions in war, who thought the Donatists injured, and who actually took up arms in their defence, and revenged the injustice of the Catholicks. Every thing threatened a civil war, and the Emperor very prudently followed the advice of his governors in Africa, and abolished the laws against the Donatists, which had kindled up such a flame. Austin, long after, had the arrogance to censure the Emperor for this sound policy, and to blame this as an ignominious indulgence (5). His system of church government is the most gross and unpardonable insult on a crowned head that can be imagined. According to that the Bishop and Emperor are priest and curate.

Constans and Gratian persecuted the Donatists with a cruelty, of which the very Catholicks complained, for Optatus an African bishop who wrote against them, exposes the injustice of his party, while he pretends to make apologies for their severity. Julian restored the Donatists to their rights: but when Austin had been some time metamorphosed into a bishop, he set about the extirpation of them, and it was not his fault that there was one Donatist left to tell the barbarous tale. Finding that nobody regarded his books, or was deceived by his frauds called conferences, he formed cabals named councils, procured penal edicts from the crown, and sewed in a long list of letters maxims of the genuine ancient Carthaginian kind. His pagan ancestors had attempted to appease the Deity by burning infants; he improved their barbarous plans, and placed virtue in cursing and killing good men. What! said he to one who was not savage enough for him, what authority do you want for coercion: Scripture? Here it is, "The wicked killed the prophets; and the prophets killed the wicked. The Jews scourged Christ; and Christ scourged the Jews. The unrighteous delivered the apostles up to civil magistrates; and the apostles delivered the un-

(5) *Excerpts of the Donatists*, pag. 47. - - Dodwell - - Gilb. Rule - - John Sage, and others on the principles of the Cyprianic age.

righteous over to the devil (6).” Ecclesiastical historians are pleased to say, St. Augustine by his learning and eloquence subdued the pestilent schism of the Donatists : but Austin, who was never backward to sound his own fame, did not pretend to this honour. He says his city of Hippo had been full of conventicles and schismatics till he procured penal laws from the Emperor, and it was the terror of them that converted his flock (7). When the Donatists reproached him with making martyrs of their bishops and elders, as Marculus, Maximian, Isaac, and others, and told him God would require an account of their blood at the day of judgment : he answered, “ I, I know nothing about your martyrs. Martyrs ! martyrs to the devil ! They were not martyrs ; it is the cause, not the suffering that makes a martyr. There is no such thing as a martyr out of the church. Beside, it was owing to their obstinacy, they killed themselves ; and now you blame the magistrate (8).”

There are two things very remarkable in this affair, and both as much to the honour of the Donatists, as to the disgrace of their persecutors. First, it is to be observed, that there was then no difference in doctrines between the two parties : and the whole dispute was about virtue (9). The Donatists thought the church ought to be kept separate from the world, a religious society voluntarily congregated together for pious purposes, and for no other. With this view they admitted none without a personal profession of faith and holiness, and them they baptized, or, if they had belonged to the great corrupt party, rebaptized. They urged for all this the New Testament. The Catholics, of whom Austin was the head, taxed them with denying in effect, if not in express words, the Old Testament, and particularly such prophecies as spoke of the accession of kings, and Gentiles, and nations to the church of Christ. “ Is it not foretold, said Austin, that *to me every knee*

(6) August. *Epist* xlvi. Occiderunt impii prophetas : occiderunt impios et prophetas. Flagellaverunt Judæi Christum : Judæos flagellavit et Christus. Traditi sunt Apostoli ab hominibus potestati humanæ : tradiderunt et Apostoli homines potestati. Satanæ

(7) *Epist*. xlvi. l. Quæ cum tota esset in parte Donati, timore legum imperialium, conversa est

(8) Balduini *Hist. Carthag. Collat.* pag. 648. Jactabant Donatistæ suos martyres ---- Sed Augustinus graviter talem jactationem refutaverat ---- Extræ ecclesiam non posse esse martyrem ---- Diabolus habet suos martyres.

(9) *Ibid.* 625.

shall bow ?" The Catholicks then were for a national church for the sake of splendour : the Donatists for a Congregational church for the sake of purity of faith and manners.

The second observation is on the means to be used to effect the end. The Donatists thought reason, scripture, and example the only proper means of propagating Christianity. "You come to a conference, said Primian, with bags full of imperial letters, and laws, and mandates, and rescripts : for our parts we have brought nothing but the gospels of the four evangelists. What, added they, What business have bishops at court ? What have we to do with emperors ? What have magistrates to do with religion ? When they concern themselves with it they always injure it. Their interference includes persecution, of which you have no examples in the gospel or the epistles (1)." "There again, said Austin, the gospel and the epistles ! Granted : there is no example in the gospel. What then ? Doth not David command the kings of the earth to serve Christ ? and they do serve him by suppressing schism (2)." There was a party nearer to Augustine than the Donatists, who were called Luciferians from Lucifer, bishop of a church at Cagliari in Sardinia : a man of eminent piety and goodness. He and his followers held the doctrine of the Trinity, they rebaptized nobody, and their lives were exemplary : but they held separate assemblies, and would not hold communion with Austin's worldly church (3). They were a sort of Trinitarian Independents. The Donatists were Trinitarian Anabaptists, literally so, for there was no sprinkling then. Austin held all in like execration, for all stood in the way of that hierarchy, which this Carthaginian genius was endeavouring to set up. While each bishop tyrannized over his own congregation, all were easy : but when one in the chair began to treat the bench as the bench had treated the people, the bench rebelled against the chairman, and made the people free for the sake of being free themselves. How wisely hath Providence constituted man ! Even his ills work their cure.

(1) August. *Lib. post. collat.*

(2) August. *Epist. xlviii.*

(3) Balduin *ubi sup.*

If the name of Augustine had not sunk below contempt in every free country, his conduct in procuring the first law to compel Christians to baptize their infants in a council at Mela in Numidia, in the year four hundred and sixteen, would deserve a treatise by itself. Augustine was a crafty irritated man, hemmed in, disappointed, and foiled by able opponents. Too insignificant to obtain distinction in the state, he reconnoitred the church, and felt himself excellently qualified to cant out of Solomon's song to unsuspecting Christians, especially single sisters and monks. A superannuated bishop, to whom he made himself convenient, lifted him into preferment. From that day he became a merciless tyrant, and truckled to the bishop of Rome only for the sake of playing Jupiter in Africa. When he obtained the support of the Emperor, and got his dreams tacked to imperial decrees, he became the scourge of all good men within his reach, whose confiscations, and banishments, and death, with the ruin of their families, lay at his door. He considered himself as an oracle of God, and Emperors only as officers, whom Heaven had appointed to execute his decrees. How these decrees were obtained, this council at Mela fully discovers (4). First, under pretence of suppressing the heresy of Pelagius, which had been approved by a council at Diospolis, more than sixty bishops, all of one party, met at Carthage. Thence, it should seem, they adjourned to Mela, and because they should not all be detained from home too long, three deputies for each province were appointed to represent the rest, and subscribe for the whole. There remained then only about fourteen or fifteen. This deputation at length issued out seven and twenty new commandments, eight of which were directed against Pelagianism, and run in this style.

It is the pleasure of all the bishops present in this holy synod to order, i. That whoever saith, Adam was created mortal, and would have died, if he had not sinned : be accursed.

(4) Concil. Carthag. ii. ---- Concil. Milevitan. *Placuit ergo omnibus episcopis, qui fuerunt hæc sancta synodo, constituere, &c.*

ii. Also it is the pleasure of the bishops to order that whoever denieth that infants newly born of their mothers are to be baptized, or saith that baptism is administered for the remission of their own sins, but not on account of original sin derived from Adam, and to be expiated by the laver of regeneration : be accursed.

An honest indignation rises at the sound of such tyranny ; and if a man were driven to the necessity of choosing one saint of two candidates, it would not be Austin, it would be Saint Balaam, the son of Bosor, who indeed loved the wages of unrighteousness, as many other saints have done, but who with all his madness had respect enough for the Deity to say, *How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed !* To curse citizens for sayings : to curse Christians for not saying more of a subject than the scripture says : to be cursed by the very men, who are kept only for the sake of blessing mankind with good examples of virtue : fifteen African slaves to mount themselves on a tribunal, and denounce curses on the whole world ! Who can help being offended at the sight ? Who can be grieved to see the Vandals come forward, and subvert all the labours of Austin's life ?

There is one article relative to infant baptism, which it may not be improper to observe. Austin and his company were the first, who ventured to attack at law believers-baptism. They went therefore on the forlorn hope, and a plain tale puts them down. They did not pretend to ground infant baptism on scripture, but tradition ; and as they could not possibly cite a law, human or divine, they ventured to place it on universal custom. Had custom been for it, and reason against it, reason should have taken place of custom : but with what possible decency could Austin dare to affirm this ? Some, who have no very favourable opinion of either the sincerity or modesty of the man, are so shocked at this affirmation, that they suspect his works have been interpolated, and think he could not say so. Yes, he is allowed by those, who have most studied his books, to have constantly affirmed this (5). Was he himself then baptized in his infancy ? Was Ambrose, who baptized

(5) Petavii Opera. Tom. iii. Antuerpie. 1700. De Eccl. Hierarch. Lib. i. Cap. i. 6. August. Op. De peccator. merit. Lib. i. Cap. xxiv.

him, baptized in infancy ? Was his own natural son baptized when he was an infant ? Was his father Patricius baptized when an infant ? Had he, who pretended he had been a Manichean, never heard that they did not baptize infants ? Had all other hereticks escaped his notice ? Had he forgot himself, when he taxed the Pelagians with denying infant baptism ? and when he complained in another book of people who opposed it (6) ? If it were an established universal custom, for whose use was the law made to compel it ? A thousand more such questions might be put, all serving to contradict this falsehood. Jerom knew better, and expressly mentioned it in a curious letter to a Christian lady for the purpose of decoying her daughter, Paula, into a convent, it should seem, to be instructed by her grandmother and baptized (7). Some parents consider the holy man as a mere kidnapper. For his part he considered nothing but eloquence. "Had Jove such a grandmother as Miss Paula has, even Jove would become a believer in Christ !" Yes, Austin knew ; some Christians told him : The ground on which you place baptism is not able to bear the baptism of babes. It sets aside the necessity of baptism itself to the children of all Christians. You say, infants must be baptized because they are sinners. We ask, when they sinned ? You say, never in their own persons, but they were in the loins of Adam when he sinned. And pray, were they not in the loins of their immediate parents, when they were baptized ? How came they to derive guilt from a remote ancestor, and not grace from an immediate parent, whose sins both original and actual, you say were all washed away in his baptism (8) ? Austin knew all this ; but, as Adam was the very foundation of his system, and he could not possibly preach once without him, he was forced to write a book to answer these objections against both the practice of baptizing infants, and the reason on which his canon was founded. How was it possible this man could call infant baptism an apostolical custom ?

(6) Ibid. Lib. ii. Cap. xxv. ---- *De libero arbitrio*. Lib. iii. Cap. 23.

(7) Hieron. *Epist. ad Letam*.

(8) August. *De peccator. merit*. Lib. ii. Cap. xxv. *Adversus eos, qui dicunt, si peccator genuit peccatorem, justus quoque justum gignere debuit* . . . Cur enim non, in lumbis patris sui potuit baptizari ? &c. . . xxvii.

After all, there is one way, and but one occurs at present, of accounting for Austin's calling the baptism of children a custom, which he supposed was derived from apostolical tradition. He found the custom, he could not find it in scripture, he would not tax his predecessors with innovating, he therefore supposed it might be derived from the apostles. If the conjecture above mentioned on the rise of infant baptism, be just, the case was this. Near an hundred and fifty years before Austin was born, some zealous women hurried forward the baptism of children. Forty years after, Fidus, a country bishop full of Judaism, applied the doctrine of circumcision to the case, and baptized at eight days to save infants from being burnt, by getting them dedicated to the true God. Cyprian thought, if baptism were necessary at eight days, it was so as soon as infants were born. It doth not appear, that any one of these practices was of any duration or extent; and it is to be remembered that persecution often dissolved the first churches, and scattered the people, so that their customs disappeared with the authors of them, and every new company made new regulations. One thing, however, remained when Austin began to know the church at Carthage; that was, the old name of baptism. He says, the Carthaginian Christians called baptism *salus*, by which, probably, the first baptizers of children meant no more than *safety* (9). Austin being a spiritual minded man, thought they meant *salvation*; not recollecting that the natives had taken the word from the Romans, who never had any idea of salvation in his sense of it, but who all knew, even the meanest soldier, what votive offerings *pro salute* meant. Not being aware of the first reason of baptizing *pro salute*, and the vague meaning of the word escaping his notice, he said the baptism of infants was a custom. So far he might be right in some sense, as it regarded the back-settlers: but when he affirmed it was derived from the apostles, he was wrong, for it was not a custom in any other part of the world. Whether Austin deserves any apology for the error may be a question to such as know the man. Some of his contemporaries did not believe him, assert what he would, without great caution. "He said, he had been a Manichean. No, said some Manicheans, you never was.

(9) See above note, Punici, &c.

He said, his conversion was of God. No, replied the Manicheans : it was of fear of persecution, and covetousness, of honour and power. Lay aside, said they, your punick faith : cease to utter falsehoods : how can a Carthaginian be saved ? Can he make the gospel say, *broad is the way that leadeth to life* (1) ?”

It must not be omitted, that this first law for the baptism of babes was so little known, and of so little account, that for ages it fell into oblivion, and learned antiquaries among the Catholicks are not able to satisfy one another about the meaning of the words *Concilium Milevitanum*. They agree that some bishops, somewhere, in the time of some pope, met and made canons, or, in ecclesiastical style, *held a council*, and constituted themselves a legislative body for the whole Christian world : but when the question is put, who were they that presumed to do so ? One side answers : “The bishops of Africa, for *Milevitanum* means *Mela*.” An opposite class replies : “No such thing ; *Milevitanum concilium* signifies a council held in the isle of *Malta* (2).” Men of great literary consideration arrange themselves with both parties, and each produces reasons and etymologies, and so on. A protestant, like the spectator, when Sir Roger de Coverly insisted on his opinion whether the daubing on the sign-post were a portrait of his worship or of a Saracen, “composes his countenance in the best manner he can, and replies, that much may be said on both sides (3).”

Whether this council be a forgery or not, it is dated in the council books four hundred sixteen, and in four hundred twenty-nine, the Vandals subverted the Catholic dominion in Africa, for this church was built upon the sand, and when the Vandals entered the country, the priests, who shuddered at the name of an Arian army, ran away, and in less than one year of all this national church, or, as their historians speak, of all the innumerable churches of Catholicks, only three remained in all Africa (4).

This law of Austin therefore could have no force longer than the space of thirteen years even in Africa, and that only with the Catholicks ; and it is very questionable

(1) Secundini *Manichæi Epist. ad Aug.*

(2) Laur. Surii *Concil. Milev.* Tom i.

(3) N. 122. (4) Johan. *De Ragusio Orat. hab. in Concil. Constan.*

whether any regard was paid to it in that time except in cases of danger of death; for when the bishops and saints decamped, and the people came down to see the parade of their martyrs going on board a ship, it is said, "Some brought wax tapers to grace the procession, others threw their infants on the ground to be sanctified by their blessed steps, the company set up a wailing, some cried, to whom do you commit the care of us, now you are going away to receive your crowns? Who will baptize these infants at *Easter* when you are gone? Who will hear confessions? Who will appoint penance? O miserable people that we are, who but you can give us absolution? You have power to bind and loose, and whatsoever you bind or loose on earth, is loosed or bound in heaven!"

It should seem by this that the Easter baptism of boys continued to be practised after the promulgation of Augustine's canon; and certain it is, it was practised in other countries by the Catholicks many centuries after this time: but it is very probable some vagabond African monks passed over into Spain, and the reader will hear of them in the next chapter but one.



CHAP. XXIV.

THE REDUCTION OF BAPTISM IN THE EAST, FROM MEN TO MINORS, AND FROM MINORS TO BABES.

IT is a cruel violence that system hath offered to truth. True history shews that in things non-essential there hath always been variety of sentiment and diversity of practice among Christians; but the papal system having asserted the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, it hath been thought necessary to represent all Christians as one corporation, under one universal bishop, and his code of law as the practice of the whole world. This is not true, for many centuries there was no such being upon earth as an universal bishop, no such thing as universal law, and no mention of uniformity of faith and manners. If a man would form, for instance, a just notion only of baptism, he must not reason from the laws of one country to the practice of another, but he must take each apart, as will appear clearly by examin-

ing baptism in four points of view. New-Testament baptism is the baptism of men and women ---- Egyptian-baptism is paido-baptism, or the baptism of minors ---- Jerusalem-baptism is the baptism of Catechumens ---- and late Greek baptism is the baptism of little ones.

NEW-TESTAMENT-BAPTISM, OR THE BAPTISM OF MEN AND WOMEN.

The baptism of the New Testament as the principal object of attention to a consistent Christian: it is even the sole standard of his practice. There the ordinance appears along with the persons of men and women. One verse of the history of the church of Samaria, which was congregated by Philip the deacon, is full and express, and may serve for the whole. "When the Samaritans believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, *both men and women* (1)." This was exactly conformable to the command, and the example of Jesus, whose disciples they were: to his command, *teach* all nations *baptizing* them (2): and to his example, for he was at man's estate when he went to be baptized, being about *thirty* years of age (3). This is a plain path, free from every difficulty.

EGYPTIAN-BAPTISM, OR THE BAPTISM OF MINORS.

Origen was a native of Alexandria. He flourished in the third century. He was a man of sober morals: but he was an eccentric genius, and his theological speculations were the most wild and extravagant in the world. Two sorts of his works remain; the one genuine Greek fragments: the other pretended Latin versions of the remainder of his Greek originals, which are lost. The genuine Greek works contain nothing in favour of infant baptism, but on the contrary, baptism is always spoken of in relation to the adult (1). The spurious Latin pieces do speak in favour of infant baptism, but they scent strongly of forgery, and seem to have been written after the Pelagian controversy (2).

(1) Acts viii. 12. (2) Mat. xxviii. 19. (3) Luke iii. 21, 23.

(1) Dr. Gale's *reflections on Mr. Wall's hist. of infant baptism*. Let xiii.

(2) Tombes *Examen*.

Perhaps the vague sense of the word may have been the innocent, or it may be the guilty, cause of these apparent contradictions. Even Dr. Wall exposes the partiality of Sir Peter King for quoting a mutilated passage from the genuine works of Origen in favour of the baptism of babes, and proves by quoting the whole passage, that Origen spoke of such babes as the apostle Peter had addressed in his first epistle, *new-born babes, laying aside all evil speakings, and desiring the sincere milk of the word that they may grow thereby* (3). Indeed it is impossible to quote any thing conclusive in favour of modern infant baptism from Origen, because as he held the pre-existence of human souls, so he affirmed, that "some souls before they were born into the world, and before they were united to the body, had *heard*, and had been *taught of the Father* (4)."

Is there then no foundation for the common tradition of the fathers, that Origen favoured infant baptism? It must be granted the fathers are miserable evidence of the truth of facts, as well as incompetent judges of right : but it doth not follow that they never speak truth. Eusebius, who was a professed admirer of Origen, garnished his history with many incredible tales : but he related some facts very likely to be true. He says, Origen was Catechist of the ecclesiastical school at Alexandria : this is a true fact. Six of his disciples, male and female, suffered death in time of persecution : this is possible. When the school was broke up, some were catechumens, and others had been lately baptized : this is very likely to be true : he adds, Origen accompanied his pupils to the place of execution : this is very doubtful (5). He subjoins, that Potamiæna promised one Basilides, a Pagan officer of the guards, that she would pray for him after her martyrdom : this is extremely suspicious. He proceeds to relate, that the said virgin martyr three days after her death did appear to Basilides, did inform him that her intercession had prevailed, did put a coronet on his head, as a token that he should soon obtain the crown of martyrdom ; that Basilides was converted by these

(3) Dr Wall's *Hist. of infant baptism*. Part. i. Chap. v. S. 9. -- Gale. Let. xiii. --- 1. Pet. ii. 1, 2, &c.

(4) Orig. *Com. in Johan.* -- Gale. Let. vii. John vi. 45.

(5) *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. vi. Cap. ii. iii. iv.

means, was committed to prison for his faith, was baptized by the brethren in prison, and was soon after beheaded; here Eusebius becomes a narrator of old wives fables. The little credit due to his history is due only to such parts as are attested by others more credible than himself.

One of the Catechists of this celebrated seminary, the first Christian academy in the world, published a work entitled *THE PEDAGOGUE* (6). This was Clement the master of Origen. Two sorts of masters presided over the education of young gentlemen (7). Pedotribes formed the body: Pedagogues the mind. Publius Ælius Tertius was one of the first kind: Clement and Origen were of the last. The Pedagogue of Clement is accounted a valuable monument of Christian antiquity. Mr. Du Pin, who most highly applauded it, and who recommended a French translation of it, advised however, that a translator should retrench some parts of it, because they were not fit for every body to read, and that the remaining parts should be accommodated to the manners and customs of the present age (8): a very prudent method of translating, and that exactly which Ruffinus used when he translated Origen.

Pedagogy, the subject of the book, is not the discipline of Christian *youth*, or what would now be called a course of academical education: but it is the moral discipline of Christians, men and women, the learned and the ignorant (9). Clement observes, this was not called Pedagogy, or a discipline for children, because Christianity was a puerile science: on the contrary, it was a science of the most exalted wisdom (1). It may be objected, you speak of a Pedagogue, you call your science Pedagogy, or the educating of children: who are the *children* under your tuition? in order to explain this point, the author lays down this position, that all the disciples of the truth are *children* in regard to God. The whole fifth chapter of the first book is in-

(6) Clementis *Alexandr.* Παιδαγωγος

(7) See the chap. on *Infant baptism*.

(8) *Bibliot. Des Auteurs Eccles.* Tom. i. S. Clement D'Alex.

(9) Lib. i. Cap. v. η παιδαγωγια παιδων εστι αγωγή -- οί παιδες ημεις Cap. vii.

(1) Cap. vi.

tended to explain and elucidate this article (2). Let us consider, says he, whom the scripture calls *children*. The scripture uses many allegorical modes of speaking, diversifying itself to inform us. Then he quotes many passages, in which men as well as little ones are called *children*. Jesus said unto his disciples, *Children, have ye any meat* (3). The priests saw the *children* crying, Hosanna, and they said, hearest thou what these say? And Jesus said unto them, Yea, *have ye never read, out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise* (4)? Jesus said to his disciples, *Little children, yet a little while I am with you* (5). This generation is *like unto children sitting in the markets*. Wisdom is *justified of her children* (6). By many similar passages, taken out of the Old Testament, he proves that this is a common mode of speaking in scripture (7). From both Testaments he collects diminutive terms, literal, as infant, babe, suckling; and figurative, as chicken, lamb, and so on, to set forth what he aims chiefly to establish, the simplicity of christians, and their littleness in their own eyes (8). For this purpose he enlarges on the lessons which the heavenly Pedagogue gave *his* little children, when they brought other *little children* unto him, and when he set one in the midst of them, and said; Except ye be *converted* and become *as* little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever shall *humble* himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven. Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of *such* is the kingdom of heaven. All Christians therefore are little children, simple, sincere, modest, ingenuous, and free from fraud, and a Pedagogue is *a teacher* of such *babes*. The Pedagogue of these babes is Jesus Christ. The Pedagogue of Clement, stripped of allegory and pedantry, is really a fine compound of simple and sublime sentiments. Reduced to literal description, this is the chain of thought: God is infinitely wise: Jesus the messenger of God to men was perfectly qualified

(2) Ὅτι πάντες οἱ περὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν Καταγινόμενοι, παῖδες παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

(3) John xxi. 5.

(4) Mat. xxi. 15, &c.

(5) John xiii. 33.

(6) Mat. xi. 16. - - 19.

(7) Psalm viii. 2. - - Isaiah viii. 18. - - Heb. ii. 13. - - &c.

(8) Mat. xxiii. 37. How often would I have gathered thy *children* together, even as a hen gathereth her *chickens* under her wings! - - Isai. xl. 11. He shall gather the *lambs* with his arm - - John i. 36. Behold the *Lamb* of God.

to instruct mankind by his doctrine and example : mankind have no knowledge of God and no virtue without revelation, yet they are vain of pretended knowledge, and some glory in crimes, while others boast of false virtues : God their merciful Father by the ministry of Christ informs them of their folly and vice, and requires them to lay both aside, and to become as it were little children : all Christians do so : they give themselves up to the tuition of the wise and holy Jesus, in *malice they are children ; in understanding, men ; wise to that which is good, and simple concerning evil* : thus the things, which in former ages the Lord of heaven and earth had *hid from the wise and prudent*, he hath by Jesus *revealed unto babes* (9) Thus God is the fountain of all wisdom and goodness : Jesus his image is παιδαγωγος the Pedagogue : all Christians are παῖδες children under tuition (1). What now is Alexandrian paido-baptism ? The apostles were babes ; the old preceptors of the school are babes, all Christians are now and ever will be babes, and to grow old in religion is to go from childhood to infancy. When at the Reformation, some Baptists affirmed that baptism was to be offered to all men, but not given to all men (an expression sufficiently obscure, but perhaps taken from some such allegorical mixtures as those of Clement) a zealous physician, who wrote against them, was extremely offended, and expressed his resentment in these words : “ Ye captaynes of catabaptistrye offer baptyme unto all *chyl dren*, and intend not to gyue it unto *them*, therefore ye mocke *all chyl derne*, lyke as boyes mocke yong byrdes (2).”

Clement makes a very just distinction on this subject, by observing, that although all Christians were infants, yet infancy in Christ ought to be considered comparatively : infancy in Christianity was manhood, in comparison with the puerile science of Judaism : a child in Christ was a perfect man compared with a Pagan : yet the same accomplished man was a babe compared with an apostle, as the most enlightened apostle was when

(9) 1 Cor. xiv. 20 . . . -Rom. xvi. 19. . . . Mat. xi. 25.

(1) Lib. ii. Cap. xi.

(2) *A preservative, or triacle, agaynst the poyson of Pelagius, lately renued, and styrrd up agayn, by the furious secte of the Annabaptistes : deuysed by Willyam Turner, Doctor of Physick Imprinted at London for Andrew Hester, dwellyng in Powles Churchyarde, at the wytt horse, next to Powles scole. An. 1551. the thirty of Januarii. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

compared with Jesus (3). He exemplifies this by the case of those Corinthians, whom Paul called *carnal Christian babes*, and to whom he said, I have fed you with milk, and not with meat, for ye were not able to bear it. These babes in Christ, adds he, were Catechumens, they were wise men compared with Pagans, but they were carnal in comparison with some other Christians, whom Paul called spiritual (4). Of such babes did the school at Alexandria consist: not babes in age, but babes in Christ: arrived at a manhood of understanding compared with Pagans: but inferior to their tutors. The school was a station between the world and the church, and no modern English term so well expresses the precise condition of the Alexandrian Catechumens as that of pedants, or academical pupils. Such were the ΠΑΙΔΕΣ, who were admitted to baptism at Alexandria. The condition of this church compared with the doctrine of it renders it highly probable, that paido-baptism in the true literal sense of the word, that is, the baptism of youth, during their education, and in consequence of their education, was first practised in this church. Origen, himself, who assisted Clement, was only eighteen years of age, when he was made one of the Catechists. That pupils were not baptized at their first admission into the school is clear by the case of the six martyrs just now mentioned, two of whom, at least, died unbaptized. It hath been argued from the case of the apostle John that juvenile baptism was scriptural, for, say they, John became a disciple of Christ while he was under age, and while, had he been the son of a man of fortune, he would have been in the hands of Pedagogues and Pedotribes. This is a mistake; for if, as the best chronologers say, John died in the second year of Trajan at ninety-two years of age, he was only seven years younger than Jesus, and of course he was about twenty-three when Christ entered on his publick ministry. It is an ancient artifice to protract the lives of the apostles and apostolical men, and to antedate the births of the fathers for the purpose of charging the first with the doctrines of the last. Thus they bring together

(3) Lib. i. Cap. vi.

(4) Κατηχισα υμας, Catechizavi vos, hoc est, per auditum i Christo institui, simpliciter per se naturali alimento spiritali, &c. 1 Cor. iii 1, 2, &c.

Jesus and Ignatius, Polycarp and John. Irenæus to give himself consequence pretended to have been a disciple of Polycarp, who pretended to have been a disciple of John, and he quotes his master to prove that Jesus lived to be fifty years of age.

There was a great difference between the condition of John and that of Alexandrian pupils ; and the preceptors introduced a great change in baptism by their conduct. The school was set up for the tuition of such babes as Clement describes in his *Pedagogue* : but it degenerated into a literary seminary for youth. Here baptism was first associated with a learned education, and made a part of it. Here youth were first incorporated and became church members by baptism : before, baptism had only signified a profession of the Christian religion at large. Here human creeds were first connected with baptism, for the discussion of them became a chief part of the course of instruction ; and exactly the same effects were produced by constituting a church of young pedants as would be produced in any age, and in any country by the same circumstances. Human literature became an ecclesiastical qualification, the pedants were put into office, and introduced each his academical thesis into theology, and to determine which was the true opinion became the test of a Christian. Three hundred years before Christ, the theological system of Plato had been taught in another celebrated school of Alexandria. The Ptolomies had settled a great number of Jews there. The most were merchants, but some were philosophers, and the apocryphal book called the wisdom of Solomon was written by them one hundred years before the birth of Christ (5). In this curious remnant of antiquity, which Clement, Origen, Cyprian, and others, took for a genuine book of King Solomon, the religion of Moses and the speculations of Plato are evidently blended together. Thus for example, Moses, speaking of the destruction of the first born of Egypt, says, “at midnight the *Lord* smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt (6).” The *wisdom* of the Alexandrian Solomon, according to the wisdom of Plato, describes the same event thus : “while all things were in quiet

(5) Calmet. *Dissertat.* Tom. ii.

(6) Exod. xii. 29.—Psal. lxxviii. 51.

silence, and that night was in the midst of *her* swift course, thine ALMIGHTY LOGOS leapt down from heaven, out of thy royal throne, as a fierce *man* of war into the midst of a land of destruction, and brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, and standing up filled all things with death (7).” The Christian school at Alexandria adopted the science, and formed a new body of theology, a compound of the simple ideas of scripture, the reveries of the rabbies, the mysticism of Plato, the profane literature of the Greeks, the instructive lessons of Jesus, and the frivolous comments of the preceptors (8). The next step was to distort scripture by pretended expositions, in order to make it speak these preposterous notions: and the last was to support by the sword what no other efforts could uphold, and to make tyranny civil and ecclesiastical supply the place of conviction. Every succeeding catechist became more intoxicated than his predecessor, and about sixty years after the death of the first preceptors, out of this school, roaring like a lion, came the Arian controversy, the scandals of which filled the whole Christian world, for by forming a church of pedants they transmuted the moral discipline of Jesus into a disputatious science, discharged of its original proprieties, and impregnated with dangerous and desperate elements, which, with the loss of many thousand lives, rent that mighty mass, the whole Judaizing Christian church, into fragments: the vibration continues to this hour (9).

At this distance of time and place, it is impossible to dive into the hidden recesses of the hearts of the first projectors of the Alexandrian academy: and, for much more obvious reasons, it will ever be impossible for frail man in the present state to determine why Providence suffered the religion of Jesus to undergo a change so inimical to the professed intention of it. The conversion of Christianity into a learned science produced a revolution fatal to Christian liberty. The preceptors of the school united in their plan of tuition the gospel of Jesus, the discipline of the Synagogue, the polity of the Greeks, and the vulgar superstitions of the Egyptian

(7) Chap. xviii. 15.

(8) Clem. Alex *Stromat. passim.*

(9) Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles.* Tom. vi. An. 319.

priests. Of all the modes of Grecian polity, that of Sparta seems to have obtained most grace in the eyes of Clement. He thought the system of Lyncurgus might be corrected by the philosophy of Plato, and united with the maxims of Moses and the gospel of Christ. The system of the Spartan lawgiver is extremely deceptive, and hath beguiled men wiser than Clement into admiration. Most encomiasts of that government applaud the democratical part of it as a bulwark of liberty (1). They admire the principle, that children are more the property of the state than of their parents. They say the publick educating of all alike, rich and poor, in diet, dress, and exercise, is the forming of a state into one large family of brethren. Parents, say they, spoil their children, by giving them a fanciful education : but the wise Lacedemonians enacted that children belonged to the state, that they should be publickly brought up by the state, and educated according to the intention of the state. This, they add, made the Spartans as virtuous as Pagans could be. As soon as the child was born, it was examined by proper officers of the state. If it appeared healthy and robust, likely to serve the state, it was provided for : but if otherwise, it was put to death. At seven years of age the children were distributed into classes, educated all together, and the whole of their education, as one of the chief modern admirers of this discipline, observes, "properly speaking was nothing more than an apprenticeship to obedience (2)." The Pedagogues of Alexandria intended to train up their pupils to believe mysteries, and to obey orders, and the Spartan polity was highly adapted to their design. Plato, Aristotle, and others, had observed, that the Lacedemonian discipline tended only to form the body, and to make soldiers, for these tutors of the Spartan youth were all Pedotribes, there were no Pedagogues. Clement, who observed the same, put into the plan of his school the literary Christian Pedagogue, and supplied the place of the material Pedotribe by introducing the exercises of the priests of the temple of Isis (3). The bare foot and the shaven crown, the abstemious diet, and the nerveless sapience of contemplative indolence, detachment from

(1) Rollin's *Belles Lettres*. Vol. iii. Part iii. Chap. ii.

(2) Rollin. (3) Stromat. Lib. i.

the world, and a superstitious confidence in symbols, particularly a cross, had always distinguished the Egyptian priests, and in time they were the badges of Christian pupils (4).

Egypt was the land of symbols. The invention of the signs of the Zodiack was not theirs, but it is to be sought among the children of Noah, in the plains of Shinar, round the tower of Babel (5). Thence the Egyptians emigrated to the banks of the Nile, and their territory is called by writers, sacred and profane, the land of Ham, for the family of Ham peopled Egypt (6). They carried along with them the symbolical writing of the Zodiack, and the signs are yet seen on their monuments of the highest antiquity. The condition of the country, through the yearly overflowing of the Nile, which was always preceded by an Etasian or annual wind blowing from North to South, about the time of the passage of the sun under the stars of the crab, put the governors on the invention of new symbols to be exposed in publick for the information of the people of the approach, the rise, and the full of the waters, and of course of the regulation of all things dependent on the flood. Hence an order of men to study the stars, to invent, preserve, and exhibit symbols: hence idolatry, which began in mistaking symbols for histories, the error of the vulgar; and hence the hidden meaning and the mysteries, all the science of priesthood, and the initiation of the wise into secrets unknown to the populace: and hence at the final settlement the symbols were retained for the vulgar, and the science was reserved for the hierarchy (7). Whoever beholds Jewish Christianity fixing its residence in an Egyptian academy, will naturally suppose it will conform to the publick taste, garnish itself with symbols, and proceed to Africa and other countries in the mystical guise of hieroglyphicks. Let such a speculator take up Alexandrian history, and he will find his theory reduced to actual practice. The Egyptian symbol of a fall of the waters of the Nile, and the time for the return of the inhabitants of the Lower Egypt to the culti-

(4) Michælis Angeli Causei de La Chausse *deorum simulacra, idola, aliæ que imagines ærææ. apud Græv. thesaur. antiq. Rom. Tab. xxxvi.*

(5) Abbe Pluché *Hist of the heavens. Vol. i. Book i. Sect. iii.*

(6) Psal. cv. 23. --- lxxviii. 51. --- Plutarch. *de Isid. et Osir. Chæmia.*

(7) Pluche. Sect. vii.

vation of their lands, was that of a bar legged surveyor of the marshes with a staff in one hand surmounted with a whoop, an emblem of the wind, and in the other an instrument like a cross or the Greek Tau, to measure the increase of the Nile (8). Clement observed the Greek Tau was an emblem of the cross of Jesus, and this whole symbol is so much the picture of an original monk, and the emblems are such very probable rudiments of the staff of an abbot, the crosier of a prelate, and the mysterious and miraculous sign of the cross, that these Christian symbols seem evidently copied from Egyptian originals (9). Partiality in favour of Egyptian symbols was a perpetual habit of the Jews. Their first high priest made a model of Apis in the golden calf; and the last that went to reside in Egypt made cakes in honour of Isis, the queen of heaven (1). In perfect agreement with every circumstance of time, place, manners, and so on, the Alexandrian tutors are to be accounted the true parents of the custom of giving milk and honey to persons newly baptized, as a symbol of that mystical infancy into which converts by baptism had been born again; as Clement explains at large in his *Pedagogue*, and as Jerom, African councils, and others of latter date, expressly affirm (2). The same men, authors of human creeds, are also to be reputed the true authors of one of the names of creeds, symbols. The most accurate modern writers, rejecting fables, affirm very truly, that "the name symbol was fetched from the *sacra*, or religious services of the Heathens, where those, who were initiated in their mysteries, and admitted to the knowledge of their peculiar services, which were hidden and concealed from the greatest part of the idolatrous multitude, had certain signs, or marks called *symbola*, delivered unto them, by which they mutually knew each other, and upon the declaring of them, were without scruple admitted in any temple to the secret worship and rites of that God, whose *symbols* they had received (3)." What country bids so fair for the union of this Paganism

(8) Pluche. Plate iii. Fig. 6.

(1) Exod. xxxii. Jer. xliiv.

(2) *Pædagog.* Lib. i. Cap. vi.(9) *Stromat.* Lib. vi.(3) *Critical history of the creed.*

with Christianity as Egypt; or what place in Egypt so likely as the catechetical academy at Alexandria?

The maxims of the academy like the laws of Sparta created a family of equals; and the specious air of fraternal freedom imposed on the spectators of both.

It becomes a Briton to think, that the celebrated Spartan government was a discipline founded on injustice, supported by cruelty, inimical to population and national wealth, incompatible with commerce, literature, arts and sciences, utterly destructive of freedom and virtue, and productive of nothing but the very worst of all species of tyranny, an obstinate aristocracy, Spartan freemen were all idle gentlemen, who were forbidden to till the ground, or practise any mechanical employment, and who spent all their time in hunting, dancing, festivals, amusements or war (4). They conquered a people called Helots, and converted them all into slaves. They made an equal partition of lands among themselves, and compelled the Helots to farm them for their masters. They obliged this degraded class of beings to perform the whole manual labour of the state, as they were pleased to call themselves, and with unpardonable ingratitude and cruelty assassinated them at their pleasure. They obliged them to intoxicate themselves, and play mad pranks, in order to teach the young gentlemen by contrast, sobriety and propriety of behaviour: a brutal practice, but applauded by too many moralists (5). Nor was the education of the Spartan youth themselves any thing but a series of tyranny, eradicating every domestic virtue, and sinking the man in the soldier. In return for all the advantages which the pretended state derived from the Helots, the army protected the Helots, that is, they guarded them in the enjoyment of the blessings of slavery. All other Grecian states paid a particular attention to youth, and their love of boys is a curious part of their history (6). Pantæus the first Catechist of the Alexandrian school, was a native of Sicily (7). His pupil and successor Clement was an A-

(4) Potter's *Greek antiquities*. Vol. i.

(5) Clem. Alex. *Pedagog.* Lib. iii. Cap. viii.

(6) Potter. Vol. ii. Book. iv. Chap. ix. *Of their love of boys.*

(7) Du Pin. *Bibliot. Pantæus* Clement.

thenian, who studied under five masters: one a Jew, another an Assyrian, two in Greece, and Pantænus at Alexandria, from each of whom he derived something that went into his course of tuition. Origen came in like a tide from that ocean of riddles, the philosophical school of his master Ammonius, and formed a coalition of all sects, Pagan and Christian, out of which proceeded an innumerable multitude of evils, and along with the rest, the seeds of Egyptian symbols; and Spartan education grew and ripened into a hierarchical aristocracy of spiritual soldiers, whose banner was the cross, while the people sunk into the condition of the Lacedæmonian Helots (8). Exactly as foreigners had applied to Sparta for generals, so did congregations supplicate the academy for Pedagogues, and the natural effect followed: the pupil became a Pedagogue, the Pedagogue a Bishop, the Bishop an Archbishop, the Archbishop a Patriarch, the Patriarch a general, able at the head of an army of monks to resist a governor of Alexandria, to destroy the synagogues of the Jews, to murder philosophers, to tax and oppress inhabitants, to dethrone other Patriarchs, and to dispute empire with Roman Emperors themselves (9). Such were the benefits of transforming Christianity into philosophy, and of converting the Pedagogue into a Pedobaptist.

JERUSALEM-BAPTISM, OR THE BAPTISM OF CATECHUMENS.

In the first century Titus depopulated and destroyed Jerusalem, leaving only three towers and a small part of the western wall for barracks for the garrison. In the second century the Emperor Ælius Adrian rebuilt it, called it after his own name Ælia, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus. An insurrection of the Jews to repossess themselves of this new Jerusalem obliged the Romans to besiege and destroy it again. The Ælian colony rebuilt the city, every place was defiled with Pagan temples, and a chapel was dedicated to Venus on Mount Calvary, where Jesus had suffered death. Jews were forbidden upon pain of death to enter the city, or

(8) Mosheim Eccles. Hist. vol. i. Cent. ii. Part. ii. Chap. i. S. xlii. The pernicious effects of the new species of philosophy introduced by Origen.

(9) Du Pin *Bibliot. Sæc. v. Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie*.

even to survey it at a distance. In the third century the name of Jerusalem was so entirely forgotten, that when a person, who was examined before a governor of the province, of what country he was, answered of Jerusalem, neither the governor nor the court could comprehend what city it was, or where situated (1). In the fourth century Constantine purged the city of Paganism, erected magnificent temples, and founded a priesthood, who quickly filled the holy city with relicks, miracles, pilgrims, and every thing except morality ; for contemporary writers, even of their own party, affirm that idolatry and adultery, theft and assassination, and every kind of iniquity, was openly practised there. In spite of all these undoubted facts, the bishop of Jerusalem became a patriarch, the metropolitan of about forty-eight prelates, and proved to the satisfaction of all believers a regular apostolical succession of doctrines, ceremonies, and patriarchs in the church of Jerusalem (2). Never were the stupendous prodigies lavished in that city with a more liberal hand than in the days of St. Cyril (3). It is painful to read the monstrous miracles of the times, and it is more so to observe Protestant writers disgrace a mild modern discipline by pretending to hold it up as a counterpart of such a system of fraud and violence as that of Cyril. "I have been," says one with a very good intent, "the more particular in describing the dioceses of Palestine, because here Christianity was first planted, and the true model of ancient episcopacy may best be collected from them (4)."

Cyril was a nominal bishop about thirty years. His catechetical lectures were composed in his youth, most likely while he was a catechist, and uttered extempore (5). Twenty-two years of his episcopal life were spent in perpetual quarrels with a prelate who pretended to be over him in the Lord, for title, honour, income and power. He was by the interest of his adversaries several times deposed ; and he often changed sides, and was

(1) Gibbon's *history of the decline of the Roman Empire*. Vol. ii. Chap. xxiii. Jerusalem. Newton *on the prophecies*. Vol. ii. Diss. xx. Part iii.

(2) Baronii *Annal. An.* 351.

(3) Joannis Grodecii, *Decani Glogoviens. vit.* Cyrilli.

(4) Bingham's *Origenes*. Book ix. Chap. ii. Sect. viii. *Of the diocese of Palestine, or the patriarchate of Jerusalem.*

(5) Cyrillia.

Catholick, Arian, or Semi-Arian, as best suited the time. He was ordained by the orthodox, and re-ordained by the Arians, but as he returned to orthodoxy and subscribed the Nicene creed, he died in the faith, and is ranked with the saints. The last eight years of his life he was allowed to enjoy his see in quiet (6). His catechetical lectures are in number twenty-three, of which eighteen were delivered to Catechumens to prepare them for baptism, and five to the same persons after they had been baptized (7). Some Protestants have doubted the genuineness of some of these lectures: but others have shewn by sufficient evidence that they are authentick (8).

The Catechumens of Jerusalem are not to be confounded with the pupils of Alexandria: they were a very different sort of people, and the tuition was different. Learned men are not agreed on the names, and number of orders of Catechumens: but Du Pin and Bingham seem to have succeeded best in arranging them (9). The latter distinguishes them into four orders: the first were the *Hexothoumenoi*, who were instructed privately without the church: the second were the *Acroomenoi*, or hearers, who were admitted to hear lessons and sermons in the church: the third were the *Gonuklinontes*, or kneelers, who were allowed to attend certain services of prayer: and the last were called *Elect* and *Com-petents*; com-petents or joint petitioners, because they gave in their names, and desired to be baptized; and elect, because they were approved, and adjudged fit to receive baptism. In general they were all called Catechumens. Into this state any persons might be admitted: the children of Christians as soon as they were capable of learning, and Heathen men and women at any time. They were received into the number of Catechumens by imposition of hands, prayer, and the sign of the cross. The time of continuing in this state was very different, the shortest usual period was forty days: but various canonical disqualifications extended it in some cases to eight months, in others to two years, in others to five, and so on: and

(6) Soerat. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. Cap. xxx.

(7) *Guilli Hierosol. Archiep. Catecheses. cum interpretat.*

(8) *Andree Riveti Critic. Sacr.* Lib. iii. Cap. x.

(9) *Andree Riveti Critic. Sacr.* Book x. Chap. i. *Of the institution of Catechumens.*

a great many, who for various purposes had chosen to put their names on the Catechumen list, did not think fit to proceed any further till they drew near to the close of life (1). A celebrated Italian historian, having mentioned Constantine, Valentinian II. Ambrose and others, who had delayed their baptism till danger or interest roused them, and having observed that the custom was general among the great, assigns two very probable motives of their conduct : the one, that they might not be obliged to submit to harsh penances, and the other, that they might not lose the benefit of baptism by committing crimes after it (2). In such cases the ceremonial of catechetical initiation was extremely abbreviated, although some shadow of it was preserved. This explains what ecclesiastical historians say of such cases, as, for example, of that of the Emperor Theodosius. He fell sick at Thessalonica, and sent for Ascholius the bishop to baptize him. As the Emperor had been trained up in the Nicene faith, he asked the bishop what faith he professed? Ascholius very prudently answered that himself and all the Christians in the country detested the novel opinions of Arius, and most firmly adhered to that ancient faith which had been held by the apostles, and professed by the council of Nice. Theodosius, transported at hearing this, was immediately instructed in the mysteries of the faith, and initiated and baptized, and a few days after finding himself better, he set forward for Constantinople (3). Canons granted indulgencies in cases of extreme danger, and courtiers understood how to expound them.

Cyril sustains in his lectures the character of a Mystagogue, for he interprets the divine mysteries, and shews the *sacra* of the church to strangers. The first lecture is introductory, on the necessity of preparing for baptism, by laying aside the practice of sin, and by exercising penitential virtues. It is interspersed with many beautiful passages of scripture : as, *make ye a new heart, and a new spirit ; joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth ; Come unto me, all ye that*

(1) Conc. Illib. can. xlii.

(2) Piet. Giannone *Istoria del regno Di Napoli*. Tom. i. Lib. ii. Cap. iv. S. i. *Haia* 1753.

(3) Socrat. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. Cap. vi.

labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest ; wash ye, make you clean, put away your evil doings from before mine eyes ; blessed is he, whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered : and so on (4). The second treats at large of sin and repentance ; the third of the necessity of baptism to salvation ; and the fourth of the principal articles of faith in a summary view : as, of God ; of Christ ; of his being born of a virgin ; of his crucifixion ; of his burial ; of his resurrection ; of his ascension ; of the future judgment ; of the Holy Ghost ; of the human soul ; of the body ; of foods ; of the resurrection of the dead ; and of the holy scriptures (5). He advises the Catechumens not to read apocryphal writings. He says, the New Testament consists of the four gospels, the acts of the apostles, the seven general epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude, and the fourteen epistles of Paul. He observes, the book ends with the epistles of Paul, and he makes no mention of the revelation of John, nor doth he once quote it, although he speaks largely of Antichrist from the book of Daniel. The remaining lectures recal the particular articles of the summary, and explain them more at large. In the preface he bestows many encomiums on baptism, calls it an indelible character, and observes that none but hereticks are rebaptized (6). These discourses were pronounced in that part of the church which was called Catechumenion, where the Competents sat, the men below and the women in galleries, in the presence of believers, who had been baptized, to whom the Catechist made an apology for speaking of first elements before them, and in the absence of other Catechumens, who were not preparing for baptism, and to whom he charges his auditors by no means to impart what they had been hearing (7). Jerom says, Cyril composed these discourses in his youth ; and it should seem so, for they have evident marks of both literary and moral juvenility. Superficial and without order, interwoven

(4) Ezek. xviii. 31.—Luke xv. 7—Mat. xi. 28—Isai. i. 16.—Psal. xxxii. 1.

(5) Περὶ Θεοῦ. π. 75. --- περὶ Χριστοῦ. 74. --- περὶ τῆς ἐκ παρθενου γεννησεως.

(6) P. 9. Εἰς γὰρ Κύριος, καὶ μὴ πῖσις, καὶ ἐν βαπτισμῇ. μόνος γὰρ ὁ ἀιρέσιμος· ΑΝΑΒΑΠΤΙΖΟΝΤΑΙ, ὥστε τὸ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν βαπτισμῇ.

(7) Catech. iii.

too with the fables and superstitions of the times, they have a pious and moral turn, which indicates a heart not then depraved with such passions as prelatical honours and disgraces afterward excited. Perhaps the harmless youth might not then know what afterward the council of Trullo and the Emperor Leo, provoked at the obstinacy of the practice, published to the whole world. Behind the galleries, there were small retiring rooms for the accommodation of such as chose to step aside and meditate and pray: but into them some retired only to practise debauchery, and while the Catechist below panegyricized the building as a temple of God, the withdrawing rooms up stairs were devoted to the service of the Paphian Goddess (8).

These lectures were delivered at proper times during the forty days of Lent to the highest order of Catechumens, and, if there be any propriety in the names, which were given them, they may be supposed to have been called at the beginning *Com-petents*, because they signified their desire to be baptized, *Elect*, about the middle, because on a scrutiny they were approved, and *Enlightened* at the expiration, because they had been informed by the catechist of all the mysteries. On Easter-eve they went to the baptistery, which was a building distinct from the church, and were first admitted into the προαυλιον οικον, that is, the vestibule, or ante-room (9). There they were directed by the priest to turn their faces to the West, because Satan dwelt in darkness, to stretch out their hands, and to renounce the devil, as if he were standing before them: saying, Satan, I renounce thee, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and all thy worship. Then turning their faces toward the East, the region of light, they repeated the creed: I believe in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and so on. Then they proceeded into μεγα φώτισηριον, the great hall of baptism, where they stripped themselves stark naked, on which Cyril exclaims: "O wonderful! you were naked in the sight of all, and you were not ashamed. You resembled Adam naked in Paradise without a blush (1)!" Then they were rubbed all over from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot

(8) Concilii Trullani sive Quinjesexti. Can. xcvi.

(9) Mystagog. i.

(1) Mystagog. ii.

with exorcised olive oil. Immediately after this they were led to the baptistery. Each was asked, whether he believed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ? and, on his professing to believe, he was three times immersed under water in token of the three nights' burial of Jesus, three times raised above the water in token of the three days, and on the third immersion he went up out of the water as Jesus rose out of the grave (2). Then they perfumed, or as they express themselves, anointed him with a sweet-scented unguent applied to his forehead, his ears, his nostrils, and his breast, a symbol of his receiving the Holy Ghost, or more properly the gifts of the Holy Spirit called Chrismata, and on this account, the ointment was called the Chrism. It was in this stage of the business precisely, that the name of Christian was conferred ; and the moment the liniment had been applied to the breast, all former descriptions, as Pagan, Jew, Heretick, Catechumen, Hearer, Competent, Elect, Illuminated, all vanished away, and the new name Christian supplied their place (3). After they were dressed they received the Lord's supper, and the discourse of Cyril is the full and clear doctrine of transubstantiation.

Of many ecclesiastical articles, which rise here to view, there are two that deserve a moment's attention.

First. It is allowed by all writers of every community, that the whole doctrine of Catechumenship proceeds on the ground of some hidden doctrine in Christianity (4). It seems as clear, that there was no such doctrine till the third century, when the rudiments of it were invented at Alexandria ; which grew by the fourth century into creeds for the clergy, and into the Catechumen-state for the people, and so went on in following centuries till it ripened into systematical divinity, of which the matter was furnished by Plato, and the manner was

(2) Tunc unusquisque interrogabatur, an crederet in nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti : et confessi estis salutarem confessionem, et mersi in aqua, rursus emersistis, atque ita per hæc symbola triduanam Christi significastis sepulturam ---- prima emersione primam Christi sub terra imatibimini diem, et immersione noctem. Sicut enim qui versatur in nocte, videre non potest, et qui est in die, in lumine est : haud aliter in submersione, tanquam in nocte nihil videbatis, in emersione, contra, tanquam in die eratis, &c.

(3) Mystag. iii.

(4) Cyrilli *Præfat ad Cateches.*

taken from Aristotle (5). The schoolmen dilated the subject beyond all bounds ; and the reformers reduced it to a compact size : but the whole in every form is antiscriptural, and the connection of it with church communion tends to defeat the great end for which Jesus came into the world. It is an unnatural union of the school with the church, as fatal to mental and moral refinement, as the alliance of church and state is to equal and universal liberty.

Lastly. It is to be observed, that hereticks had no such state as that of Catechumens (6). Tertullian particularly mentions the Catechumen-state. "There is no distinction, says he, between Catechumens and believers ; they all meet together, they all pray together, they all hear together ; and if heathens happen to go into their assemblies, they give that which is holy to dogs, and cast their counterfeit pearl before swine. Their manner is in perfect union with their faith." Whatever these hereticks were, it is certain, the prophets boasted, they had *not* spoken in secret. Jesus told the high priest, I spake openly to the *world* ; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort, and in secret have I said *nothing*. He commanded his disciples to publish his private discourses on the *house-tops*. The apostles endeavoured to make *all* men see ; to declare the *whole* counsel of God ; and to keep back *nothing* that was profitable, but shewed their auditors, and taught them publickly, and from house to house, testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward the Lord Jesus Christ (7).

It is hardly needful to observe, that nothing of this ought to be understood in disfavour of schools for children, academies and universities for youth, domestick or social, academical or ecclesiastical tuition of young persons in the principles of religion : but the whole is intended to shew that there was no such thing as a concealed doctrine in primitive Christianity ; and it is dangerous to make a Catechumen-state necessary to the entrance of *all* persons, however qualified in other

(5) Ibid. Tom. i. Lib. *poster.* Cap. i.

(6) *Prescript. adv. heret.* Cap. xli.

(7) Isai. xlv. 19. --- John xviii. 20. --- Mat. x. 27. --- Eph. iii. 9. --- Acts
xx. 20.

respects, into a Christian church. The danger lies in the *conditions* annexed to such a state ; and, on this ground, the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, wisely refused to accept the offer of Dr. Busby to found two catechistical lectures, with an endowment of £ 100 a year each. A celebrated modern writer supposes “the condition might be modelled so as to render such a benefaction eligible both to the universities and the publick :” but some doubt this, and think experiment unnecessary, and in some views dangerous (8). Catechists and Crypticks are twins of the same parents, and they have lived so many ages in habits of the closest friendship, it would be next to impossible to part them as long as establishments and endowments continue.

GREEK-BAPTISM, OR THE BAPTISM OF LITTLE ONES.

Experience taught the primitive Catechists two important lessons : the one, that people left to the exercise of their own understandings were not eager to incorporate themselves in the Catholick church : and the other, that the condition of Catechumens obliged them to make some abatements in the terms of communion. One of these ills was considerably diminished, and the other entirely removed, by making little ones Catechumens, and so baptizing them in their childhood ; and this fabrick in favour of church power was buttressed by an orthodox comment on the doctrine of one Lord, one faith, one baptism ; faith was the credulity of childhood ; the belief of one Lord was the profession of three in one ; and one baptism was that of a little boy, never to be repeated, under all the heavy pains and penalties that government could inflict by the hands of the magistrate, or Heaven, by the means of its faithful servants, the monks and the priests.

It should seem, the baptism of children was first practised by a small obscure sect of Gnosticks, called Cainites, Caianites, or Gaianites. Gnosticism rose out of the oriental philosophy, and, even in the times of the apostles, perverted many from the simplicity of Chris-

(8) *Life of Dr. Humphrey Prideaux. London, 1748. . . Confessional. 3d edit. London, p. 463, 1770.*

tianity. Paul considered it at Corinth as the *serpent* in paradise; and John expressly says, some deceived people *went out* from the apostolical churches, because they were not of *them*; that is, they formed separate assemblies with which the churches held no communion (1). These are the people called Gnosticks. During the two first centuries they were the only hereticks. Justin Martyr says, they were variously named after their teachers (2), and Irenæus, who at first sight seems to write against many sorts of heresy, actually wrote against only one, however diversified, and that one was Gnosticism (3). Tertullian considered the subject as Paul had, and wrote a book entitled an Antidote against the Poison of the Gnosticks, for this is the meaning of his *Scorpiacum* adversus Gnosticos. The Caianites seem to have been of the Egyptian, not of the Asian class of Gnosticks: but the first book in defence of the efficacy of baptism, and against the baptism of little ones, is directed against both Caianites of Egypt, and Quintillianists of Greece (4). All classes of them perplexed the doctrine of baptism, by affecting sublime and spiritual explications of it; one party baptized their converts by dipping: another initiated them by an affusion of water mixed with oil; some pronounced a set of barbarous words at the administration; and others baptized in the name of the unknown father of all, and of truth the mother of all, and so on; while others, affecting a superior way of thinking, wholly omitted baptism (5). It was one of the principal tenets of the Gnosticks, that rational souls were defiled by matter: hence proceeded a thousand antievangelical practices, and among the rest the baptizing of children as soon as they could ask to be baptized. Against such baptisms Tertullian wrote, and he pressed the innocence of children as one principal reason why they ought not to be admitted to partake of an institute appointed for the remission of sin. By slow degrees the doctrine of original defilement crept into the Catholick church, and after it went its never failing-attendant, the baptism of

(1) 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3, 4.

(2) *Dial. cum Typhone Judæo.*

(3) In Tertulliani *Scorpiac. Adnotat. Pamelii. i.*

(4) Tertul. *De baptismo. Cap. i.*

(5) Irenæi *adv. hæres. Lib. i. Cap. xviii.*

children, checked, however, and qualified by express declarations, that it was admissible only in case of an apparent danger of death. In the annals of mankind, the history of Gnosticism exhibits a remarkable display of the wonderful versatility of error. Doctrines and ceremonies appending to them, which the primitive Christians considered with horror, in process of time became the very essentials of Christianity with their pretended successors, and magick sounds of metaphysical ideas, airy nothings, assumed a local habitation and a name.

It is impossible to say any thing certain on the baptism of children among the Gnosticks, when and where it originated, whether it were only proposed or really practised, how far it extended, and by what means, or at what moment it found its way into the Catholick church; but there is no hazard in affirming that toward the close of the fourth century it was first brought into publick by Gregory Nazianzen; that it became agreeable to the clergy as a relief from the inconveniences of the Catechumen-state; that it was the standing mode of baptizing for many centuries in both the Greek and Roman Catholick churches; and that it became popular only in proportion as fraud beguiled or as civil power forced the reluctant laity to yield to it. It may be proper to observe the first publick appearance of it in the Greek church.

The Catechumen-state began with the doctrine of mystery, and continued on its original plan about two hundred years, when Monachism supplanted it by introducing a new discipline: or rather Monachism, by retaining the name and discharging the thing, gradually got rid of all that was good in it. It appears with the utmost evidence, by the sermons of Basil, Nazianzen, and others, that while only adults were admitted into the church by a Catechumen-state, the general delay of baptism was a distress to the clergy (6). They perpetually harangued on the subject; they set forth all the causes, and they employed all their eloquence to remove them. Some wholly contemned the discipline; others objected, the ceremony was too tedious; many urged the example of Jesus, who deferred his baptism at least

(6) Basilii Orat. *Exhort. ad baptis* . . . Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xl.

till he was thirty years of age ; some pretended they durst not enter on a profession, which required a holy life, and which they feared they should not be able to live ; others chose to wait till they should be in a condition to adorn themselves, or make a festival, or some handsome offering to the church ; and the rich did not choose to interrupt their pleasures, or to be baptized with the poor, or by any under the degree of a bishop. The whole is an exact picture of the present state of the inhabitants of this country in regard to receiving the sacrament ; and modern treatises to persuade to a worthy participation of the Lord's supper, are precisely the old Greek homilies on baptism applied to another institute.

It was in the year three hundred eighty-one that Gregory, then bishop of Constantinople, delivered his fortieth oration, and, having severely censured a delay of baptism on account of the *danger* of it, gave his opinion on the propriety of baptizing children, and the absolute necessity of baptizing even babes in case of danger of *death*. These are his words :

Τι δ' ἂν εἴποις περὶ τῶν εἰς νηπιῶν,
Καὶ μήτε τῆς ζημίας ἐπαιθανομένων,
μήτε τῆς χάριτος ; ἢ καὶ ταῦτα
βαπτισόμεν ; παντοῦ Εἰπερ τις
ἐπεῖγῃ κινδύνος. Κρείσσον
γὰρ ἀναίδητως ἀγιασθῆναι, ἢ πελθεῖν
ἐσφραγίσαι καὶ ἀλειψαί - - - Περὶ
δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκει γνῶμην,
τὴν τριεῖαν ἀναμενονίας, ἢ μικρὸν
ἐνὸς τετῆ, ἢ ὑπὲρ τετῆ, ἢ νῦν καὶ
ἀκουσαὶ τι μουσικὸν καὶ ἀποκινεῖσθαι
δυνατῆαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ συνενεῖα τελείως,
ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπομύμενα, οὕτως ἀγιάζειν
καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ σαρὰς τῷ μεγάλῳ
μυστηρίῳ τῆς τελειώσεως.

But, say some, what is your opinion of infants, who are not capable of judging either of the grace of baptism, or of the damage sustained by the want of it ; shall we baptize them too ? By all means, *if there be any apparent danger*. For it were better they were sanctified without their knowing it, than that they should die without being sealed and initiated. As for *others*, I give my opinion, that when they are three years of age, or thereabouts (for then they are able to hear and answer some of the mystical words, and although they do not fully understand they may receive impressions) they may be sanctified both soul and body by the great mystery of initiation.

Gregory, the metropolitan of all Greece, the oracle of the Catholick world, gave this as *his opinion*, which is a clear indication that the baptism of children was a new affair, unsettled by law, human or divine ; and this in the pulpit of the cathedral, at Constantinople, in the close of the fourth century. Indeed, it was impossible

for him to say more, for as the whole oration proves, he was preaching to an audience, many of whom were unbaptized : the Emperor Theodosius, who probably was present, had been baptized very lately in the thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth year of his age. Gregory himself was thirty when he was baptized ; and Nectarius his immediate successor was not baptized till after he had been elected to succeed him in the archiepiscopal throne, and yet the Emperor had been trained up from his childhood in the Nicene faith, and Gregory was born while his father was a bishop (7). The opinion given by this prelate is, that new-born babes ought not to be baptized except in case of danger of *death*. In such a case, he says, they might be sanctified without knowing it. He had a little before reproved mothers for hanging magical amulets about the necks of their children, which very likely were not intended as charms, but, like the coral, and eringoroots of modern nurses, fastened to children merely for the purpose of rubbing their gums while they were cutting teeth. He advised the good matrons to lay aside the use of such demoniacal baubles, and to give them the Trinity, that is, baptism, as the only great and good *amulet* (8). Here again, on this part of his subject, Gregory says all that can be said. It is not the fault of the orator, it is the fault of the subject itself. If a babe receive any sanctification by baptism without knowing it, it must be by an operation merely mechanical, and the similitude, though taken from the nursery, is just and well chosen. Baptism to an infant likely to live, promises no present but some future benefit to be derived, not from baptism, but from some other things connected with it : but the benefit of baptism to a dying infant must be, Gregory says, mechanical, like the friction of the gums with coral. Further, the orator gave it as his opinion, that children not in apparent danger of death should be baptized at three years of age, more or less, because they might receive some impressions, and because they could pronounce some of the baptismal words. This

(7) See the Baptistery of S. Sophia.

(8) *Amulet*. pag. 648. Νηπιον εισοι : Trinitatem ipsi da, magnum inquam illud et pulchrum amuletum. Δος αυτω την τριαδα το μεγα και Καλον φυλακτεριον.

was introducing two very considerable alterations. During the first Catechumen-state, it was not a few slight impressions, such as ceremonies make on the minds of children, but it was a rational knowledge and an inward love of virtue, that entitled a Catechumen to become a Competent, or a candidate for baptism. The first Catechetical lecture of Cyril, is wholly on this subject, and an excellent address it is. Thus he speaks : “Ye disciples of the New Testament, partakers of the mysteries of Christ, if any of you affect disguise in the sight of God, he deceives himself, and discovers his ignorance of the Almighty. Beware, O man, of hypocrisy, for fear of him who trieth *the heart and reins*. Observe how men are enlisted into the army, with what diligence their ages and their bodies are examined : so the Lord, when he makes an election of souls, scrutinizes the will, and if he discover any secret hypocrisy, he rejects the man, as unqualified for his spiritual army ; but if he find him worthy, he freely bestows grace. --- The Lord hath prepared you a spiritual table. Say to him with the Psalmist : thou Lord, art *my Shepherd, I shall not want ! The Lord maketh me to lie down in green pastures. He leadeth me by the side of still waters. He restoreth my soul* (9).” The other alteration regards the baptismal words. Cyril observes, there was much for a Catechumen to say at baptism. Each was to renounce Satan, and each was to utter, at first, the whole creed, and latterly an abridgment of it, as : I believe in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance. The renunciation of Satan was long : and ran thus : “Satan, I renounce thee : thee, thou wicked and most cruel tyrant : I no longer fear thy power, for Christ was made a partaker of my flesh and blood, that by his sufferings and death he might destroy thy power, subdue death, and free me from perpetual bondage. I renounce thee, thou cunning and subtle serpent : I renounce thee, thou impostor, who under a form of friendship employest thyself in all iniquity : who didst beguile our first parents to sin : thee, Satan, I renounce, thou minister and manager of all unrighteousness : I renounce all thy works, and

(9) Psalm vii. 9 --- xxiii. 1, 2, 3.

all thy pomp, and all thy worship(1). The plan of Gregory turned both the renunciation and the creed into interrogatories to be addressed by the priests to the children, and there remained only two words for the children to utter as answers: the one to the renunciation, the other to the creed, and both easy to a Greek infant of three years of age. The priest asked, Dost thou renounce Satan, that wicked and cruel tyrant, and so on: the child answered, *Apotassomai*, that is, I do renounce. The priest asked, Dost thou believe in God the Father, and so on: the child answered, *Pisteuo*, that is, I do believe.

Perhaps a short anecdote of an affair that happened in the last reign may not be misplaced here. About ten or eleven years before Gregory pronounced this oration, Galates, a child about six years of age, son of the reigning Emperor Valens, lay dangerously ill(2). Valens was an Arian, but he sent for Basil the Trinitarian bishop of Cæsarea to come and pray for his son. Basil went to court, but infatuated with system, superstition and monachism, he presumed to inform the Emperor, that the prince could not recover except on condition he were delivered to him to be trained up in the true faith of the Trinity, and baptized by the pious, meaning the Trinitarian Catholicks(3). In such a case he would engage to restore the child to health. Valens was justly offended with this cruel insult on the feelings of a parent, and with the inflexible pride of a man, who durst propose such an alternative; and he refused the offer, and ordered some Arian to baptize the child, who soon after died. Basil was a great orator, but in this instance a bad courtier, for he let slip a fine opportunity of conciliating the Emperor to the orthodox. As Valens was succeeded by Theodosius, a Trinitarian, the

(1) Catech. mystagog. i. p. 509. *Τι οὖν υμῶν ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ ἐς ὧς εἰπὼν ; ἀποτάσσομαι σοι.* Quid igitur unusquisque vestrum stans dicebat? Renuntio tibi, Satana, tibi, inquam, scelerato et sævissimo tyranno, &c. p. 513. *Πιστεῦω εἰς τὸν πατέρα, Καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱόν, Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, Καὶ εἰς ἐν Βαπτίσμα μίανοιαν.*

(2) Valesii Annot in Socrat. Lib. iv. Cap. x. . . . xxvi.

(3) Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xx. in Basil - - - Theodoret. Hist Eccl. Lib. iv. Cap. xix. Dum gravi morbo detineretur filius tyranni, rogabant sanctum hunc virum [Basilium] ut pro eo Deum deprecaretur. Cumque is hanc conditionem proponeret: si eum, inquit, mihi ita tradideris, ut eum ad immaculatam fidem traducam, et ab omni doctrinæ Arianæ impietate librem, curabo ego eum.

orthodox got into power, persecuted the Arians, blasted the reputation of Valens, gave out that he repented of his behaviour to Basil, chanted the praises of Basil, and, among other instances of his miraculous powers, set forth what Trinitarian baptism, accompanied by his prayers, would have done for Galates, if foolish Herod (so they called the late Emperor) had not prevented it. Basil died on the first day of the year three hundred and eighty, and in eighty one, the same year that Gregory delivered his oration on baptism, he pronounced the funeral oration of Basil. In this he informed the Constantinopolitans, that although Basil had left them, yet he had not altogether forsaken them; he lived in heaven offering sacrifices and prayers for them: and he often gave the orator friendly admonitions in visions of the night. The close of the oration is a prayer addressed to Basil (4). Whether any of these visions regarded the efficacy of Trinitarian baptism to infants, Gregory doth not say: but the writings of both these prelates put it out of all doubt, that the orthodox considered the taking possession of children by baptism as the most essential of all manœuvres in their spiritual warfare against Arianism. They hazarded nothing by affirming that infants dying without their baptism were not saved, for they could not be contradicted: and they gained much by the early baptism of such as grew up to manhood, for premature prejudices govern mankind more than deliberate disinterested reasoning. The gradation, or rather the degradation, is curious. The belief of the primitive Christians was reason yielding to evidence: this was succeeded by orthodox faith: faith by credulity: credulity by prepossession: prepossession by a charm: and on this they built a church, against which they flattered themselves, the gates of hell could never prevail.

The opinion of Gregory was only a theory, and a theory so opposite to popular practice, that nothing but a series of indefatigable efforts could give it effect. The Catholics have a proverb, that if Saint Benedict had never existed, Saint Peter might have gone a begging (5). And true it is, the church owes all it hath to the monks.

(4) Basil. Tom. i. Orat. xx. pag. 372.

(5) Caraccioli's *life of Pope Clement xiv.* (Ganganelli.) p. 114. Si Benedictus non fuisset, Petrus mendicasset.

The first monks saw clearly that children were the most ductile of all materials, and therefore the most proper beings to constitute such societies as they intended to form. Succeed they did, and to ascribe their success to miracles and extraordinary interpositions of Providence suited the ages in which they lived; but it is high time now to take off the mask, and to observe that there is nothing astonishing in the rapid increase of monachism, and the consequent universality of the church: it is nothing but a natural train of events. Monks got hold of children to baptize and to educate: all the rest followed of course. If Saint Austin, and a thousand Saints beside, said infant baptism was an apostolical tradition, it was as little as could be expected, and the wonder is, not that they affirmed this, but that they did not interpolate scripture to serve the hypothesis. Perhaps the true reason is, infant baptism was not thought of early enough.

In proof of the talents of the monks for the management of children, it may not be improper just to glance at the happy manner, in which they addressed themselves to profit by imperial and ecclesiastical infants. A single instance of each shall suffice.

Theodosius was succeeded in the empire of the East by his son Arcadius. He ascended the throne when he was about eighteen years of age, and his reign of a little more than thirteen years was distinguished by his own incapacity and effeminacy, and by the unpopular administration of mean, ignorant, and rapacious eunuchs (6). He married Eudoxia, who was superior to him in understanding, and who thoroughly knew how to gratify her passions, and to govern her lord by the beauty of her person, and the blandishments of her manners. The condition of the church was deplorable, and the amulet of Gregory Nazianzen had contributed nothing toward the reformation of it: on the contrary, it extended and increased the depravity, for the baptized infants had grown up to manhood, and had become civil and ecclesiastical rulers. Gregory, who had never sworn since he was baptized, was extremely shocked at the scandalous language, and the violent disputes of such bishops

(6) Claudian. Eutrop Tillemont. *Hist. des Empereurs.*

in councils and synods (7). He says, when he proposed mild and prudent measures, the young men fell a chattering like a flock of magpies, and carried away the old prelates with their jargon (8). He observes, that dignities in the church were acquired by crimes, and he could not tell whether the see of Constantinople were the seat of a tyrant, or the throne of a bishop (9). After the decease of Nectarius, the successor of Gregory, the eunuch Eutropius placed John Chrysostom on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. Chrysostom was an eloquent declaimer, a sour moralist, a patron of superstition, and a zealous partizan of ecclesiastical power. His fine talents, his solitary life, his generous distribution of the revenues of his see, his severe discipline among his clergy, and above all, his vehement and pointed sermons against vices of all kinds, especially those of the fair sex, raised him up innumerable enemies, at the head of whom was the Empress Eudoxia. While the languid Arcadius slept in the lap of luxury, under the mild absolute dominion of the beautiful and subtle Eudoxia, the eloquent archbishop was driven by her, as by a furious unrelenting storm, from the pulpit of St. Sophia, and the throne and dignity of Constantinople into poverty, disgrace, and exile (1).

While Chrysostom was under disgrace at court, and before he had quitted Constantinople, 4 foreigners of the province of Palestine waited on him: Porphyry, bishop of Gaza, John, archbishop of Cæsarea, and 2 of their deacons. After mutual compliments, Chrysostom inquired their business. They informed him, that the city of Gaza, which was on the border of the desert toward Egypt, was overrun with Paganism; there were eight temples of idols, and only one poor church, of which Porphyry was bishop: that Christians there were not permitted to hold civil offices, and the idolatrous magistrates oppressed them, insomuch that Porphyry quite disheartened had determined to quit his office, and had been prevented only by the advice of John of Cæsarea, to whom he had fled for counsel: that they had applied to his holiness some time ago to beg his assistance to suppress idolatry at Gaza, and to burn and utterly destroy the temples,

(7) Tom. ii. *De vita sua Carmina*.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Orat. xx. p. 335.

(1) Montfaucon. *Vit.* Chrysost.

and now they had made a voyage in confidence that he would procure them an effectual order from the Emperor for that purpose. Chrysostom recollected the affair, and with great affability exhorted them to hope for success. For his part, he could not speak to the Emperor, for Eudoxia had taken offence at his remonstrances against some of her acts of injustice, and had disaffected Arcadius towards him. There was, however, the chamberlain Amantius, a true servant of God, and the favourite eunuch of the Empress, who had great influence over her, and he would send for him, and commit the affair to his discretion. The travellers took their leave, and returned to their inn (2).

It doth not appear, that the four monks reminded Chrysostom, that the temple of Jupiter at Gaza was a building of such exquisite beauty that even Theodosius had only ordered it to be shut, and could not be prevailed on to destroy it: that the monks had provoked the inhabitants by alluring children and poor people into their community by false miracles: that the quarrel had been begun by the imprudence of a servant of Porphyry in collecting the meat that perisheth among the country people: that some time ago, Chrysostom had employed the most contemptible wretch alive, Eutropius the eunuch, who had all the power of the empire at his command, to procure an order from Arcadius to destroy the temple, that the edict was issued, and yet that it had no other effect than to cause the doors to be shut. Nor did they inform him of a recent adventure, which they had met with in the present voyage. They had landed at the Isle of Rhodes to pay their respects to an ancient monk named Procopius; a man who could cast out devils, and foretel future events. Him they had informed of the business of their voyage, and he had given them advice how to conduct themselves so as to succeed: not that he, a recluse, had received any information from man, but the Lord had revealed it to him. "First, said he, when you arrive at Constantinople, wait on the most holy archbishop John, and go to prayers with him, and afterward tell him your business. The Empress is just now offended with him, and he doth

not go to court : but he will recommend you to Amantius, who is the favourite eunuch with the Empress, and who is a man of piety, and holds priests in high estimation. He will introduce you to Eudoxia. When you are introduced, she will receive you graciously : do you briefly inform her of your whole business, wish her every felicity, and take your leave. The second time you are admitted into her presence, after you have repeated your business, say to her : We hope Christ the Son of God, if you condescend to interest yourself in our affair, will grant you a male child. This will give her a great deal of pleasure, for she is pregnant ; this is February, and she will lie-in in April. Here leave the business, and with the blessing of God the Empress will dispatch it entirely to your satisfaction." What Chrysostom told them seemed to confirm the prophecy of Procopius.

The monk who wrote this history, and who was present with his Lord at the interview with Procopius, hath forgotten one circumstance, which accounts for that pleasure, which the prophet foretold the Empress would discover on being informed that Christ and the bishops would interest themselves in the formation, the birth, and the future glory of the child. Eudoxia secretly despised her husband Arcadius, and bestowed her confidence on a Count John ; and the publick named John, and not the Emperor, the father of the child. Nothing was ever better imagined than this scheme of Procopius. It was an handsome proposal to wipe off all scandal, to maintain more than the legitimacy of the child, and to pledge the whole power of the clergy to support his title to empire. Could any thing be invented more likely to please Eudoxia ?

Next day the bishop of Gaza and his companions waited on the archbishop again. Amantius the eunuch was with him. He adored them, and they saluted him. Compliments over, the archbishop ordered Porphyry to relate his business to Amantius. He did so, and the eunuch wept and flattered, and promised to inform the Empress of the whole, and to introduce them into her presence the next day, when they might state the affair themselves. Amantius was prefect of the sacred bed-chamber, the first of the seven great officers of the palace.

At the appointed time Amantius dispatched two imperial officers to conduct the travellers to court. There they found him in waiting, and he instantly introduced the two bishops to the Empress. She was sitting on a golden sofa, and on their entrance, she said : Peace be to you, fathers. Then they adored her. Pardon me, said Eudoxia, ye priests of Christ, that my present state of pregnancy would not allow me to meet you, otherwise I ought to have met your holinesses in the vestibule : and pray to the Lord for me, that I may have a happy delivery. The prelates replied, May the God who blessed the womb of Sarah, Rebecca, and Elizabeth, bless and preserve the fruit of your womb ! The eunuch Amantius, added the Empress, hath informed me of your business, but if you choose to state it yourselves, do so. Having related the whole, the Empress told them she would use all her interest with the Emperor to engage him to grant their request, and she hoped in the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God she should succeed. Then she ordered money to be brought, and dismissed them with a handsome present, which they, too wise to carry it out of the precincts, distributed among the attendants in office as they passed along through the rooms and avenues of the palace.

As Amantius informed the bishops of every thing, they soon understood, that the Emperor was averse to the destruction of the temples at Gaza. He was willing to gratify Eudoxia by granting an edict to shut the temple of Jupiter, and to deprive the pagan part of the inhabitants of civil offices, and he thought these severities would detach them from idolatry : but the city afforded a large revenue to the crown, and measures too violent would depopulate the place, and diminish the wealth of the state. The Empress concealed her dissatisfaction, and next day sent for the two bishops. She informed them, that she had represented their affair to the Emperor, but he was not pleased ; however, she would take another opportunity, and perhaps she might succeed. Porphyry now recollected what the old monk had advised him to do, and feeling himself animated, fixed his eyes on the Empress, and said : Labour for Christ, and he will reward your labour with a son, whom you shall behold live and reign and prosper

for many years. The beautiful Eudoxia blushed and smiled, looked more lovely than usual, and replied : Pray to God, fathers, that we may bring forth a son, and if it come to pass, I promise you, your petition shall be granted, and more than you have asked, for with the help of Christ I will build a Christian temple in the centre of the city of Gaza. Depart in peace. Continue at Constantinople. Pray assiduously for my safe delivery, and soon after I will fulfil my promise. So saying, she dismissed them.

In due time the Empress was happily delivered of a son, whom they named Theodosius, and who the next year was solemnly invested with the imperial purple, and with the title of Emperor. As soon as the Empress recovered, she sent for the two bishops, and shewed them the child, and desired them to sign him with the benedictory cross, which they did. Then she asked : Fathers, can you guess what I intend to do ? Porphyry replied : Whatever you may have determined, it proceeds from God. Last night my littleness had a heavenly revelation in a vision. I thought I was at Gaza, standing in the area, called Marnia, the spot where the temple of Jupiter stands. I thought your piety presented me with the gospel, saying, take this, and read. I opened the book at the words of Christ to Peter ; Thou art Peter, and on *this* rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. You, Madam, replied, Peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. On this I awoke, persuaded that the Son of God will assist you to execute your design. But what, Madam, have you resolved to do ? The Empress answered : As soon as convenient the infant will be baptized. Mean time draw up your supplication and petition in it for whatever you please. When after the ceremony, the child is brought out of the baptistery, deliver the supplication to the person who carries him. I will instruct him what to do. The bishops uttering many benedictions, took their leave, and as the Empress had given them ample power, they did not fail to exercise their genius : they prepared their supplication in due form to request the young Emperor not only to rase and destroy the temples of idols at Gaza, but to grant privileges to the church and to Christians, and to

bestow endowments for a future revenue : for the church was poor.

When the day appointed for baptizing Theodosius came, which, it should seem, was about a year and a half after his birth, the pomp and the riches of the East seemed all collected at Constantinople. The splendor was beyond all power of description. The city was crowded with people from all parts. The decorations were superb. The white habits of attendants resembled a deep snow, and the torches in their hands twinkled like stars. The processions of the patricians, the nobles, the clergy, and the military orders, ornaments of white, blue, scarlet, and gold, enriched with embroidery and sparkling with jewels, all displayed the magnificence of the court, the loyalty of the empire, and the fervent piety of the church. The Emperor in sumptuous robes of purple, and with a countenance sparkling with hilarity, walked near the august infant, who was carried in a splendid vest in the arms of a nobleman. Porphyry and his attendants had placed themselves in the vestibule of the cathedral, and as the procession returned from the baptistery, they stepped forward, and exclaimed, We petition your piety ; stretching forth their hands with the supplication. The nobleman who carried the newly baptized Emperor, stood still, and ordered the petition to be given him. According to the private instructions of the Empress, he commanded silence. Then opening the scroll, he read a part, and thrusting up his hand behind, he made the child nod his head. Instantly he exclaimed : his puissance commands all things contained in the petition to be granted. The people shouted, the courtiers adored the Emperor Arcadius, and complimented him on his felicity. The news ran to the palace, and Eudoxia met the procession at the gate, took the child and kissed him, and then carried him in her arms to salute the Emperor, exclaiming, Happy are you, Sir, who have lived to see this day ! Arcadius intoxicated with pleasure discovered by his countenance, he was no longer master of himself. May it please you, said Eudoxia, to let us know the contents of this supplication, that orders may be given for the dispatch of it ? The Emperor commanded it to be read. After he had heard it, he said : This is a serious business : but our re-

fusal may be more serious, as this is the first act of the imperial authority of our son. Not only so, subjoined the Empress, but he gave his assent in this sacred habit, and it is a pious supplication, and was presented by holy bishops. Arcadius paused, and discovered some reluctance : but the Empress urged his compliance, he authenticated the act, and festivity crowned the day.

In several succeeding interviews with the two bishops Eudoxia took care of every thing. She sent for the quæstor, and ordered him in their presence to draw up the divine rescript as they should direct, and they suggested words which engaged all the power and wealth of the province to give it effect. They besought the Empress to appoint a special commissioner, one of the orthodox faith, to execute the edict with a military force under his command. The Empress ordered the cunuch Amantius to find such a person, and he soon presented to her a tool of the clergy named Cynegius, to whom she delivered the commission, with a sum of money, and an express charge to take nothing of the holy bishops, and to see all the idols subverted, and the temples burnt to the ground. The bishops having settled all their affairs much to their satisfaction, prepared to sail, and at their last audience, the Empress presented them both with large sums of money, rich vases, and other tokens of her liberality. To Porphyry she committed the care of building a Christian temple, where that of Jupiter stood, and a monastery adjacent for the entertainment of pilgrims : and she delivered to him such a sum as she supposed sufficient for the purpose, but with an express order to apply to her for more, if it should be found necessary. Lastly, they were permitted to take leave of the Emperor. Arcadius inquired, whether their business had been expedited to their satisfaction, and whether the Empress had made them any presents. They answered, their business had been expedited, through the pious favour of himself, his consort, and his son, whom they prayed God to preserve : and they had received noble presents. The Emperor then gave them a purse of money to bear their charges, and an order on the prefecture of the province of Palestine for twenty pounds of gold. Thus they departed, loaded with riches and honours, graced with imperial favour, guarded by troops of the empire, and dignified

with the characters of prophets inspired by Almighty God, and all at the easy price of playing one trick at baptism with an infant in arms.

When the holy jugglers disembarked at Maiuma on the coast of Gaza, they gave out that they had narrowly escaped shipwreck. Happily in a violent storm, Lord Porphyry had a vision, in which Procopius the hermit appeared to him, and informed him that the captain was an Arian. He awoke, went to the captain, and besought him to abjure his heresy for the benefit of the company. He did so. There was no time to lose : he said, I believe as you believe : I renounce the heresy of Arius : when we are at leisure, you will be so good as to enlighten me in the true faith according to scripture(3). Suddenly, the storm subsided. The sea was calm. A fair gentle breeze sprung up. Five days after the vessel arrived in port.

Little do writers in favour of infant baptism attend to the subject in its true point of light. This may be said without arrogance. They observe the popularity of it. They collect a few detached passages of scripture, which some of the fathers have given out as ostensible reasons for it. They give these writers full credit for integrity, and they suppose whole nations embraced it, because they were convinced by scripture it was a divine appointment. As if whole nations acted from conviction : a case never heard of since the world began ! The most zealous partizans of infant baptism must allow, that if the doctrine be divine, it is, however, a popular error in regard to the bulk of those who reduce it to practice. There is great reason to doubt, whether the great vulgar, who introduced it, acted from conviction : and whether the whole secret did not lie in the infinite use of children both to the gentry and the clergy. Let one example of each suffice in regard to ecclesiastical children.

Saint Porphyry, bishop of Gaza, the artist just now mentioned, was a native of Thessalonica. In his youth he went into Egypt, and became a monk. After five years tuition, he removed into Palestine,

(3) Ecce dico vobis, credo ut creditis : Abnego hæresim Arii. Rogo autem vos ut per otium me ex sanctis scripturis illuminetis in recta fide.

and spent five years more in wandering from monastery to monastery for the sake of perfecting himself in all the lore of monachism. At length he went to Jerusalem, and Cyril made him a priest, and gave him the lucrative office of keeper of the most sacred cross. This was one of the most gainful offices then in the church. The real cross, on which Jesus suffered, it was pretended, was dug out of the earth three hundred years after his death. The custody of it was committed to the bishop of Jerusalem. Every Easter-Sunday it was exposed to view, and pilgrims from all countries were indulged with little pieces of it enchased in gold or gems. What was most astonishing, the sacred wood was never lessened, although it was perpetually diminished, for it possessed a secret power of vegetation (4). Here Porphyry improved his talents, and became famous for a gift of prophecy, a power of working miracles, and a deep insight into the things of God, of which he was a voluble talker. These are the *utilia animæ* so often mentioned as the subjects of his conversation in his history. Being admonished by the Lord, he quitted the custody of the cross, and was ordained a bishop, and stationed at Gaza. A few monks had long found harbour there, and had fixed their eyes on the temple for a cathedral; but they were few, and poor, and made no figure till they obtained the late master of Saint Cross to reside there in character of bishop of Gaza. It happened soon after his arrival, there was a long drought, and the citizens sacrificed to their principal god, *Jupiter Pluvius*, in hopes of obtaining rain. Porphyry collected all the souls of his bishoprick, men, women, and children, about two hundred and eighty, and went out of the city in procession to a little place of worship in the suburbs, singing and making genuflexions, in order to obtain rain of Christ. Not being returned, late in the evening, the magistrates (prudently for fear of a riot, it should seem) ordered the gates to be shut. Two hours the people of God knocked, and wept, and prayed; but no admission could they obtain. Presently the south wind blew: the clouds

(4) Tillemont *Mem. Eccles.* Tom. vii.——Cyrilli *Epist. ad Constant.*

came rolling along: the lightning flashed, and the thunder roared: the darkness was thick, and the rain came pouring down, not in drops but sheets of water. The mob within, in mercy opened the gate: a shout was set up, *Christ alone is God, Christ alone is conqueror*. Porphyry did not miss his opportunity; he observed who exclaimed, and signed them with the sign of the cross: and when he came to register his captives, he found he had caught one hundred and twenty-seven men, thirty-five women, and fourteen infants, five of whom were females. So obstinate, however, was the incredulity of the citizens, that they derided Porphyry, despised his miracles, attributed the shower to Jove, and not to Jesus, and blasted all his hopes of erecting his cross in the beautiful Marnean temple. Himself seems to have despaired of success, when he fled to Cæsarea for advice, and probably, had it not been for his fortunate interview with Procopius in the Isle of Rhodes, Porphyry had never been *lord* bishop of the *city* of Gaza.

Porphyry, at his return from court, found his flock reduced to thirty-nine. This did not dispirit him, for about ten days after, Cynegius, the imperial commissioner arrived at Gaza, attended by a great retinue of officers, civil and military, and some regiments of soldiers. The principal inhabitants, aware of their business, retired into the country. The commissioner summoned the citizens to assemble the next day to hear the imperial rescript, and such as remained obeyed the summons: and in the presence of a duke and a consular he opened his commission, and read the edict, which the quæstor had drawn up at the direction of Porphyry. When the assembly heard that all their images were ordered to be subverted, and all their temples to be burnt to the ground, they set up a hideous outcry, for their statues and chapels were innumerable, the temples of the Sun, of Venus, of Apollo, of Proserpine, and the rest, were all splendid, but that of Marnean Jove was of such exquisite magnificence and beauty, that all former Christian Emperors had spared it. The tears of the citizens were signals to plunder, and while some of them were chastised with corporeal punishment, the soldiery flew to the temples, and spread terror through all the city. Before they arrived at the Marnean temple, they

found the Pagan priests and many inhabitants had fled thither. Some carried away sacred statues and rich sacrificial utensils by private passages to hide. Others barricadoed the inner gates and doors, and prepared for defence. The city was in an uproar. The soldiers were repulsed, and, having plenty of prey elsewhere in prospect, they proceeded to other temples and chapels both in town and country. None but soldiers and strangers were allowed to possess themselves of the gold or silver, statues or vases, ornaments or utensils of idolatry : and they were glutted with the spoil. Ten days they spent in piously sacking the city and the suburbs, and so long the inhabitants kept possession of the Marnean edifice.

Opinions were much divided on the measures proper to be taken with the Marnean, the last monument of the Pagan magnificence of Gaza. Some said undermine it by digging, and throw it into ruins. Others advised, set it on fire, and burn it to the ground. Some proposed, let it be purified, and consecrated to the service of God. Porphyry exhorted them to spend a day in fasting and prayer to implore God to reveal what they ought to do. In the evening of the fast day, the eleventh from the beginning of the destruction, a sacred consistory was held in the church. All on a sudden a little boy of seven years of age, standing by the side of his mother, elevated his voice, and in the Syriack language, which was the vulgar tongue at Gaza, exclaimed : “ Burn the inner temple to the ground ; for many grievous crimes are committed there : and there they offer human sacrifices. In this manner shall ye burn it. Take melted pitch, brimstone, and the fat of swine ; mix the three together, and well besmear the brazen doors. Then set fire to it, and the whole will be consumed : it can be done no otherwise. The exterior buildings, and the whole surrounding wall leave standing. After the inner temple is all burnt, purify the area, and build a sacred temple on the spot. I conjure you in the presence of God punctually to follow this direction, and no other whatever. It is not I that speak, it is Christ that speaketh in me.” Bishop Porphyry was struck with astonishment, and spreading out his hands toward heaven, he exclaimed “ I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth,

because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes :” however, being a great enemy to fraud, he sent for the woman, and in presence of his clergy said : “ Woman, I adjure you, by the Son of the living God, tell us, whether by any suggestion of yours, or of any other person, to the best of your knowledge, your son uttered what he said concerning the Marnean temple.” The woman replied : “ May I be punished at the terrible and tremendous tribunal of Christ if I knew any thing of what my child just now uttered. If you doubt me, take the child, and examine him with threats. If he have been taught, fear will make him confess. If he confess nothing, it will clearly appear, he was inspired by the Holy Ghost.” The bishop ordered the woman to withdraw, and the child to be brought in. The boy was fetched. Porphyry asked : “ who put into your head what you said in the church to day about Jupiter.” The child made no answer. Fetch a rod, said his lordship. A rod was brought. Porphyry took it, and shaking it at him, and raising his voice, he said : “ Who bade you speak ? Tell me, or you shall be whipped.” The boy stood mute. Then the clergy tried by threatenings to make him speak. In vain. He was immoveable. At length the weary company paused : when lo ! the child lifted up his voice, and in the Greek language said : “ Burn the inner temple to the ground ; for many grievous crimes are committed there, and there they offer human sacrifices. In this manner shall ye burn it. Take melted pitch, and brimstone, and the fat of swine. Mix the three together, and well besmear” - - - and so on to the end of his oration, word for word, in Greek. Porphyry and all the company were thunderstruck. He ordered the mother to be called in, and inquired whether she or her son understood Greek. She by a solemn oath protested, that neither of them knew any thing of the Greek language. So the company were convinced, it was the voice of God. Porphyry then made the woman a small present of money, which she accepted : but, as soon as the child spied the pieces in her hand, he exclaimed in Syriack : “ Mother, take nothing, lest you should sell the gift of God for money.” The bishop and the priests were amazed. The woman returned

the money, saying, "Pray for me and my child, and commend us to God." Porphyry ordered them to depart in peace.

Next morning the temple was set on fire. It continued burning many days. The soldiers carried off an immense booty of gold, silver, lead, and various materials of value. Cynegius, when he had executed his commission, took his leave, and left soldiers to take care of the peace of the city. Cynegius was afterward preferred at court. In due time Porphyry erected the new temple. The first year he admitted three hundred members. Some of the faithful told his lordship, he ought not to admit such as turned Christians through fear; but he replied, the Lord often whips men into repentance, *to him that knocketh, it shall be opened; every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, I rejoyce, yea, and will rejoyce.* So fell one of the most magnificent temples of the East, and such was the foundation of the holy Catholick church at Gaza. Little did the Ethiopian Eunuch think of such events, when Philip baptized him on the road from Jerusalem to this city.

Cardinal Baronius observes upon this history, that "God for the greater glory of Christ reserved this complete victory over the haughty demon of Gaza for two little boys. That glorious temple, which so many preceding Christian Emperors had spared: that temple, which so many governors of the province had never dared to destroy, and seldom to shut: that temple, which had defied the prayers and tears and miracles of so many holy bishops and martyrs, that superb edifice was doomed to destruction by the nod of one infant, and set in flames by the oration of another. Before Theodosius knew how to say, my father, he was honoured of God to nod assent, and a little boy inspired by an afflatus of the Holy Ghost pronounced the sentence of conflagration. Thus God fulfilled his promise, and *out of the mouths of babes and sucklings perfected praise.*" Some Protestants make very different reflections on these affairs. They say: Let us cease to torture the New Testament for proof of infant baptism. Let us examine the men that practised it. Let us recollect how essential to their schemes it was for them to fill the world with exclamations of, Suffer little children to

come unto us, and forbid them not. Let us feel the force of one interrogation of scripture in the lips of Porphyry, in the ears of mercenary eunuchs, and monks, and in the presence of Theodosius, and the little orator of Gaza, *Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?*

Baptism is one of the most curious and complicated subjects of ecclesiastical history. Among men who stepped off the ground of scripture, and laid another foundation, it was variable as the wind, and in every province practised for a different reason. At Alexandria inserted into rules of academical education : at Jerusalem administered to promiscuous Catechumens : in the deserts of Egypt united to monastical tuition : in Cappadocia applied as an amulet to entitle the dying to heaven : at Constantinople accommodated to the intrigues of the court : in all places given to children extraordinarily inspired : and in the end by an African genius affixed to the supposed universal depravity of human *nature*, and so reduced to an ordinary universal practice. Porphyry of Gaza, it should seem, ranks with the administrators of baptism in extraordinary cases. He was one of the bishops of the memorable council of Diospolis, which acquitted Pelagius of heresy, after Austin had condemned him for it (5). One of his tenets was, that infants were born in the same condition that Adam was before the fall, and another that baptism was not necessary to the salvation of infants. Catholicks affirm, that Pelagius deceived the council at Diospolis : but it is not worth a Protestant dispute, especially on baptism, for the fact is, children, guilty or innocent, ordinary or extraordinary, were so absolutely necessary to ecclesiasticks, that they were obliged to have them at all adventures. With an imperial child ecclesiasticks subdued cities, with noble children monks built and endowed monasteries, with poor children (as Basil observes) the clergy formed choirs, and, in fine, of children necessity compelled them to form the whole Catholick church.

There is no new thing under the sun. Such was the condition of irrational religion in Greece, that when the

(5) Concil. *Diospolitanum*, An. 415. S. Binii *Not.*

first orator of Greece, when Basil the great, Basil the Christian Demosthenes, preached and prayed, in times of drought and famine, too, the men pursued business, the women served mammon, the few that attended the service stared and yawned, and felt no energy till the last canticle was sung, which they understood as a signal to knock off their chains, and open the doors of their prison. Infants only enjoyed the service, for they laid by their books, and ran from school to church for a holiday. In vain the pious episcopal Demosthenes thundered, Dismiss the infants to play. The united voices of church polity and pleasure exclaimed, Suffer little children to come unto us, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.



CHAP. XXV.

THE FIRST ECCLESIASTICAL CANON IN EUROPE FOR THE BAPTISM OF BABES.

THE Catholick church of Spain continued till the eighth century a national hierarchy of itself absolutely independent of all foreign jurisdiction, and as the clergy admitted no foreign law, so neither did they pretend to give any to any other nation. Within three hundred and seventy years they held forty ecclesiastical synods, but all the canons are regulations for their own internal government. Since the bishop of Rome obtained supremacy over that kingdom, he hath inserted into his code of universal law the ancient councils of Spain; and even Protestants have condescended to quote one of the year five hundred and seventeen, to help the cause of modern infant baptism, which is no law, but rather a license to baptize babes in certain cases therein mentioned; for the monks in Catalonia, who framed the canon, had then no compulsive power over any one. Vossius was a very learned man, and by quoting this council in his Thesis on Baptism, he hath led many Protestants to believe, that the practice of infant baptism was observed all over the Christian world at this early period; but a little examination reduces this mighty imagination to its true size, and shews the record to be a very suspicious monument, not well able to authenti-

cate truth of fact, and by no means equal to law, or convincing to reason and good sense, and rather dis-serving than proving the history of the antiquity and universality of such a practice as that of baptizing young infants.

There is no trace of the baptism of babes among the Spanish Catholicks till the year five hundred and seventeen. In this year, it is said, seven bishops met at Girona, a city in Catalonia in Spain, and framed and subscribed ten rules of discipline (1). The fourth is an agreement to baptize Catechumens only at Easter and Pentecost, except in case of sickness. In the fifth the seven subscribers agree, in case infants were ill, and would not suck their mother's milk, if they were offered, to baptize them, even though it were the day they were born.

As this is the first regulation of the baptism of babes that was made in Europe, it may not be improper apart to examine the legislators, the law itself, and the probable extent of it.

The legislators were seven (2). The first was John, bishop at Tarraco, or Tarragona, an old Roman town in Catalonia on the sea coast (3). The second was Frontinianus, bishop at Girona, a town in the same province on the river Ter, not far from the coast. The third was Paul, bishop at Ampurias, a small market town near Girona in the same province on the coast, toward the Pyrenees. The fourth was Agritius of Barcelona. The fifth is unknown. The sixth was Hebridius of Egara, a small Roman station near Barcelona, in a remarkable valley. Egara is now called Tarassa, and the ruins of an old church remain. The last is Orontius of Eliberis, but whether this were Elvire near Grenada, or Lerida, or an obscure place among the Pyrenean rocks, the Spaniards themselves cannot tell (4). Some of the places, and all the men are so obscure, that little more than their names are known. There are, however, four remarks, which may seem not impertinent.

(1) Concil. Gerund.

(2) Concil. Gerundense. Garsia a Loaisa *Notæ in Concil. Hispan.*

(3) Petri De Marca, *Archiepisc. Parisiensis. Marca Hispanica. Descript. Geograph.*

(4) Loaisa *ubi sup.*

First, it is observable, that this meeting was irregular and partial. It was not a general council, for bishops of all countries assembled in them. It was not a national council, for bishops of all diocesses in a kingdom, or their delegates assembled there. It was not a provincial council; some say, a part of these bishops were suffragans of the archbishop of Narbonne, and belonged to the province of Narbonensian Gaul; others suppose Orontius was bishop of Eliberis in Bœtica, and all affirm that there were several other bishops in Catalonia suffragans to Tarragona, who were not present(5). Nebridius of Egara had three brothers bishops, Justinian of Valentia, Justus of Urgel in Catalonia, and Elpidius, of some other place not known, yet not one of them was present(6). Hence arises a natural observation, that the first European rule for infant baptism was made at an irregular meeting by seven obscure men of different provinces, and without the knowledge or countenance of their superior neighbouring bishops in the province where they met.

Secondly, As Catalonia was at this time inhabited by a great variety of different tribes, so there is no class to which the description of these men agrees, except that of vagabond priests to some Roman colonists, and the probability is, for a reason which will be mentioned presently, that they or their ancestors had come from some station on the opposite coast of Africa (7). It should seem they were a low, illiterate, mongrel sort of African Jewish Christians. Christians they professed themselves. Their Judaism appears by the canons of this council, in which they regulated the feasts of the Passover and Pentecost, and the keeping of the Sabbath (8). That they were of the African kind is probable from their corresponding with the bishop of Carthage, from their consulting him on articles of faith, from their calling him pope, and from the presence of Hector, bishop of Carthage, who was in person at a council held at Tarragona four years before this of Girona (9). They

(5) *Cod. Mss. bibliothecæ regie S. Laurentii apud Loaisam.*

(6) D. Nicolai Antonii. *Bibliot. Hispana vetus.* Lib. iv. Cap. i. 7. *de quatuor fratribus episcopis, Elpidio, Justo, Nebridio, et Justiniana.*

(7) *Marca passim* - - - *Hispan. Illust. passim.*

(8) *Can. ii. iii. iv.*

(9) *Maximi Cæsar-augustani Episc. Chronicon. inter. fragmenta chronic.* apud Nic. Anton. *Bibliot. Hispan. vet. ut sup.* Tom. ii. Edit. Joseph. Saenz Card. de Aguirre *Rome, 1696, An. 513.*

are called mongrel, or mixed, because some of them, two at least, are found in other Roman councils. That they were illiterate all the canons sufficiently declare; but one may serve for an example. Thus canon vi. De conversione [*conversatione*] vitæ id statuere placuit a pontifice usque ad subdiaconum [*subdiaconatum*] post suscepti honoris officium, si qui [*quis*] ex conjunctis [*conjugatis*] fuerint [*fuerit*] ordinati [*ordinatus*] ut sine conjugate habitent [*ut semper alterius fratris*] quod si habitare noluerint, alterius fratris utatur auxilio, cujus testimonio vita ejus debeat clarior apparere." This is a droll article, and canonists may take which of the two copies they please, either will afford proof that the compilers were low men not used to legislation. They could write their names, which was something considerable in their time and their circle: but what they meant by subscribing John, Agritius, and the rest, bishops *in the name of Christ*, it is difficult to say. Perhaps they did not write so, for some copies omit this. Perhaps, also, they did write so purposely to express by whose authority they supposed they acted. Having no earthly authority to hold a council, it was necessary to pretend a divine right. Nothing is more common among enthusiasts.

Some of the members of this council were authors (1). Nebridius wrote something, which is lost. Orontius wrote some verses, which have no merit (2). Justinian, one of the brothers of Nebridius, wrote a book against the Bonosians in proof of the divinity of Christ, which they denied, and against Anabaptism, which they practised. Justus, another brother, wrote a comment on Solomon's song, a very mean performance (3). His exposition of two verses refers to the Bonosians. *Why should I be as one that turneth aside by the flocks of thy companions?* These flocks that turn aside are congregations of hereticks, who are called companions because they acknowledge the birth, the crucifixion, and the resurrection of Christ. *As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.* Hereticks are called daughters

(1) Isidori *Hispal. De Claris scriptoribus*.

(2) Orentii *Commonitorium fidelibus metro heroico. Bibliot. patr. Tom. viii.*

(3) D. Justi *Orgellitaneæ episc. in Cantica Canticor. Explicatio. Bib. patr. Tom. i.*

because they are as it were born again by baptism, but they are compared to thorns because they hold corrupt doctrine. The writer says toward the close, that if Christ should please to illuminate the reader, he would perceive the song was properly expounded. No doubt. Mean time, without divine illumination the reader may observe, that the institutors of infant baptism in Spain were an illiterate party of low enthusiasts, who took their religion from Africa, and not from the holy scriptures, or rather from detached sentences of scripture, which the Carthaginians taught them to put together, by way of forming apologies for their precipitance and ignorance.

Having observed the number and the qualifications of the *fathers* of Girona, it may not be improper, thirdly, to remark their authority. When the council met, the country was under the government of the Arian Wisi-Goths. Some say it was held while Amalarick the king was a minor under the guardianship of his grandfather Theodorick, king of the Ostrogoths: other chronologists place it several years later under Theudis, not during his lieutenancy, but while he was king. The year is immaterial (4). In either case, it was during the Arian Wisi-Gothick government. The council was not held by commission from the crown, consequently it was no more supported by secular power than an agreement between seven Jews would have been, had they met and resolved to circumcise all the children that should be brought to them. It was not summoned by any authority from the pope: neither was he present, nor any delegate: nor was he informed of it: nor was it sent to him for his approbation: of course, therefore, it had no authority over Roman Catholicks. It was not convened by any eastern patriarch, or by the bishop of Carthage, and consequently none of them paid any regard to it. Either these men had no superiors, or they acted without their order, for any thing that appears; and in any case it is a legislative power unknown to the constitution of every Catholick church, Eastern, African, or Roman, and totally abhorrent from the constitution of free churches, where the people make rules of action, and not seven priests for seven corporate bodies. In brief,

(4) N. Antonii *Bibl. vet. Hisp.* Tom. i. Lib. iv. Cap. ii.

it is extremely credible, that this was a little, obscure, unconnected party, about the sea ports of Catalonia, who were endeavouring to unite themselves with the church at Carthage, by means of one of their members, their *most sweet brother Numinian*, probably an African of Numidia, and a seafaring man. There was a regular council held at Toledo by the Spanish Roman Catholicks in the reign of this king Amalarick, in which they entered it in their records, that they gave thanks first to God, and then to the king, praying the Lord to bless him, because during all his reign he had granted them liberty to hold councils, and regulate their own religious affairs (5). This Arian prince might have said to them with a good grace, *go ye, and do likewise*.

Finally, it doth not appear, that these honest men intended to make rules for any but themselves, and, clear enough it is that they, who quote this council as any authority to baptize natural infants, have not well considered the matter. Quoted as an early authority it hath been by a great number of disputants. Protestants, who disallow the authority of general councils, can it be once imagined, that they will pay any regard to this, which is defective in every thing essential to a council of any kind?

A moment's attention, in the next place, is due to the canon itself. It lies before an examiner in three different points of light: as an historical fact: as a rule of action, and as a rule reducible to practice. The first inquiry is, whether it be a true fact, that seven bishops at the time and place mentioned did hold a council, and frame ten canons, the fifth of which instituted the baptism of infants of a day old. This doth not appear a very credible fact for several reasons. First, Catalonia was for many centuries after this, disputed property, a seat of perpetual war, now in the hands of natives and colonists, then of the Goths, next of the Saracens, then of the Franks, next of the Spanish Goths, ever changing its masters, and ever exhibiting the ravages and devastations of war (6). Inhabitants fled, their houses were burnt, their churches and monasteries rased to the foundations, districts marked out anew, under new governors, old bishopricks

(5) Concil. Tolet. ii.

(6) *Hispan. illust. passim*, ---P. De Marca. ---Aguirre *concil.*

grown over with thorns and thickets, new ones founded, now under a metropolitan in Gaul, then independent, then reunited to day to this prelate, and to morrow to that. The best Spanish historians complain of the total destruction of records and the want of genuine archives of those times, and, if such a writer as Zurita, the glory of his country, acknowledges this of the seventh and eighth centuries, is it likely that this little scrap of paper of the sixth century, which could not be regularly registered in any publick office either of church or state, is it likely that this is authentick (7)?

Further, it doth not appear, by any authentick lists of books, which were preserved in the churches and monasteries of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, centuries, that councils made any part of their collections. There is in the testament of Saint Gennadius, bishop of Asturias, a donation of a whole library of books of two sorts : the one ecclesiastical, containing rituals ; the other monastical, for the use of the clergy of the diocese, consisting of monastical rules of living, some of the works of Pope Gregory, some of the epistles of Jerom, and the writings of two or three more such men, but no books of councils (8). This is dated nine hundred and fifteen, and the general library, like all others in the same parts of those times, was perfectly fitted to the owners, who were an illiterate, confident, apostate sort of Christian monks. This curious will begins thus. "To the most holy, most glorious lords triumphant, under God, my most mighty patrons, to the turnkey of heaven, constituted chief of apostleship, the most choice Peter, to the most gracious Andrew his associate in the same calling, to James the most renowned in Iberia, and to the hero Thomas, followers of Christ, and martyrs for him, apostles known to God from the foundation of the world. I, your humble client, Gennadius, poor in merits, abundant in sins, an unworthy bishop, most surely believe, most firmly hold, and undoubtingly know, that you, O most pious and powerful patrons, at one word of the Lord that called you immediately left the world, and all things in it - - - When you and all

(7) Geron. Zuritæ *Anales de la corona de Aragon*. Tom. i. Lib. i. Cap. i.

(8) Aguirre Tom. iii. pag. 172. *Testamentum S. Gennadii Episcopi Asturicensis*, Valde notandum. An. DCCCXV.

other saints shall sit upon thrones judging. I beseech you entreat the king for me, that mercy may triumph over justice, and may transfer me from the goats on the left hand to the sheep on the right." It is very truly observed, by the best judges in Spain, that while literature flourished there among Moors and Jews, a light to lighten all Europe, it was gross midnight darkness in all the Catholick states of Spain ; and there was no appearance of learning among them till the close of the thirteenth century, and it made no progress till about the time of Cardinal Ximenes, in the fifteenth century. Indeed, the collectors of councils pretend that the church of Lugo in Gallicia preserved records of councils from the year five hundred sixty-nine : but this is far from being credible to criticks, and the corrupt state of the Spanish councils is acknowledged by all the world (9). Cardinal de Aguirre gives up twenty as wholly spurious, or if really held, of no authority, and had his Eminence added that of Girona as a twenty-first, he would not have been guilty of any wrong, for the same reasons weigh against this as against them (1).

On supposition the council of Girona were really held, the question would naturally rise, whether the canons were law ? Certainly they were not, either laws of the state, or of the whole church, or of any province, or of any individuals ; and they ought to be considered merely in the light of resolutions, exactly like those, which are made at a club, or a coffee-house in England. As the council-books now read, the affair looks plausible, but on examination all evaporates into air. The books say, John the first subscriber was a metropolitan : but this is no part of the original ; this is a conjectural note of Garsias. The books give the signature thus : I John, bishop in the name of Christ, subscribe : but the same books in the margin inform the reader, that other copies omit the words, I, bishop in the name of Christ subscribe, and give as the signature, John, without any addition. There were more than a thousand different Johns, who signed councils, and some of them signed sev-

(9) Dr. Mich. Geddes *Miscel.* vol ii.

(1) Aguirre. Tom. ii. Dissert. iii. *Excurs vi Indiculus Chronologicus conciliorum Hispaniæ, quæ primis quatuor sæculis eræ Christianæ celebrata dicuntur in novis pseudo-chronicis* N. 71.

eral (2). Is it very easy in this multitude to determine who the John of Girona was? If the name were abbreviated, and nothing is more frequent in manuscripts, the difficulties multiply with the names, and the abbreviation may stand for John, Joachim, Jonas, Jordanus, Jocundus, Jobianus, Immo, Innocent, Ingenius, Imbertus, Humbertus, and many more. This will not appear visionary to any man, who casts an eye on an abbreviated manuscript. To what a miserable state doth Catholick religion reduce mankind, when it obliges them to acknowledge as a part of religion the validity of such deeds as this!

This canon is yet considerable, in a third point of light, as a rule reducible to practice. Here a new set of difficulties start up, and present themselves; for a conscientious man, who holds himself bound by a law, must think it of consequence to understand the precept; otherwise how can he reduce it to practice? The difficulties of this law proceed from *one* word, in the fifth canon, which will be mentioned presently. The fourth and fifth read thus.

Canon iv. Concerning the baptism of Catechumens it is ordained, that on the solemn festivals of the Passover, and Pentecost, [*and on the birth-day of Christ*] by how much the more solemn these festivals are, by so much the more proper it is that they come to be baptized: on other festivals only the sick ought to be baptized: it is agreed not to deny baptism to them at any time.

Canon v. But concerning little ones, lately born, it pleaseth us to appoint, that if, as is usual, they be infirm, and do not suck their mother's milk, even on the same day on which they are born (if they be offered) [*if they be brought*] they may be baptized (3).

(2) Labbei Concil. Apparatus. Tom. xvi. Index Episcoporum et aliorum qui conciliis interfuerunt.

(3) De Parvulis vero, qui nuper [*E*] materno utero editi sunt, placuit constitui, ut si infirmi (ut adsolet) fuerint, et lac maternum non appetunt, etiam eadem die qua nati sunt (si obliti [*allati, Exc. et Ivo.*] fuerint) baptizentur.

The words in Italicks are in some copies, and not in others, and they are generally omitted in the printed council-books. There is no difficulty in the fourth canon, for the sense clearly is, that Catechumens in health were to be baptized at Easter and Whitsuntide, and some copies say Christmas : and that sick Catechumens might be baptized at any time as the danger of their case required. The fifth canon is partly clear ; it regards natural infants, and it appoints the administration of baptism to them on two conditions : the one that they were infirm, and it was agreed to take their refusal of the breast as proof : and the other, that they were - - - here lies the difficulty, one copy says, *ALLATI brought* ; the other says *OBLATI offered*. Let the critick choose which reading he pleases, one observation is clear, that it was not the practice of the framers of this canon to baptize infants in health, or by compulsion ; for sickness and a requisition to baptize were the only titles to baptism under this canon. This council, then, proves against infant baptism : first, that in the year five hundred and seventeen it *was not* the custom in Catalonia to baptize healthful children ; and next, that it *had not been* the custom to baptize even sickly children. If the word *offered* be the true reading, then it follows that these were seven monks, and that the oblation of children to infant-monachism was precisely what the canon had in view. This is the most probable of all conjectures ; and if it were of any consequence to Protestants, it might be supported by a great variety of proof taken from monastical history in general, and the state of this country and these men in particular.

On the whole then (to dismiss this dry subject) it is extremely doubtful whether such an assembly as that at Girona were ever held : if it were, it should seem, it was not properly a council of bishops, but a convention of seven monks : the canons seem not intended for law of the province, much less for a rule of the whole church, and they actually had no extent except over the conventual churches of this party, who appear to have been not Roman, but African Catholics : and the whole, far from serving the practice of infant-baptism, tends to prove that for more than the first five centuries

infant-baptism had not been practised in Europe even by the lowest and most illiterate Christians, and that it was not appointed to be practised in future, except in the case of imminent danger of death : and it hath nothing to do with sprinkling, which was totally unknown for ages after this.

These seven wise men of Catalonia do not seem, though they lived near the coast of Africa, and though they corresponded with and were visited by the bishop of Carthage, a successor of Cyprian, to have known any thing of Cyprian's letter to Fidus, or of Augustine's council of Mela, otherwise their canon would have been quite needless, which forms a strong presumption, either that both are forgeries of later ages, or that being attended with no effects, they had fallen into general oblivion ; and certainly it proves that they had not the force of law in Spain.

They, who suspect that these sordid churchmen traded in the salvation* of sickly infants, for which purpose they frightened timorous mothers into the baptism of them, and that all their rules of baptizing babes proceeded not from benevolence to mankind, but were mere local expedients to get money of their ignorant neighbours, will be justified by observing, that the next time the case appears, is in a canon of a council at Braga, in Portugal, about fifty-five years after this at Girona, in which the priests are forbidden to extort money from the poor for baptizing their infants, which practice it seems had occasioned delays till the souls of the infants had been lost (4). A most uncomfortable religion, and highly derogatory from the glory of the attributes of Almighty God ! It is utterly incredible, that the everlasting state of an infant should be left to fluctuate on such precarious ground : and in the present case it looks as if these counsellors at Girona were seven poor starved African monks, totally destitute of education and patronage, contriving to pick up a few pence to procure a scanty supply of the necessaries of life. And this is *CONCILIUM GERUNDENSE*, quoted with so much parade by Vossius and other learned men, as an authority to baptize babes !

(4) Concil. Bracarense iii. An. 572 .

CHAP. XXVI.

OF THE FIRST LAW IN EUROPE FOR BAPTIZING BABES, AN.
789, AND THE EFFECT OF IT.

WHATEVER Cyprian and Augustine might intend, the one by advising and the other by ordering Christians to baptize babes, or however such a practice might lurk in a few obscure places among monks of no account, it made no observable progress till an event fell out in the eighth century, which gave it authority, and credit for its great usefulness to despotical princes. In the eighth century Pepin, the prosperous usurper of the throne of France, died, and was succeeded by his son Charlemagne, who was first king of France, and afterwards emperor of the West, an unjust, debauched, and bloody man. It was the policy of Pepin to keep his troop employed in foreign wars, lest they should engage in any attempts at home to restore the dethroned royal family, and Charlemagne placed his glory in securing the unjust power usurped by his father, and in completing and extending his conquests. For these purposes chiefly they carried on a war of thirty years against the Saxons.

The Saxons, at that time Pagans, inhabited a great part of Germany, of which, two circles yet bear their name. They were a brave nation, and were passionately fond of freedom. They had in times of peace no princes, but in times of war they created dukes to conduct their armies; and at this time they were under the government of the celebrated Widekind, a skilful and intrepid general, the remote ancestor of the present royal family of England.

Charlemagne was resolved either to subdue the Saxons, or utterly to exterminate the whole nation; but he could not for a long time effect his purpose, for the brave Widekind always found resources, and defeated his designs. In the end his imperial majesty hit on a method, which disheartened Widekind, by detaching the people from him, and which completely put an end to the war by subduing all the nation to the imperial yoke of bondage (1). This was by reducing the whole nation to the dreadful alternative, either of being assassinated by the troops, or of accepting life on condition of professing

(1) Alberti Cransii *Saxonia Coloniae* 1574.

themselves Christians by being baptized, and the severe laws yet stand in the capitularies of this monarch, by which they were obliged on pain of death to be baptized themselves, and of heavy fines to baptize their children within the year of their birth (2). Widekind, a long while resolutely refused to comply, for his soul was too elevated tamely to accept a religion, which obliged him to resign his darling freedom, and to act the part of a tyrant to his own children ; but in the end he was forced reluctantly to yield to superior force. In this unjust and savage manner did Charlemagne subdue the Saxons, the Frisians, and the Huns, to the profession of the Christian religion.

His imperial majesty conducted the affair with much political circumspection. He consulted all the eminent prelates of the age, and his chief adviser was the celebrated Alwin, an Anglo-Saxon, abbot of Canterbury. Him he sent for out of England, and added to his other preferments the government of three rich abbies, St. Lupus, St. Jodocus, and Ferrara, so that this one man had more than twenty thousand slaves on his estates constantly at work for him. His majesty was given to understand that the clergy knew a better way of taming mankind than war. He therefore divided the whole country into convenient districts, founded churches and monasteries, and put the government into the hands of the clergy to tame the people, because dukes could not manage them. *Rex septem fundavit in ea provincia*

(2) Steph Baluzii *Capitular. Reg. Francor.* Tom. i. Karoli M. xxi. A. C. 789. Cap. 8. Si quis deinceps in gente Saxonum inter eos latens non baptizatus se abscondere voluerit, et ad baptismum venire contempserit, paganus que permanere voluerit, morte moriatur.

Cap. 19. Placuit - - omnes infantes infra annum baptizentur. Et hoc statuimus, ut si quis infantem infra circulum anni ad baptismum offerre contempserit, sine consilio vel licentia sacerdotis, si de nobili genere fuerit, centum viginti solidos fisco componat ; si ingenuus, sexaginta ; si litus, triginta.

TRANSLATION.

Stephen Balusius' *Capitulary of the xxi of Charlemagne king of France.* In the year of Christ 789. Vol. i. Chap. 8. If any unbaptized Saxon shall manifest a disposition to hide away among his countrymen, and refuse to come up to the ordinance of baptism, and choose to remain a Pagan, let him suffer death.

Chap. 19. It is the pleasure of the king to ordain, that all infants shall be baptized within a year of their birth. And we decree, that if any one shall refuse to offer his child for baptism in the course of a year, without the advice and approbation of a priest, if he be of noble blood, he shall forfeit and pay into the king's treasury, the sum of one hundred to twenty shillings ; if a freeborn citizen, sixty shillings ; if a peasant, thirty. [*Ed.*

ecclesias, donans regalia pontificibus, quod intelligeret populum infrenem posse religione contineri, armis vero placare non posse (3). For this purpose he endowed many religious houses; he gave to one every foot of land four miles round it every way, he founded bishopricks, which have since become principalities. Osnaburgh was the first; in brief, he hired the monkish clergy to tame the people, and these rich endowments were the price at which the priests sold the liberties of mankind. What in the art of government could be a finer coup de main than to put a whole nation of children, within a few years to be the nation itself, into the hands of an artful clergy, who, while they did the Emperor's business, by training up the sons of freemen in habits of servility, would, by their own idle and expensive habits of living, forever render themselves dependent on the crown? It was with exactly such views that the Emperor Constantine had formerly hired the same kind of men for a spiritual militia; but as they had now improved the trade by seizing infants, Charlemagne had the best bargain.

When unbelievers avail themselves of these events, and raise out of them arguments against Christianity, they ought to be reminded of two things: first, that catholicism is not christianity, though it falsely assumes the name. Is pure christianity an engine of state, inimical to the natural rights of mankind? This is the fair question, and not whether catholicism be, for it is granted that it is; and on this very account it proves itself not to have proceeded from Jesus, the friend of virtue, and the liberator of mankind. It should also be observed, that though the Catholicks established their pretended christianity, by fraud, injustice, and murder, yet there were other Christians at that time, living peaceably among these very Saxons, who remonstrated against such violent measures of enlarging the profession of Christianity; but they were overpowered, and pronounced hereticks by the domineering party (4).

The Anglo-Saxon monks, Willibald and others, who understood the language of the old parent state in Germany, from which their ancestors had issued, had before this time endeavoured to make proselytes among them;

(3) Cranz. *Lib. ii. Cap. xiv.*

(4) Willibaldi *vita. c. 2.*

but their mummerly unsupported by power had not met with any success worth mentioning ; but now that the Emperor wanted such men, and vast estates were to be obtained, they fled thither in troops, and found richer endowments and higher titles than any their own country could afford. They were graced with the sounding titles of apostles of Germany, and they did the Emperor's business so effectually, that the people durst not eat their own bacon till they had received orders from Rome how to cook it (5). Could the crown pay too dearly for such a complete conquest as this ?

The Goths and all the German nations were extremely jealous of the education of their children, and suffered nothing that could damp the ardour of their minds, depress the native dignity of man, or lessen that passionate love of freedom, which the generous actions of their ancestors, models ever before their eyes, tended to inflate : but a Catholick education taught the direct contrary, and set before youths no other models than saints, hollow conjurers, extinguishers of reason, and every generous sentiment, the meanest drivellers that ever disgraced the species of man—witness the intolerable falsehoods, with which in the sacred name of the God of truth, they seduced the unsuspecting, the meannesses they practised to ingratiate themselves with patrons, and the unfeeling manner of their behaviour to their dependents.

The clergy managed the business of baptism with great dexterity. Alwin gave the clue, and all understood it. The Emperor had addressed himself on this subject to the pope, to Odilbert, archbishop of Milan, to Leidrad, bishop of Lyons, and others of eminence, and all returned answers. They prudently avoided saying one word on the baptism of *babes* or the case of *force*, but they dwelt largely on the ceremonies of baptism, particularly the necessity of trine immersion (6). His majesty un-

(5) Zechar *pap. ep.* 142. *inter epist.* Bonifacii.

(6) Alcuini *Lib. de divin. offic.* De Sabbat. Sanct. paschæ. Sacerdos baptizat eum sub trina mersione tantum sanctam trinitatem semel invocando, ita dicens, et ego te baptizo in nomine patris, et mergat semel : et filii, et mergat iterum : et spiritus sancti, et mergat tertio

TRANSLATION.

Alwin's book on the divine offices Concerning Ho'y Easter Sunday. The priest shall baptize the candidate by trine immersion, with only one invocation of the Holy Trinity, saying as follows : I baptize thee in the name of the Father, immersing him once, and of the Son, immersing him a second time, and of the Holy Spirit, immersing him a third time. [Ed.]

derstood them, and amply rewarded their dutifulness. In return they canonized him for a saint. This man's history, says M. Voltaire, is one of the strongest proofs that success sanctifies injustice, and confers glory. "This man, who shed such a torrent of blood, robbed his nephews of their patrimony, and was suspected of incest, has by the church of Rome, been ranked among the number of her saints (7)."

The Emperor, in a charter of endowment given to the church at Bremen, assigns the reasons of his whole conduct in this affair. He says that neither his ancestors nor himself could ever tame the Saxons by war, *semper indomabiles* --- and that they could not be kept under by arms --- but were conquered by the *faith*, and might be bridled by *religion*, and as the scheme succeeded to admiration, the example was followed by other princes, both of that and succeeding ages; and Denmark, Sweden, and almost all the northern parts of Europe, were brought within the pale of the church by the same means. By this scheme a revolution in favour of life, though not of liberty, was produced in the barbarous art of war, and, though many were slain, yet many were allowed to redeem the lives of themselves and their children, by submitting to baptism. It was better too for conquerors; for instead of exterminating whole tribes as they had been used to do, by this mode they reserved a people to raise a revenue, though they filled the world with slaves; but Providence hath so constituted the world that the ills of it in time effect their own cure, as the history of one such train of events in the single province of Pomerania will serve to shew.

In those times Poland extended one way from the Carpathian mountains to the Baltick, and crosswise the other way from Silesia and Ducal Prussia to the farther arm of the river Nieper, the ancient Borysthenes, which rises in a morass in the forest of Wolkonski, and running past Smolenski, discharges itself into the Black Sea: within this vast tract were included the kingdom of Poland properly so called, the great duchy of Lithuania, the provinces of Samogittia, Courland, Livonia, part of Russia, Polish Prussia, and a part of Pomerania. Some of these districts were united to Poland by conquest, others

by marriages, alliances, and conditions of electing the Dukes and Vaivoydes to the throne of Poland, and some united themselves to Poland for protection. It is impossible to trace the ecclesiastical history of these provinces with a proper degree of precision, for they had no records till late. The inhabitants make their first appearance wild and roving, then trafficking and fighting, contended for as property by all their neighbours, sometimes emerging into liberty, and then subdued into slavery, and late, very late, paying any attention to real Christianity (8).

Pomerania was anciently called the country of the Ulmerugians. The Goths, who inhabited Scandinavia comprising the present Sweden, Norway, Lapland and Finnmark, migrated hither, under the conduct of Berig, one of their chieftains, who drove out the inhabitants, and divided the lands among his followers (9). In the twelfth century that part of Pomerania next Poland, was inhabited by a fierce people who lived by hunting, fishing, and plundering their neighbours. On one side, the country lay all along the sea coast, bounded by the Baltick, and it was therefore called by the Slavonians Pommorizania, from Pom along-side, and Morizania the sea. This part on the coast was inhabited by merchants in a civilized state. On the opposite side it was divided from Poland by a vast, and almost impenetrable forest, thick, dark, and full of all manner of noxious animals and reptiles. Through this forest the Pomeranian inhabitants of the side next Poland, by paths known only to themselves, used to sally out and plunder Poland. Boleslaus, then duke of Poland, often repelled them, and several times made treaties of peace with them, which they observed as long as it suited their convenience. At length he invaded the whole country, punished the innocent with the guilty, and by killing eighteen thousand of them in battle, and by carrying away eight thousand prisoners, he obliged the remainder to accept such conditions of peace as he offered, and one was, that they should renounce idolatry, and be baptized into the Christian religion, to which they reluctantly consented (1).

(8) Joannis Boteri *Poloniæ Descriptio*.

(9) *Universal History*. Vol. vii. Book 4. Sect. 2.

(1) Matthiæ de Michovix *Chronica Polonorum*. Lib. i. Cap. 2

Boleslaus could not easily find missionaries, for no teacher in Poland was willing to undertake this formidable work ; however, he sent a letter to a Swede, named Otho, who was then bishop of Bamberg, and whom he had formerly known in his father's court, where Otho had spent a part of his youth in teaching literature and religion. He informed him he had been three years trying to procure missionaries, but that none of his bishops or priests were qualified for such a service. He begged him to assist this pious undertaking, and offered to bear all his expenses, to furnish him with interpreters and assistants, and every thing necessary to secure his safety, and the success of the enterprise (2). The bishop accepted the invitation, and set out preceded by guides, attended with guards, and accompanied with three of the duke's chaplains, some interpreters, and an officer of the army, named Paulicius, a bold and eloquent man, who understood the language, and could occasionally preach (3). Six days it took them to travel through the woods and marshes, and it was with great difficulty that they found the cuts and marks in the trees by which their road lay. The gloom of the forest, the chattering of cranes and other fowls, the hissing of serpents, the various noises of all sorts of quadrupeds, the sight of a thousand vegetable forms, which they had never seen before, the novelty and the variety of the scene, served to divert the fear of being destroyed by wild beasts, or scalped by some lurking rangers of the forest. However, they arrived safe, and addressed themselves to the work for which they had undertaken the journey.

Otho reaped the first fruits of an approaching harvest in some villages which had been desolated by war, but where the inhabitants had begun again to assemble and settle. Here he first instructed, and then baptized about 30. He travelled all through the country teaching and baptizing, and Paulicius rendered him the most essential services. After his return into Germany he heard that many had apostatized in his absence : but, nothing terrified, he returned again, surmounted all difficulties, and saw his

(2) Henrici Canisii *Lectiones antiquæ. Vita Ottonis. Inter monumenta Jacobi Basnagii. Tom. iii. pars. ii.*

(3) *Vita Ottonis ut sup.*

labours crowned with success. Idolatry was rejected, Christianity professed, and a bishop settled among the Pomeranians. Otho's method of baptizing was this. Such as had agreed to become Christians he put into the state of Catechumens, and kept them seven days under tuition. Then a fast was observed for three days. Preparatory to baptism, he caused very large tubs to be made, and let into the ground, and filled with water. He provided three of these baptisteries in each place, one for the men, another for the women, and the third for the children, and surrounded each with curtains like a tent. When he came to baptize, he placed the men all on one side, and the women on the other, then he preached, and taught them to receive the ordinance, singing, *As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?* At the end of the hymn, they went one by one within the curtains accompanied by assistants, who helped them to undress. This done, they were baptized naked by trine immersion. As soon as they came out of the water their assistants dressed them, and they came from behind the curtains to make room for more. The historian observes, the whole was conducted with so much order, and with so much cleanness, decency, and humanity, (for Otho had ordered fires on account of the excessive cold) that the whole did great honour to this apostle of Pomerania. The administrator did not stand in the water, but behind a curtain on the side of the baptistery. When he heard any one come down the steps into the water, he put the hanging aside, and leaning over, the rim of the tub being about the height of his knee, he immersed the person in water, pronouncing the usual words.

The very learned and faithful James Basnage makes several remarks on this authentick monument. First, he observes, that Otho departed from the ancient practice in regard to the *time* allotted to prepare these candidates for baptism by instruction. He took only seven days: but the primitive church, in a council at Constantinople, had ordered that catechumens should be kept a long time in that state before they were admitted to baptism; and that they had been detained under tuition several

months, and even whole years before baptism. Secondly, he observes, that Theophylact is mistaken, when he says, the ancient custom of administering baptism on certain *fixed* days was disused in his time, that is, about the year eleven hundred ; for here is an instance to the contrary. Otho in this twelfth century directs the Pomeranians to have baptism administered to their children only at Easter and Whitsuntide. Thirdly, here is an instance of baptizing in *wooden* tubs or troughs in the open air, not in a church, nor in marble or stone, as some had ordered. Fourthly, here is an example of being baptized *naked*, in different baptisteries for the sake of decency : agreeable to several things said by fathers and councils on the subject. Fifthly, here is a proof that baptism continued to be administered by *immersion* so late as the twelfth century. To these he adds many more useful observations, like all his, founded on the best authority, and made without any disguise.(4)

CHAP. XXVII.

THE CAUSES OF THE EXTENSIVE PROGRESS OF THE BAPTISM OF BABES.

THE baptism of babes did not more suit the interests of conquerors than it did that of other orders of men, and indeed there never was a time since the world began so well disposed to forward this business, as the centuries immediately following the eighth. Here were six principal circumstances highly favourable to the cause, beside inferior motives, which all had their weight : the state of the people—the houses of the monks—the doctrine and discipline of the times—the great demand for children—the prosperity of individuals—and the necessities of the clergy. Each deserves a moment's attention, and the last article a little more.

The State of the People. Nothing could be more deplorable than that servitude, in which all Europe was held. Even the great were in bondage under the feudal system to some superior, and the prince himself was constantly in danger of his life. The common people

(4) Basnag. *Obs. in Ottonis vitam.* iv. Plurima sunt circa baptismi administrationem, quæ nostris sæculis non convenient, &c.

were absolutely slaves, having no property, and claiming no rights. The highest right, that of judging and acting in religion for themselves, nobody thought of. One midnight of impenetrable darkness covered them, and they knew no religious duty but that of submission to the priests, whose exclusive province religion was supposed to be. So late as just before the Reformation, when the clergy began to condescend to speak to the laity, their language was that of lords issuing orders to slaves, and not of rational men addressing reasons to other rational men to persuade. This was their diction: "Ye that be ley peple—ye shall knowe and understande—that there be ten commandements of our Lord God—the fourth commandement is, thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother, that is, to wit, thy natural father and thy natural mother, thy godfader and thy godmoder, thy gostly father and thy gostly mother. Thy gostly father is the pope, thy bishop, thy curate, and thy gostly mother is holy church, in whom thou were regenerate unto gostly life.—Furthermore ye shal knowe and understande, that there be seven sacraments of holy churche—the first is baptyme, or Christendome, which putteth away origynal syn—nowe all be borne in origynal syn—and can nat be saved by the ordynate lawes of God, unto the tyme that this origynal syn be put away, and grace gotten unto our soules, which is now done by this sacrament of baptyme or Christendome.—This ought nat to be ministred but by a preest, excepte case of necessitye, and than every man and woman may mynistrer it—if suche case—happe unto any of you, than ye shall saye with good entent on this wyse. I christen the in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Gost. And whiles ye be sayeng these words, ye shall caste water upon the chylde, or els put the child unto the water, and than doute ye nat, but that childe receyveth sufficiently this sacrament of baptyme." (1) Thus they were ordered, and they knew it was at their peril to disobey orders. Could *such a people* choose whether their children should be baptized?

The houses of the monks. The monks and nuns were plausible, shrewd people. Their houses were comforta-

(1) *Stella Clericorum*. Wynkyn de Worde Oct. 20, 1531.—*Cura Clericalis*. Thomas Petyt. 1542.—*Exoneratorium Curatorum*. Thomas Godfray, &c.

ble habitations, and all the little learning of the times lay there, so that they educated whole nations ; and as children are ductile materials, the maxims of the monks took full possession of their minds, and the clergy established their absolute dominion over them with the utmost ease.

The first christian monks retired from society, not to consume life in an unprofitable idleness ; but to give themselves wholly up to exercises of piety and acts of benevolence (2). For these purposes they devoted one part of their time to labour for their own support : another to exercises of private and social piety : a third to the study of the holy scriptures : and a fourth to acts of real or pretended benevolence, one of which was instructing the ignorant, especially children, in the principles of the Catholick religion (3). They taught them to read and sing, and gave them victuals and clothes for learning (4). They prayed, preached, and held conferences in their own houses, and whoever would might attend (5). They went out on certain days, and taught by reading, preaching, and catechizing in adjacent villages (6). They kept schools of two sorts, the one of infants and boys, who lived in the monasteries, and the other of day scholars (7). They took some infants in without any gratuity. They received others by an oblation of the parents, who by deeds duly executed conveyed both the children and estates to support them to the houses (8). They procured, and sometimes bought

(2) Heriberti Rosweydi. *D. Hieron. Historia. Eremitica.* Antwerpæ 1628.
 - - - Pere Hippolyte Helyot. *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.* Paris. 1714, &c.

(3) J. Mabillon. *Traite des etudes Monastiques.* p. 14. 18.

(4) Joan. Bollandi, God. Henschenii, Danielis Papebrochii *Acta Sanctorum.* Jan. i. *Vit. S. Gulielmi Abbat. Divion.*

(5) Mabillon *ubi sup.* p. 14.

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 15. *vit. Pacome.*

(7) Bolland. *ubi sup.* Jan. i.

(8) Mabillon. *Vet. Analect.* Tom. iii. pag. 473. *De oblatione puerorum in monasteriis.* Antiquus est offerendorum in ecclesiis & monasteriis puerorum mos - - - ex oriente - - - in occidentem invectus. In exemplum prævit in veteri testamento factum. Annæ matris Samuelis, quem mater necdum conceptum Deo addixit. Hæc forma inde christianos manavit, & primum quidem ad græcos - - - *Ibid.* Tom. ii. pag. 530.

TRANSLATION.

Mabillon's *Account of the ancient servants of religious houses.* Vol. iii. p. 473. *On the offering of children to the monasteries* There was an ancient custom of offering children to churches and monasteries - - - it arose in the east - - - and progressed westward. It was founded on the example of Hannah's dedicating her son Samuel to the Lord before he was conceived. This form of dedication, which indeed originated among the Greeks, has been received and practised by christians generally. [*Ed.*

the children of Pagans, and after they had instructed and baptized them, they sent them to instruct their tribes, so that sometimes youths became godfathers to their own parents (9). In all countries, and at all times, they devoted themselves to the education of children, and so acquired the title of FATHERS, which was given to them by general consent, and which continues to be given to their successors to this day.

Learned Father Mabillon adds that in the fifth century children were baptized at six years of age (1). That the monks did baptize in monasteries is certain, for there are many such baptisms on record, and hence it is that a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist is found in many conventual churches, as in those of Glastonbury, Westminster and others (2). It is probable these chapels were erected on the spot where baptisteries had been, for this was generally the case in the churches abroad. There are laws to oblige monks to destroy their baptisteries, and to oblige them to present their Catechumens to the bishops for baptism (3). Hence came the practice of confirmation *at* baptism, if the bishop baptized, and *after* it by the bishop, if others had baptized (4). This, which was an appendage of adult baptism, meaning by adults all who made a profession of their own faith, how young soever they were, fell into disuse in the reign of the Emperor Charlemagne, when adult baptism was left off by some part of the Catholick church.

The first monks therefore took children to prepare for baptism by instruction; but the latter having become extremely rich by the estates conveyed to their houses along with children pensioned there, they left off to labour and to instruct for baptism, and began to enjoy themselves, whence proceeded luxury and innumerable abuses, which ended in a resumption of their charters, and of course the dissolution of their houses.

The *doctrine* of the times, as far as it regarded infant baptism, was that of original sin, and the inevitable de-

(9) Bolland. *ut sup.* Jan. xv. S. Rabulus.

(1) Mabillon. *Traite, &c. ut sup.* pag. 391. Baptême est différé jusqu'à la sixième année.

(2) Ibid. p. 462.

(3) *Divi Gregorii papæ opera.* Lib. ii. Epist. lvi. Cap. xcviii. *Secundum Episcopos.*

(4) Vicecom. *Observat. Eccles.* Vol. i. Lib. v. Cap. xxxii.

struction of all that died unbaptized. This was depicted in all the horrible shapes imaginable; and whether the doctrine were true or false, it was the only theological base on which it pretended to rest. The masters appealed to experience, and as the pupils felt their natures revolt at the incredible tales told them, and the unnecessary duties enjoined them, they concluded themselves were depraved by nature. Thus, when a boy felt himself disposed to doubt the truth of a miracle, which he was told without evidence the Lord Abbot had performed, or to disobey the orders of an old tutor by clinging to his warm bed at midnight instead of rising at the sound of a bell to chant a Christmas carol with the choir in the chapel, he was taught to consider these as workings of inbred sin proofs that without baptism he would have been damned had he died in infancy. He did not know that he was training up to servility and credulity, which, however unnatural to a rational being, were convenient to those who were in power.

The *discipline*, both of private schools, and the whole hierarchy was obedience to the orders of superiors. Submission to them was service to God. The whip and the rod were applied to youth, and mortifying penances to men. How was it possible a spirit of inquiry should flourish under such unfavourable circumstances!

The demand for children was very great. Processioning was the chief show, and singing the chief service of the Roman church; and the chapels of kings and noblemen, cathedral, conventual and collegiate churches, had all choirs of singing boys. None could be admitted into these till after baptism, and to these places the poor were every where eager to make friends to prefer their children. A good voice was sure to make its fortune, and at any rate it was a comfortable provision for the children, and a great relief to their parents. The number of children employed in this way is almost incredible; there were lately at least four thousand in the single kingdom of France, and no doubt the constitution was well devised to conciliate the poor to the practice. Hospitals and charity-schools founded and supported by guilds, all under the direction of monkish clergy, also

contributed to make the people easy under the same system.

Moreover *the success of some* served to dazzle the eyes of mankind. From the lowest state of indigence many were seen yearly rising into wealth, dignity, ease and power ; and it is no wonder, as infant baptism was the only door which opened to all the preferments of the church, that all orders of men should press their families in. The maxims of a government exercising the heaviest penalties, and holding forth the greatest rewards, could not but prosper, and sit easy on the bulk of the people in any nation of depraved mankind. The wonder is, not that ecclesiastical tyranny triumphed so long, but that there ever should be found virtue enough among men to dissolve the well concerted system of corruption and oppression, and set the sons of bondage free.

What more than any thing else contributed force to the practice was *the necessitous condition of the inferior clergy*. The law obliged them not to marry, but they had not the fewer children for that ; and where the law of Charlemagne enforcing the baptism of babes within the year had no operation, the dissipation of the clergy produced the same effect, as a transient view of only Italy in the tenth and lower centuries will clearly prove.

Dr. Mosheim, speaking of the tenth century, says, “the history of the Roman Pontiffs, that lived in this century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous, and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess---The corruptions of the clergy were deplorable beyond all expression”---“but,” adds he, “the profound ignorance and stupidity, that were productive of so many evils in this century, had at least this advantage attending them, that they contributed much to the tranquillity of the church, and prevented the rise of new sects and new commotions of a religious kind.” How ! *a church of monsters, living in tranquillity in the practice of the most complicated crimes, among a people whose profound stupidity furnished them with the advantage of not being questioned on the article of religion !* And what interest have Protestants in such monstrous advantages as these ; or by what arguments can such historians justify the Reformation ? Mosheim, however, is

not singular in this mode of writing ; even the great Muratori blesses himself that the internal state of the church in these bad times was not troubled with *heresy* : as if there were any heresies worse than adultery and murder (5) !

Historians call this the illiterate, the iron century : but if this character be understood, as it ought to be of the church of Rome, it is no description at all, for every age till that of the Reformation was illiterate in that church : and the eleventh and twelfth were more so than this. The Greeks, who were themselves greatly declined, despised the church of Rome (6). The patriarch Photius says, they were “ a set of men, sprung out of the darkness of the West, who had corrupted all things by their ignorance, and had put a finishing hand to their impiety by altering the eastern creeds.” Luitprand, bishop of Verona, who was sent in this century by the Emperors of the West ambassador to Constantinople, and who published an account of his legation, reports much of the contemptuous language, which the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, the patriarch Polyeuctes, the great officers of the crown, the bishops, and others bestowed on the Romans (7). “ You are not Romans, said they, you are Latins ; your pope, if he be a pope, is a wicked foolish fellow ; you do not understand councils ; your chief man was Gregory, the dialogist ; your people are unqualified for war by intemperance, their god is their belly, and with them timidity goes for wisdom and coolness, and their courage is the effect of drunkenness. Constantine removed the seat of the empire and the senate hither, he left nobody at Rome but mean trades-folkes, fish-men, tavern-keepers, brokers, a low vulgar herd of slaves.” The Catholicks allow the ignorance, immorality and barbarism of their church in those times : but they say foreigners overwhelmed them with ignorance, and barbarism was the universal character of the times. Nothing can be less true ; for arts, sciences, and literature of every kind, flourished in Spain among Mohammedans and Jews ; and their mathematicians, physicians and philosophers obtained immortal reputation. Science flourished also at Alexandria, and it had begun

(5) *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. v. Diss. lx.

(6) Voltaire's *General History*. Chap. xxi.

(7) Luitprandi *Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam Imp. Constant. pro Ottonibus Augustis et, Adelhaida.*

to flourish in Italy under Theodorick, and would certainly have continued to do so had not the miserable lust of dominion excited the Catholick clergy to create divisions, to practise crimes, and to patronize vice, the parent of ignorance, for the sake of arriving at despotism.

In the beginning of the tenth century the church of Rome was under the absolute dominion of Theodora, daughter of a Roman senator, and notorious for her amours. This lady had three children, Sergius, Theodora, and Marozia (8). The pontificate was then a rich benefice, and Rome was filled with crimes for the sake of obtaining it. On the death of Stephen V. Formosus, the son of a priest, and Sergius were candidates (9). The party of Formosus was strongest, and he was elected. Sergius, however, persevered, and within a very little while Formosus and seven of his successors died, and Sergius was elected pope (1). "He owed his election, says Mr. Voltaire, entirely to his mother Theodora (2)." The two daughters were more infamous than their mother (3). Marozia was kept by Sergius, and during his pontificate she had a son by him, whom they educated in the palace, and who was afterward pope. At the death of Sergius, the two sisters, Marozia and Theodora, put Anastasius into the papal throne, and two years after Lando, another of the company. Lando held his honour only four months and some days; and then Theodora gave the church for a pontiff another of her gallants. John X. who had some time before been made by the mother Theodora archbishop of Ravenna. Some writers have erroneously mistaken him for the son of Sergius (4). Marozia put in one Leo: but he, not behaving properly, was by her procurement about six months after imprisoned, and murdered. Then she elevated Stephen vii. to the chair; and two years after she made John xi. pope (5). This

(8) Luitprandi *De rebus Imperatorum et Regum*, Lib. ii. Cap. xiii.

(9) Amalarici *Auger. Formosi vita*.

(1) *Pontif. vitæ*. Stephanus vi. - Romanus - Theodorus - Joannes ix. - Benedictus iv. - Leo. v. - Christophorus.

(2) *General History*. Chap. xxv. *Of the Papacy of the tenth century*.

(3) Luitprandi Lib. ii. Cap. xiii.

(4) F. Ughelli *Ital. Sacra*. Tom. ii *Ravennates Archiepiso*. Ep. lviii. Joannes x.

(5) Luitprandi Lib. iii. Cap. xii. *Qualiter Joannes papa sit captus, custodiaque, in qua moriturus erat, traditus*.

John was her own son by pope Sergius, and he was hardly twenty-four years of age when he was elected. It is said Marozia poisoned her husband Guy, marquis of Tuscany, and certain it is she married his brother Hugh, king of Lombardy, to whom she promised the imperial dignity. Hugh at his first coming to Rome happened to affront Alberick, a son of Marozia, and he in revenge harangued the citizens, headed a strong party, drove Hugh out of the city, and threw his mother and his brother the pope into prison, where the latter was poisoned, when he had been pope a little more than four years. The next four pontiffs were short lived, and John xii. who was a grandson of Marozia, was elected pope at the age of eighteen (6). His pontificate lasted almost nine years, and it was a reign of nothing but debauchery. John was a youth of incorrigible profligacy, and the cardinals, as dissolute as he, got the Emperor Otho to dethrone him. This made room for Leo viii. and John continued to enjoy his vices like a vagabond in woods and deserts. By this half century a judgment may be formed of the tranquillity of the church, which it was heresy to disturb. It would be easy to shew, that other Italian prelates too well resembled these at Rome; for in this sense the church was Catholick: but it is painful to repeat the vices of mankind, and a record should never be stained with them, except it were to promote the cause of virtue.

Poisoning, stabbing, imprisoning, putting out eyes, cutting off limbs, smothering between mattresses, confining in dungeons, assassinating in various forms, were the crimes of the great: but debauchery was the general character of the clergy, the monks, and the common people. There are three undeniable witnesses of this, Luitprand and Ratherius, bishops of Verona, and Atto, bishop of Vercelli. They say, the clergy were all adulterers, or something worse, so ignorant that they could not repeat the belief by heart, and so hungry for

(6) Leo VIII. - Stephen VIII. - Martin iii. - Agapetus ii.

Amalric *ut sup.* Ipse Johannes papa erat magnus venator, et homo valde dissolutus, seu lubricus, in tantum quod mulieres frequentabat, et eas publice tenebat. - - Pandulphus. Iste infelicissimus, quod pejus sibi est, totam vitam suam in adulterio et vanitate duxit. - - Imperator ab errore et nequitia nunquam potuit eam revocare. - - Ipse iniquus statim, ut de imperatoris adventu audivit, Campaniam fugiens, ibi in silvis et montibus more bestię latuit.

money to support their pleasures, that the rich prelates monopolized bishopricks, and the poor ones sold churches, chapels, orders, baptisteries, any thing, for money (7). The gentry, too, shared the spoil, and purchased or seized, till some houses were reduced to bankruptcy (8). Probably they foreclosed mortgages, and they would not desist, although the monks told them, the devils would broil their souls in hell, and eat them for the crime. It may seem offensive to sober people to inquire how this generation administered baptism : for what have such as they to do with the undefiled religion of Jesus ? There is, however, a very natural reason for the inquiry. The priests kept mistresses, and had great numbers of illegitimate children. It is natural to ask how they provided for them ? And the true answer is, they pensioned them in the church. Here, then, is a cause, which hath not been mentioned before, for pushing forward the baptism of minors, and for transferring it to babes. That this is more than a conjecture, that it is a true fact supported by authentick evidence, will appear by a brief investigation of four articles : that unmarried priests had many natural children ; that the practice of the times was to baptize minors on their own profession of faith, except in cases of danger ; that provision for the children of priests was a case of great difficulty ; and that the rituals were so adjusted as to relieve it.

The first, which is an indelicate article, needs no proof. The amours of the popes are to be numbered among the least of their sins : but those of Gregory vii. by which he obtained the vast estate of Mathilda, countess of Tuscany, were productive of innumerable evils to Italy (9) : and the incestuous practices of Alexander vi. and his sons, were the causes of infinite crimes ; which, however, prepared the way for the Reformation. (1) Illiterate prelates, habited in purple robes, with girdles of gold and silver embroidery, converted nunneries into stews, and had parks and mansions for seraglios. Hen-

(7) Luitprandi *De reb. Imp. et Reg.* ---- *De Manasse Arelatens. Episc.* ---- *De Sergio iii.* ---- *De Joanne Ravennate* ---- *De Theodora* ---- *De Marozia* ---- *De Joseph. Brixiano Episcopo* ---- *Et de Waldonis episcopi iniquitate, &c.* Tom. i. Parisiis. 1723.

(8) Abbonis *Sermo v. De fundamento et incremento christianitatis.*

(9) Murat. *Script Ital.* Tom. v.

(1) Alex. vi. *vita* . - Alex. Gordon's *Life of Alexander vi.*

ry, bishop of Liege, boasted in publick that he had been the parent of fourteen children within two and twenty months (2). A bishop of the tenth century says, of all debauched Christians the Italians were the worst (3). Priests' children are met with every where in histories of unmarried clergy. This article, then, may pass, for such disorders were notorious, and the repetition of them is unpleasant to sober minds.

That it was the practice of the times to baptize minors at Easter and Whitsuntide on their own profession of faith, and babes only in case of danger of death, is clear, not only by the general laws of the Catholick church, and the books of divine offices written in those times by monks of other countries, but by the express synodical statutes of the bishops of Italy themselves. One example may suffice. In the middle of the tenth century, Atto, son of viscount Aldegar, was bishop of Verceli (4). He was a man of merit, who abhorred the vices of the times, and took pains to reform his diocese. For this purpose he compiled a small code of church-law consisting of one hundred canons. Unhappily, the Vatican copy, the only one to be procured, was much damaged, and the copies printed from it have chasms. (5) Several of these canons have an indirect relation to baptism, and there are four, which expressly belong to it. The sixteenth concerns competents, or joint-petitioners for baptism, and it requires the clergy to deliver to them the creed publickly in the church the Sunday before Easter. (6) This was taken from a council, which had been held at Agde, in France, four hundred and fifty years before. (7) The seventeenth is taken from a decree of Pope Gelasius, and it forbids the administration of baptism at all times except Easter and Whitsuntide, except in case of danger of death. (8) The eighteenth, which regulates baptism, is imperfect through the damage of the copy, and it is the more vexatious, because it seems to have been an original of the composition of Atto himself. Of what re-

(2) Gregorii papæ x. Epist. ad Henr. Leodiens. Episc.

(3) Ratherii *De contemptu canonum* Pars ii.

(4) Ughelli *Ital. Sac.* Tom. iv. *Vercellenses episcop.* Ep. xlv. Atto.

(5) D'Acherii *Spicileg.* Tom. i. Attonis ii. *Capitulare.*

(6) Cap. xvi

(7) Concilium Agathense. An. DVI. Cap. xiii.

(8) Cap. xvii. *De tempore baptismi.*

mains this is the sum.(9) Catechumens are to be instructed before they are baptized. If it should happen, that they could not speak for themselves, the testimonies of credible witnesses, who had examined them in private concerning their faith, should be admitted, and they should be baptized. Such as had been dumb from their infancy, if by any signs they required to be baptized, were not to be denied baptism. In regard to infants, who were not of age to speak for themselves, on condition Catholicks would answer for them, baptism should not be refused them; however, great care was to be taken to inform the respondents that they laid themselves under obligations to instruct them. The nineteenth orders the immediate baptism of sick children. The ninety-seventh appoints, that no person should be baptized unless he could say by heart the creed and the Lord's prayer, except such as had not arrived at the age of speaking. The baptism of such as could not speak is not appointed, much less enforced: but it is introduced here as a case to be tolerated. The language is clear, and decisive. *CONSTITUTUM EST, ut nullus baptizetur, nisi symbolum et orationem Dominicam memoriter tenuerit: It is ENACTED, that no person shall be baptized unless he can say by heart the creed and the Lord's prayer.* But if any Catholicks desire the baptism of such as cannot speak, and if they will answer for them, *NON ABNUIMUS*, negatively, *we will not refuse* to baptize them, or positively, *we will wink at it.* The truth is, the clergy were become so wicked, that Atto, Ratherius, Abbo, and other sober bishops, were obliged to compound with them. In their sermons they urged the necessity of instructing before baptizing, but in practice they were obliged to wink at worse things than infant baptism, as will be observed in the next article, but they knew it was an innovation. There was an officer in the church of Milan, named Ambrose, who wrote to Atto to desire an account of the original institution of the female officers called deaconesses. Atto answered, they had been appointed formerly for the purposes of baptizing women. Now, indeed, they were not allowed to baptize, because the custom of baptizing little ones had rendered their services unnecessary,

(9) Cap. xviii. *Qualiter Baptismi sacramenta celebrari oportet.*

for there was nothing in the nakedness of female children offensive to modesty. He adds, very truly, that in the primitive church there were female elders, who taught, as well as female deacons, who baptized. The church of Milan retains a shadow of this discipline to this day in the women servants called Veglonissæ (1).

The difficulty of providing for the children of the priests is the third article: a practice worse than the baptism of them. The truth of the fact that they did provide for them by procuring orders and sine-cures, and even cures for them in their childhood, is beyond a doubt. Pope Gregory reprovèd the bishop of Liege, just now mentioned, for marrying some of his bastards into noble families, and portioning them by assignments of church-estates; for procuring benefices for others, who were minors; for conferring both cures and sine-cures on them himself; for giving a prebend in his church to the brother of a nun; and for portioning two daughters by the same nun with ecclesiastical money, having married one of them to the son of a certain count, and jointured her in an estate that cost fifteen hundred silver marks (2). Ratherius wrote to Martin bishop of Ferrara on the same subject, and reprovèd him sharply for selling orders to children, of which he had made a perpetual practice (3). There are two letters of Atto to his clergy, written expressly against incontinence; and in one he depicts the sacred rakes as people now describe the most profligate debauchees, and informs them that their extravagant libertinism disgraced and ruined the church, by exciting the contempt of the people, who, for their sakes, sacrilegiously withheld the payment of tithes, and who were impoverished by supporting them and their mistresses and children (4). In the second part of his book, *De pressuris Ecclesiasticis*, Concerning the grievances of the church, he describes the manner of ordaining little boys, and uses precisely the same arguments against the practice, as the Baptists do against the baptizing of them (5). It seems, the infants, as he calls them, were trained by the rod to give answers to questions in publick, which they could hardly utter, and not a word of which they

(1) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. v. Diss. lxvi.

(2) Greg. *Epist. ut sup.*

(3) Epist. i. Martino *Ferrariensi.*

(4) Epist. ix. x. --- Ep. ix.

(5) *De ordinationibus.*

understood. There was a mock election, too, which the people laughed at, while they gave their votes. All this was done, he says, not so much to conceal the fraud, for that was notorious, as to evade the literal force of the canons, which had expressly forbidden all such practices. "Here is a bishop like an idol, he hath *eyes and cannot see, ears and cannot hear*. These are not the disciples of Christ; for to them he said, *Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear*. These are *the blind leading the blind*. *They that make such idols are like unto them: so is every one that trusteth to them*." Thus the good bishop vented his grief and shame: but his headstrong clergy paid no attention to him. Here, then, is an account of infant bishops, which includes the practice of infant baptism, and the most powerful motive in the world to engage the graceless Italian priests of the tenth century to perform it. It is a violent presumption against the divinity of infant baptism, that it was most practised in ages when rational motives were least known. No three facts are better authenticated than these: the incontinence of the clergy: the baptism of minors; and the putting children into orders; and when these are collected into one point of view, the history run thus. In the tenth and some lower centuries, excepting a very few, the whole catholic hierarchy lived in habits of debauchery (6). Some few pacified their scruples by private marriage, but the far greater part either committed fornication and adultery, promiscuously, or kept mistresses, whom they called vice-wives. All were bad, but the Italians were the worst. Some sober bishops tried to resist the torrent, and made their clergy sign renunciations. Thus did Guarin or Warin, who was bishop of Modena in the year one thousand and five, and in his archives, there are such entries as these. "I Andrew, presbyter, promise before God, and all the saints, and you Guarin, bishop, that I will not practise carnal commerce: or if I do, I will resign my ecclesiastical honour and my benefice." "I John, archpresbyter, promise from this hour forward to you Warin, bishop, that I will never commit adultery all the days of my life with another man's wife, nor fornication with any unlawful prostitute. And if I do, I

(6) Murat, *Ital. Antiq.* Tom. ii. Diss. xx. *De actibus mulierum*.

expose myself to danger :” other prelates winked at the abuse. Some indeed made laws against it : but in the first council of Toledo, a law was made for it, and concubines were allowed to the clergy, for incontinence was a tide which could not be stopped, and which the prelates were obliged to regulate as well as they could. In regard to the baptism of minors, it was absolutely necessary to the admission of them into orders. Baptism was called *Janua ecclesiæ*, the *gate* by which people entered into the church. No step could be taken toward pensioning them before they had been baptized. Children might be admitted into ecclesiastical schools without it : but they could not be moved from thence, nor put into the list of choristers till they had been baptized. They were therefore taught very early to make the responses. A presbyter of twelve years of age, or as they called them, little infant presbyters, were very common. This abuse was not local, it prevailed over the whole Catholick world. The following is an injunction of Q. Elizabeth of England. “ Item, for as much as in these latter daies, many had been made priestes, beyng childre, and otherwise utterly unlearned, so that they could not reade to saie Mattens and Masse : the Ordinaries shall not admitt any suche to any cure or spiritual function (7).”

Parents, who had no interest in getting their children into the church, deferred the baptism of them : but the priests, who had further views, accelerated it. This was not agreeable to many thoughtful bishops, but the condition of the times obliged them to comply. Bonizo, bishop of Placentia, in the year one thousand eighty-nine, in a squabble about who of two was the lawful pope, was imprisoned, maimed, blinded, and murdered by the opposite party. This good prelate had written a book on the sacraments (8). On baptism he observes : “ that Jesus ordered his disciples to teach and baptize : that instruction ought to precede baptism, because as faith without works was dead, so works without faith was unprofitable : that it was supposed this order need not be observed in the baptism of children, on account of the faith of their parents, or the sponsion of

(7) Injunctions given by the Queenes Naiestie. The first yere of the raigne of our soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth. 1559.

(8) Murat. *Antiq.* Tom. iii. Diss. xxxvii.

their godfathers: that however, baptism profitted them no further than as exorcism and catechising, which were connected with it, profitted them: that though the apostles had received a command to baptize, yet they did not proceed immediately to execute it, but waited for the descent of the spirit, and it was not till the end of P  ter's sermon, when the people were *pricked in their heart*, and said, *Men and brethren, what shall we do?* that the apostle said, *Repent and be baptized every one of you*: that agreeably to all this the Roman pontiffs had decreed, that baptism should not be administered to the healthy and the safe at any time, except in publick on the vigils of Easter and Whitsuntide; although to prevent a greater evil, the loss of souls, they had allowed the sick in danger of death, and people besieged, or in danger of shipwreck, to be baptized at any time." Muratori, after he had produced a great number of authentick monuments of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, makes this very true observation: "By these monuments we may learn how many centuries Christians retained the custom of not baptizing infants, as we do now, as soon as they are born. Except in case of sickness, or imminent danger of death, most deferred it till the Saturdays before Easter-day and Whitsunday, on which days the church solemnly administered baptism. Thither children several years old were sometimes brought. Bernard, abbot of Cassiano, in the eleventh century, as William the monk reports in his life, published by Mabillon, N. xlii. says, *I was three years of age, when I was baptized*. We observe also, that the baptized immediately received the communion of the body of Christ(9)." There was another circumstance, too, which tended to carry over baptism from minors to babes. It was a custom in those sad times to expose children. Among the Franks they were called *Collects*, that is, gathered or picked up, and the law required either that they should be claimed by their parents or relations within ten days, or that they should become the slaves of the finders(1). There was in the 8th century a merciful arch-presbyter of Milan, named Datheus,

(9) *Antiq. Tom. iv. Diss. lvii. De ritibus.*

(1) *Baluzii Capitul. Lib. vi. Tit. 144.*

who built and endowed a foundling-hospital(2). Nothing can be more humane than the preamble of the charter, which censures incontinence, but which, however, distinguishes worse from bad, and supposing that youth had been hurried into imprudences, which they themselves would not justify, offers to prevent the destruction of illegitimate children by providing for them till they were seven years of age, and then by either placing them out, or allowing them to go where they would be perfectly free. A noble charity ! It was the custom then, when any person exposed a child, to wrap up a handful of salt in the swaddling clothes to signify that it had not been baptized (3). If there were no salt, it was understood, the ceremony had been performed. The excellent founder of the house forgot nothing, and he provided wet nurses to suckle, and a priest to baptize these his adopted children. It is natural to suppose that an exposed child, who had lain abroad nobody knew how long, or a child presented by its blushing mother, who could say very little about it, might be adjudged in danger of dying, and if so, baptism must have been administered immediately. If to all these be added the oblations of children to monasteries, and the pressing necessity of the clergy to prepare their own children for orders and a pension, the transition of baptism from little to less, from minors to infants, from dipping thrice to dipping once, from dipping once to pouring, and from pouring to sprinkling, will appear natural, and the baptism of babes may be accounted for without either the Old Testament or the New.

The accommodation of this ordinal to children of two or three years of age was practicable, and very easy. The canons allowed the baptizing of children, meaning minors. Under this name people claimed baptism for such as indeed were minors, but not such minors as the laws intended.

The same observation, which hath been made on another occasion on the vague meaning of such words as infant, child, little one, and the like, holds good here ; for precision was far from the character of the Italian language of

(2) Murat. *ut sup.* Tom. iii. Diss xxxvii. *Fundatio, seu dotatio Brephotrophii sancti Salvatoris, facta a Datheo Archipresbytero Mediolanensis ecclesie, Anno 787.*

(3) *Ibid. ut sup.*

those ages. The French, the Spanish, and the Italian languages, rose out of the corruption of the old Roman tongue. This tongue was perfect in the reign of Augustus in the writings of scholars, but it was not so among the populace even then either in the provinces or at Rome. Various dialects, unregulated by grammatical laws, were used all over Italy. Out of these, and foreign languages brought in by Greeks, Goths, Lombards, and others, in process of time a new language rose, which notaries were obliged to write, and of course to reduce to some order (4). The Corsicans and Sardinians first gave it a form, which in the thirteenth century others improved, and which in the end the Florentines refined up to its present perfect state. Spinello, a Sicilian writer of the 13th century, exemplifies the vague use of the terms in question (5). He relates an anecdote of Roger de Sanseverino, a child whom one Donatiello rescued from a ruin, into which his whole family had fallen. Donatiello says: My master, Aimar de San Severino, as he was fleeing to the coast to get aboard a ship, recollected Roger, and, turning himself to me, said, go, Donatiello, and try whether it be possible by any method to save *figliolo* the little child." He goes on to narrate the history, how he got possession of him, how he conducted him from place to place, till he delivered him to his grandmother, how she put him into the hands of the pope, how his holiness provided for him, and in the end that at 17 years of age Messer Roger became *uno bello giovane* an accomplished young gentleman. During all his minority he calls him promiscuously *figlio*, *figliulo*, *figliolo*, the first a corruption of *filius* a son, a child, and the last of *filiolus* a little son: yet this child, this little child, this Roger, whom Spinello calls a *little* little child, was nine years of age when Donatiello first went for him: *che era piccierillo di nove anni*. The Roman and Neapolitan dialect, which in those ages was nearly the same, is equally vague in the use of terms descriptive of legal infancy. Thus in an ancient fragment the reader is informed, that William, duke of Florence, had a son, *figlio*, beautiful as an angel, but of manners so depraved that he took pleasure in seeing citizens

(4) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. ii. Diss. xxxii. *De origine lingue Italianæ.*

(5) *Diurnali di Messer Matteo Spinello di Giovanazzo.* apud. Murat. *Script. Ital.* Tom. vii.

tortured, and after his father's orders had been executed, would beg more blows might be given the sufferers for his diversion (6). His father had invested him with military honours, and this cruel child who was an officer was *iovine* [juvenis] *de dodici anni*, a youth of twelve years of age." So again: "Feliciano entered the palace of the king of Hungary, and went into the room where the king, the queen his consort, and Lewis his son, were sitting at dinner. Lewis now king, was then in his infancy (7)." So again in the life of Cola di Rienzo (8): "The mangled body of the tribune was left hanging two days and one night, and the little children *Li Zitielli* pelted it with stones." So again: "Infants of five years of age walked two and two in procession, and chastized themselves with whips." Such a vague use of words occurs every where. An ordinal to regulate the baptism of children, therefore, is to be expounded by circumstances, and not by affixing to the word child an arbitrary sense, and by supposing it always stood for a new-born babe. In the Ambrosian ordinal of the time now under consideration the accommodation lay in the part at the water immediately before baptism. It was the administrator who repeated the creed, and the Catechumen had only two words to utter: the one *baptizare*: the other *credo*. A child of two or three years of age could utter these, and such were, probably, the children that were baptized in publick in the twelfth century in the Catholick church. It is the opinion of the academy *Della Crusca*, to which Muratori accedes, that the Italian word *bambino*, which answers to the English term *babe*, was originally taken from *Βαμβειων*, the participle of *Βαμβαινω*, which signifies one who speaks inarticulately (9). Can any thing be more likely than that all infants should obtain this name from such of them as spoke inarticulately at their baptism? Certain it is, the term came in while the practice was in use. Thus (to give only one example) in the chronicle called the *gests*, or achievements of the marquisses of Este, it is said, that Azzolino, the devil's executioner, spared nei-

(6) *Hist. Romanæ Fragmentum. apud Murat. Antiq. Tom. iii. Capitolo xii.*

(7) Capitolo x. Entra Feliciano. Lo Re stava a taola, e pranzava esso e la Reina e sio figlio Ludovico, modo Re, lo quale era in etate de *infantia*.

(8) *Vita Di Cola Di Rienzo Libro terzo. Capitolo xxiv.*

(9) Murat. *Antiq. Ital. Tom. ii. Diss. xxxiii. De origine sive Etymologia Italicarum vocum. Bambino. Infans. Infantulus.*

ther aged men, nor pregnant women, nor little stammering infants (1). Muratori observes, there are many words in Italy, as there are in other countries, which owe their origin to one man, or one event, merely accidental and arbitrary, and he gives an example in the word *Magnano*, a *Blacksmith*. After he hath mentioned many learned etymologies, and shewn the futility of them, he adds his own conjecture, which like all his, is ingenious, natural, and highly probable (2). There are more such etymologies than many are aware of, and Bambino seems to be one : but however it be, it is beyond a doubt the words Bambino, figlio, infant, child, and others synonymous, were all in those times vague and indeterminate, and nothing but circumstances can fix the sense ; and therefore no arguments for baptism taken from such single words can be valid.

If there be any doubt of this, it may be removed by turning to the vocabulary of the academy Della Crusca, where the sense of each word is given, and now fixed and confirmed by examples from the most approved Italian writers (3) : but in former ages the language was not reduced to precision : the famous passage in the gospel, Suffer little children to come unto me, is rendered in the Italian version : *Lasciate i piccoli fanciulli venire a me* (4). If the word *fanciullo* be taken precisely in the sense which the academicians have given it, this version is the best of any modern translation, and conveys that precise idea, which the evangelists meant. *Fanciullezza*, says the academy, is *puerizia*, the age between seven and fifteen : and *fanciullo* is a child out of infancy : and not arrived at adolescence. They observe, however, that the word is not always used accurately, but is sometimes put for a marriageable person. *Piccolo*, which signifies little, is intended to fix the sense, and *piccolo fanciullo* is a little boy of eight or ten years of age. To children of this size the circumstances in the gospel agree, but they do not agree to new-born infants. By the way, the learned Diodati, in his Italian notes on the New Testament, observes both the original mode of baptizing, and that of after ages. Thus on

(1) *Chron. Estense*. Murat. Tom. xv. An. MCCLX.

(2) *Magnano*. Faber Ferrarius.

(3) *Vocabolario Degli Accademici Della Crusca*. In Venetia. 1686.

(4) *La Sacra Bibbia*. Per Pietro, Chovet. 1641.

Mat. iii. 6. And were baptized of him in Jordan: he says, were *dipped* in water. Again on Rom. vi. 4. *We are buried with him in baptism*: that is, we are *immersed in water*, according to the ancient method of baptizing; a sacred symbol proper to set forth the entire suffocation of sin in us by the Spirit of God, and the cleansing of the mind by regeneration as a seal of the children of God. The word *suffogare*, which literally signifies to suffocate by drowning, is used figuratively to express the putting to death, or annihilating of any thing so that it could be or live no more, as to rot wheat in water is to suffocate, drown, or annihilate the germ: or the burying of any thing so that it was seen no more. This word was taken from the drowning of Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the Red Sea; and as the passage through that is said to be a figure of baptism, the Greek fathers first, and after them the Latins, incorporated the language of the history in Exodus into descriptions of baptism. The reverend Father Mingarelli lately published at Rome an ancient Glossary on Exodus, written in the ninth or tenth century, and as the learned Scipio Maffei supposed, by Pacificus, an archdeacon of Verona, either a native or an Englishman, or a German, which proves that the Italians of those times administered baptism to people, after they were instructed, by dipping, and that they transmitted the ideas of drowning and suffocating sin in baptism from the fathers to the moderns (6). Diodati therefore used the established language of his country: a harsh figure: fully expressive however of a perfect immersion of men, who had been guilty of actual sin.

(6) D. Johan. Aloysii Mingarellii *Anecdotorum fasciculus. Romæ 1756. Glossæ super Exodum. Cap. xiv. 20. Et erat nubes tenebrosa, et in luminans noctem*: Tenebrosa Egyptiis, lucida Israël; sic ipsa doctrina est fidelium illuminationis.

21. *Abstulit illud Dominus flante vento*: Mare baptismum significat. --- Divisæque est aqua: post baptismum aditus regni apertus est.

23. *Persequentes Egyptii ingressi sunt post eos* Usque ad ipsum baptismi introitum diabolus cum superbia, et ceteris satellitibus homines persequitur. Qui baptizandus est, filius diaboli descendit, sed eo summerso filius Dei ascendit.

TRANSLATION.

The pursuing Egyptians followed the Israelites into the red sea. So the haughty devil, and his satellites, pursue mankind even to the baptismal waters. So that a candidate for baptism, goes down into the water, a child of the devil, but having been immersed, he comes out of it a child of God!!

☞ It must be kept in mind that these are the comments of a Pædobaptist writer. [Ed.

Nothing is more common with writers on baptism than, on producing a law to baptize infants, instantly to conclude that modern infant baptism was an ancient universal practice ; but the conclusion is hasty, as themselves must own, if they please to advert to the cases above, for baptism of infants in Saxony in the eighth century was that of babes within a year old, under an imperial law ; but baptism of infants in Italy in that and following centuries was that of minors under canon law misinterpreted by custom, and applied to babes not by the despotism of the civil magistrate, but by the depravity of the clergy, or rather by that unnatural law of clerical celibacy.

CHAP. XXVIII.

SEVERAL CONSEQUENCES OF TRANSFERRING BAPTISM TO BABES.

IN the ages between the third century and the ninth, while the baptism of minors by dipping was generally practised, and while babes were baptized only in cases of extreme danger, publick baptisms at Easter and Whitsuntide were so ornamented with ceremonies as to exhibit a grand show. After the baptism of babes had been introduced in publick, many of these ceremonies became impracticable, and consequently fell into disuse, while others took an oblique direction, and became utterly unintelligible to a common spectator, though they continued to be used.

To give a brief sketch of this. i. It is remarkable that baptisteries disappeared, and along with them all the ceremonies used at the consecration of them ; for these buildings had been consecrated distinctly and apart from churches, and with great propriety, if consecration be necessary at all, for they were separate and independent edifices, as some ancient inscriptions prove (1).

ii. The disappearance of deaconesses, too, ought to be observed, for from the times of the apostles for several ages elderly women officiated in the church, and performed the same offices to their own sex as deacons did to men, one of which was administering baptism.

(1) Paciaud. *Antiq. Christ. Diss.* ii. Cap. 3.

When adult baptism fell into disuse, deaconesses disappeared, although the old form of ordaining them remains in the ordinals, for both Greek and Latin rituals retain the ancient form of ordaining the sister Phœbes, as the ritualists call them : but they are not used now in the western churches (2).

iii. Catechumens also have disappeared, and the forms relating to them are disused.

The learned and candid Dr. King, with the most laudable zeal, residing in Russia, availed himself of his situation, and made the Protestant churches a present of what they never had before, a clear, faithful, and accurate account of the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church in Russia, observes, “ that a vast number of inventions have been added to that plain institution of Christ, baptism ; inventions which arose from the capricious imaginations of bishops, while each appointed all the offices and ceremonies in his own diocese : though some circumstances, which might be supposed to have been proper or useful in earlier times, must appear unnecessary at present on account of the different situation of the Greek church. There is in this church a form of making Catechumens before baptism, and this is continued to infants : but there is also in the liturgies a form of dismissing Catechumens before the church received the Lord’s supper, which is now for a very obvious reason discontinued. The following is the Ritual.

Deacon. Catechumens ; pray unto the Lord.

Choir. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. Ye faithful, let us pray unto the Lord for the Catechumens, that the Lord will have mercy upon them.

Choir. Lord, have mercy upon us.

Deacon. That he may instruct them in the word of truth.

Choir. Lord, have mercy upon us, &c. (3).

The form of making an infant a Catechumen is retained, and the sponsor answers : but the impropriety

(2) *Goarii Ritual. Græcor.* Paris 1647. pag. 262. *De Diaconissis. Orat. in Diaconissæ ordinat.*

(3) Dr. John Glen King. *Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek church in Russia*, pag. 161. London. 1772.

is evident. "The priest turns the Catechumen to the West, uncovered, without shoes, and his hands lifted up, and saith : Dost thou renounce the devil, and all his works, all his angels, all his service, and all his pomp ? The Catechumen then answereth, or his sponsor, if it be a Pagan or a child, and saith : I do renounce. The priest repeats the same question the second and the third time, and he answers the same to each. The priest then saith : Hast thou renounced the devil ? Answer. I have renounced. The same question and answer thrice. Then the priest saith, blow and spit upon him : which he does, and the priest turns him to the East, holding his hands down, and then saith to him : Art thou joined unto Christ ? Answer. I am joined. Priest : Hast thou been joined unto Christ ? Answer. I have been joined. Priest. Dost thou believe in him ? Answer. I believe in him as king and God, and then repeats the creed, I believe in one God, to the end. The questions and answers and the creed are repeated a second and a third time. Then the priest asks thrice : Hast thou been joined unto Christ ? Answer, thrice : I have. Priest : Worship him. The Catechumen bowing, saith, I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the consubstantial and undivided Trinity. Then the priest saith : Blessed be God, who would have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth : now and for ever. Amen. The service finishes with a prayer (4)." It should seem there is the same reason for discontinuing the admission as the dismissal of Catechumens : but the Greek church doth not think so.

iv. The custom of swearing by baptism, which prevailed both in the Greek and Latin churches, hath been long forgotten ; and receiving the Lord's supper as a test of fidelity, so fully occupies its place, that he who receives that, is now said to take the sacrament, that is, the *oath*, as if there were no other, but formerly this was only one oath of several. The very learned and laborious Du Fresne hath collected many examples of baptismal oaths in his Glossary, and in his notes on the

(4) Dr. King, as before.

Byzantine writers (5). In the first ages, when a disciple of Jesus, in a Pagan city where Christianity was ridiculed or persecuted, stepped out of the crowd, and in the face of the world professed himself a Christian by being baptized, he was supposed to give an unequivocal proof of his integrity. It would have been a shame to doubt the sincerity of a man, who had the courage to act for conscience-sake in a case where he gained nothing, and hazarded all. Such a man, where attestation among his Fellow-Christians was required, might with a good grace lay his hand on his breast, and say, I protest by my baptism, or I declare by my Christianity, it is, it was, or it shall be so and so. If it be not so, I agree you should not take me for a Christian. Hence came, I swear by my faith, I plight thee my troth : or briefly, faith or troth it is so (6). This like every other custom that had any connection with baptism evidently came from adult baptism, for it is not imaginable that any man, who had been christened in infancy would say, I swear by *my* Christianity, that is, I appeal to that sincerity and good faith, with which when I was an infant, I have been told, I professed to believe the Christian religion. When in later times the clergy administered the baptismal oath by baptizing a child, it was a piece of chicanery, as some found to their cost, and it fell into total disuse. Gontharis besieged Carthage (7). Areobindus, general of the forces there, retired into a church. Reparatus, the bishop of the city, waited on him in the name of Gontharis to propose terms of capitulation. Areobindus offered to accept them on condition the bishop would confirm the treaty by an oath of baptism. The prelate agreed and swore and baptized a child. Thus baptism became a sacrament or an oath. After the baptism, Areobindus received the child from the hands of the bishop with the articles of capitulation, and went with this solemn pledge to Gontharis, who, notwithstanding the oath, put him to death the next day. The Catholics have seven ceremo-

(5) Caroli Du Fresne *Dom. du Cange. Glossarium ad scriptor. mediæ & infimæ latinitatis.* Paris, 1733, in verb. Juramentum - - - Christianitas - - - Jurare per christianitatem nihil aliud est quam jurare per baptismum. *Chronicon Paschale* - - *Cura et studio C. Du Fresne.* Parisiis, 1688, pag. 325 An. 478.

(6) Shakespeare.

(7) Procopius *apud* Du Fresne *ubi sup.*

nies of religion, which they call sacraments. Five of them seem to have been taken from this ordinance; unction, penance, baptism, confirmation, and orders: and the other two from the Lord's supper and marriage. The whole seem to have acquired the name of sacraments, that is, oaths, from the custom of appealing to three solemn transactions, a profession of christianity made at baptism: the joining with a christian church in receiving the Lord's supper: and the solemnity of a marriage contract. A man who could appeal to his own conscience, his fellow church members, and to his wife and her family, for his punctual performance of promises, and who had violated none of these engagements, ought to be believed. It was the *yea, yea, and nay, nay*, of primitive Christians. It was on some such just and natural ground that the English government required and accepted as evidence a certificate from three or four members of a dissenting congregation, that such a person was *bona fide* a protestant dissenter. From the same natural source, too, perhaps, came certificates from the minister of a parish, and the church-wardens; for the first principles of human actions are very few: the various modifications of them are infinite and innumerable.

v. The disuse of adult baptism accounts also for one historical fact, that is, that modern histories of events, unconnected with religion, contain no anecdotes relative to baptism or baptisteries: but ancient histories have many of this sort. For example. In an history of the Byzantine theatre, it is said, that, in the year two hundred and ninety-seven, the players, on a theatre at a city of Asia, diverted the pagan spectators with a mock baptism (8). For this purpose they provided a large bathing tub, filled it water, and plunged Gelasinus into it, to the no small diversion of the company.

In an history of Constantinoplitan revolutions it is said: In the year four hundred and seventy-eight, Zeno was by treachery received into the city of Constantinople, and got possession of the palace. The Emperor Basilicus, finding himself betrayed, fled with his consort and children into the great baptistery for safety (9). Thence

(8) Chronic. Paschale *ubi sup.* pag. 279. Γελασινος, &c.

(9) Ibid. p. 325.

they were fetched out under promises of personal security, only to be deprived of all imperial ensigns, and banished. This was the celebrated baptistery of S. Sophia, and it was called the great baptistery, either because it belonged to the great church, or to distinguish it from the smaller baptistery at the church of S. Cosmas and Damien, or as the Greeks call it, S. Cosmidian.

vi. Some articles connected with baptism have disappeared. For example : Compilers of ancient poetry are obliged to say : this poem was written on baptism (1) : that was composed in a baptistery : This turns on a thought suggested by the circumstance of two churches using one baptistery. Collectors of last wills and testaments are forced to observe (2) : such and such legacies were bequeathed to baptisteries, just as the old Romans left money to the baths to buy oils and unguents for the company (3). Antiquaries of all classes have actually done all this, and collections of pictures, inscriptions, medals, coins, festivals, and histories of all kinds of the middle ages, have some connection near or remote with this subject (4). Even punsters and writers of jest books have dipping in baptism for the object of their wit (5). No remark is more common among the inestimable compilers of antiquities than that the modern churches all over Italy have taken place of the ancient Roman baths. What the baths were in pagan Italy, the churches are in modern Italy. The pride of national magnificence hath been transferred from the former to the latter. Had Grævius and Gronovius been Anabaptists, probably, they would

(1) Gronovii *Thesaur. Græc. Antiq.* Vol. viii. p. 2405.

(2) S. Sylvestri *vita*.

(3) Barnab. Brisson. *De spectaculis et Feriis apud Gronovii Thesaur. Græc.* Vol. viii. pag. 2406.

(4) Camden's *Britannia*. Lond. 1695. British Coins. pag. 87. N. 13.

(5) Heinrici Bebelii. -Poggii. Alplonsi regis et Adelphi *Facetie*. Tubingæ, 1555 Lib. iii. *De mirabili baptismo cujusdam sacerdotis*. Sacerdos volens baptizare puerum, invenit inter cætera in libro, salta per tria, hoc est, id quod dicendum est invenit post tertium folium. Quia propter non intelligens, saltavit circa baptisterium. Ad hoc Rustici, Domine, quid hic facis ? nos nunquam vidimus hactenus ita baptizare. Bene est, dixit sacerdos, reliqui verba non intellexerunt. Postea legens, *immerge* intus, credebatur merdandum in baptisterium, atque, remotis arbitris, merdavit in illud. Quod rusticus per rimas portarum videns, dixit ad sacerdotem ; Diabolus baptizare faciat suos pueros in isto baptismo, ego non faciam, atque puerum sine baptismo abduxit.

have conjectured that the baptistery was the link, which at first naturally connected the Christian church with a Roman bath, and that the loss of the baptism of adults accounts for the disappearance of the baptismal hall, now that the superb cathedral is finished. It resembles the taking away of the scaffolding. However it be, when the productions of modern times become antiquities, future antiquaries will have nothing of this kind to adorn their pages, or employ their artists; for the christening of a child is a dead unanimated trifle, too insignificant to rouse and fire the fancy and the passions of mankind: but the baptism of a wise and willing professor of Christianity was the event of his life the most to be remembered, and a great multitude of such fired all with a holy enthusiasm: and the day of dedicating a baptistery was celebrated as an annual festival.

vii. Nothing appears more unmeaning than some modern ceremonies of infant baptism, yet there is not one, which was not at first a reasonable and necessary part of the service. For example. What can a lighted wax taper, put into the hand of a godfather (for the child cannot take it) in broad noon-day, signify? Infidels laugh and priests preach mysteries, and where no evil passions are excited, all is very well: but if the baptism of adults in the night be admitted, here is nothing to explain, nor any thing to excite ridicule. The very learned president Brisson hath proved by undeniable evidence from ancient and allowed authorities, that in the middle ages, when baptism was administered by dipping only at Easter and Whitsuntide, the number of Catechumens being very great, the administrators began to baptize in the night, or at least long before break of day, and so many flambeaus were lighted up for publick convenience, that the darkness was turned into day (6). Could any thing be more natural than for some of the attendants to give a taper to a person coming up out of the water, or to walk before him and light him? It served at once to distinguish him in the crowd for freedom of passage, and to light him from the baptistery to the dressing-room. It is very likely one of the Greek and Latin names for a

(6) Brisson. *De spectaculis apud Gronov.* Vol. viii. p. 2410.

baptistery came from this circumstance (7). Perhaps also vigils came from hence. Long after the baptism of adults was discontinued, the country people, chiefly women, about Ravenna, used to go to town on the eve of John Baptist's day, and sit up, without knowing why, all night in the church dedicated to him (8). It was only in the sixteenth century that Julius archbishop of Ravenna put an end to the custom. The primitive Christians were not a set of enthusiasts, who dealt in mysteries and hieroglyphicks: mysticism lies in modern accounts of their religion; for every ceremony may be interpreted as easily as this.

The ancient rites of baptism are almost all in use at this day: but many are not now in connection with baptism. The washing of feet is in the Greek, the Roman, and some Protestant churches. The ancient baptismal kiss went along with Easter-Sunday, and the Greek church, and some protestant churches continued it, not at baptism, but the Greeks at Easter, and the Protestants after the Lord's supper (9).

It would be endless to enumerate particulars: and a sketch of a few more ceremonies in general shall suffice.

viii. It was a custom for candidates to give in their names in writing before the time of baptizing (1). These were arranged in a catalogue in a church register, and were called over before prayer. Hence came naming and baptism. Some candidates had been slaves, and had no distinct names before; others had been called by pagan names, which they now exchanged for Christian, as Lais for Mary, Jovius for Peter: this rendered different columns necessary, that the new name might be set against the old one. In process of time the names of the officers of the church were put into a column by themselves, and they were subdivided into cler-

(7) *Φωτιστηριον* -- Simeon. Metaphrast. S. Martiani *vita*. Pulcherrimi quoque ab eo constructi illuminatorii, quod quidem solemus vocare baptisterium. Comprehensum est a quinque porticibus, sicut probaticam quoque aiunt piscinam, quæ est in Hierusalem *baptistery*.

Φωτισμος Illuminatio. Illustratio. Lumen. i. e. Baptisma -- baptism.

ημερα των φωτων. Dies Luminarium. i. e. Sabbat. Paschal -- Easter-Sunday.

(8) Hieron. Rubi *Hist. Raven.* Lib. xi. *Venetis* 1590, pag 768

(9) Georgii Pachymeris *Andronici Hist.* Pet. Possino *interprete Roma* 1669. Cap. xv. pag. 28.

(1) Concil. Carthag. iv. Cap 85. Baptizandi nomen suum. dent. -- Basil. -- Chrysost. Isidor. -- et Ambros. *Liturgia*. -- Pomp. Samelli *Antiq. Basilicographia*. Cap. xxvi.

gy, bishops and benefactors. Thence came the diptychs (2), or registers of select names, out of which in time proceeded names to be prayed for, first the living, afterward the dead, then came commemorations of saints, martyrs, illuminations, pictures, statues, canonizations, calendars, festivals, rituals, and so on; nothing of the original remaining to the laity in baptism, except the question, what is your name, and even that a babe is not able to answer. Hegesippus about one hundred and seventy was the first who took out of the catalogues a list of bishops, which are now the proper diptyches.

ix. It was a custom for Catechumens to spend the week before the time of baptizing in fasting, prayer, and hearing sermons; and to abstain from amusements, at other times lawful, as bathing, visiting, and other such pleasures. Infant baptism rendered all these obsolete in regard to this ordinance, and what of this kind remains in passion-week is transferred to the Lord's supper, and is now a preparation for the sacrament at Easter. On Palm-Sunday, which is the first day of the week before Easter, there was a solemn washing of the heads of Catechumens. Palm-Sunday was called on this account capitilavium, the day of washing heads; for on this day Catechumens, who had been long under tuition, were divided, and such as were declared competent, entered by this ceremony on the services of the week preparatory to baptism: while the rest remained in the state of Catechumens till the next season, or till they obtained more knowledge of Christianity, and had given full proof of a thorough conversion (3). Competents signified joint petitioners, for none were baptized but such as petitioned to be baptized, and none were allowed to petition before they understood what they asked for. It is not impossible, that the pictures in some baptisteries, in which one man is represented pouring water on the head of another standing naked in a river up to his breast or his shoulders, were intended to include both baptism by dipping, and competency, or faith and holiness and free choice by pouring: the river being a sign of the first, and washing the head of the last. Thus the pic-

(2) J. And. Schmidtii *De Diptych. Diss.* Paciaud. *De vet. diptych. Diss.* vi. Cap. 10. - Norisii *Op. Tom. 1. apud* Paciaud.

(3) Ordo Roman. *De Domin. Palmar.* Vide Vicecom. *de ablutione capitulis* iii. 15.

ture informed every spectator, that Christianity offered no violence to any man. When the baptism of believers was left off, this ceremony naturally fell into disuse.

x. It was a custom just before the administration of baptism for the bishop to preach, and there are many discourses of the fathers, which were delivered on these occasions (4). The sermons were intended to explain and confirm the doctrine of baptism, to direct the performance of it, and to excite such holy affections as were suited to the occasion. Immediately before baptism the candidates stood upright, lifted up their hands, renounced Paganism and all criminal and dissipated courses of life, professed their belief of Christianity: then they retired, stripped naked, and were rubbed all over with oil, after which they went down into the water. One deacon led each person in: another cried with an audible voice, turn your face toward the east, then the bishop baptized him. Generally, in modern practice, the sermon, being needless, is wholly laid aside, and the few who continue to discourse, for certain, do not address those, who are most interested in the business. Renunciation hath changed its object, profession of faith is made by proxy without the knowledge or consent of the principal. Oil is continued in one church, reduced in another, and wholly disused in a third.

xi. It was a custom after baptism to wash the feet of the newly baptized, to perfume them with ointments, to put a white garment and a garland upon them, to salute them with a kiss, to refresh them with milk, honey, and wine, to make them presents, to put into their hands wax tapers, and to sing the thirty-second psalm, *Blessed is he, whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile.* All these were expressions of joy, which on such occasions were very just: but when infants took the place of believers, effusions of joy fled away with the cause which had produced them (5). To Christians there is a great difference between the conversion of a man and the birth of a child.

(4) Vicecom *ut sup.* Lib. iv. Cap. xvii.

(5) Jacob. Goarii *Euchologion. Officium Sancti baptismatis Oratio ad faciendum Catechumenum ablutio post baptismum.*

xii. It was also in consequence of transferring baptism from believers to babes, and of altering dipping to pouring and sprinkling, that the church was overwhelmed with a tide of frivolous casuistry, a damage to learning, and a disgrace to Christianity. Casuistry itself is a futile thing, and if Christianity were so abstruse as to require the aid of a Casuist, it would be a strong presumption against the divinity of it. Baptism in the New-Testament is plain, and hath in it no mystery to be believed, and no difficulty to be practised ; but alter the mode and change the subject, and it becomes perplexed, the most difficult thing in the world to be understood, because incongruous with reason, and impossible to be practised, because it violates the irreversible laws of nature, and of course subverts morality to serve the interest of faith. Casuists can take off even the horror of murder by interpreting the commission of it to be the giving of validity to a sacrament. It would seem, if a woman drown her child, she commits murder ; a jury of twelve men would give in such a verdict : but a Casuist is another kind of man, and he will convert this into a trifling question, whether in the mode of drowning the child the mother conferred a valid baptism ; and to determine this question implies a learned education, and priests' orders are absolutely necessary to the safe practice of this sublime spiritual sort of virtue, a virtue above par, rectified by faith into what the pious and learned Casuist denominates grace. No men have studied this sort of religion more than the Spanish Catholics. In the year sixteen hundred and nineteen, Doctor Don Pedro de Ochagavia, a canon of the church of Salamanca in Spain, published a folio volume of casuistry on the sacraments of the church (6). In the second part he treats of baptism, and investigates every question that can be thought of concerning it. The sixth question is, whether *emersion* were essential to baptism ? Five hundred years before, John Beleth of Paris, a celebrated Casuist, had taught that a child was to be dipped three times in the water, and three times

(6) *Magist. D. Petri de Ochagavia et Mauleon Breves Tractatus univ. doct. sacram. eccles. comprehendentes. Salmantica, 1619. Quæst. vi. p. 67. An in eo casu, quo baptismus conferatur per immersionem baptizandi in aqua, necessum sit ipsum ex aqua extrahere, et non ibi suffocandum relinquare.*

taken out (7): but Doctor Ochagavia determined the contrary, for the legislature of the church had, since the time of Beleth, declared that immersion was not essential to baptism; and Dr. Ochagavia very properly observed, that if it were not essential to a valid baptism to put a child into water, it could not be absolutely necessary to take him out. Now it might happen that the priest, the moment he had immersed the child, might drop down dead: or it might happen that a weak child in the hands of a feeble old priest might be suffocated and die under water. In such cases, were the children validly baptized, and would they be saved? The Doctor allowed that the baptism of immersion was good, and that it represented the burial of Christ, and emersion his resurrection; however, that neither the one nor the other were of the essence of baptism, and of course, in the cases supposed, the children would be both baptized and saved. The Doctor asks, whether if any one should immerse a child in a river with intention to take him out, and by any unforeseen accident he should not be able, and the child should die under water, it would be valid baptism? Most certainly it would. Even if any one should throw a child into water with an intention of taking away his life, as emersion is not essential, the child would receive a valid baptism, and be entitled to eternal life. In confirmation of this opinion, the Doctor quotes the casuists Panormitanus, Rosella, Victoria, Suarez, and Vasquez. Preposterous as this casuistry may appear, the learned Spaniard is a close and consequential reasoner, and admitting as he did church laws for data, he could not conclude any otherwise than he did, so that the iniquity of the affair doth not originate in the Casuist, but in the doctrines and laws of the church, which such men have sold themselves to support. Happily a Protestant, holding the sufficiency of scripture, and squaring his religion by the plain institutions of it, hath nothing to do with casuistry of this kind, and no unbeliever can make any advantage against Christianity on account of it.

xiii. The worst consequences that followed the baptism of babes were the loss of principle in the baptized, and the loss of evidence to the truth of Christianity itself.

(7) Joan. Belethi *Rational divin. offic.* Antwerpæ. 1562. Cap. cx.

A virtuous profession of the Christian religion is founded on faith in Christ, and from this first element all after actions naturally flow ; but where, as in professing infants, the primordial element is not, and cannot be, religion rises on a postulatam, or assumed proof, and can be no more than a prejudice. The lives of such nominal Christians give too much evidence that they are Christians only by prepossession, and hence come their innumerable errors, passions, and vices. Having no reasons of their own for either faith or virtue, they know nothing of the religion, which they profess, and avoid none of the crimes, which it was intended to destroy. Hence blaspheming Christians, debauched Christians, christian highwaymen and assassins, some whom justice is obliged for the good of society to imprison, or to confine in chains, and others, whom the same justice is necessitated publicly to execute.

xiv. Christianity to be supported by evidence sustains a great loss. In vain are evidences of the truth of Christianity published in books ; either unbelievers do not read them, or if they do, the force of arguments is borne down by the torrent of impiety and injustice of others called Christian. Infant baptism, then, does individuals no good, and it does the cause a great deal of harm by hardening some, and by discouraging others from even inquiring into the only hope of man. A great loss of order and pleasure : a great acquisition of disorder and pain !

The ills that overflow society from the ignorance and depravity of the people at large are too notorious to need any exemplification ; and they are only curable, if curable, by means of a wise, a virtuous, a religious education. There is no remedy for the parents, but education is a probable preventive for their children, and then the question, which hath perplexed many a good man, would be answered, why does Providence commit the care of so many children to such abandoned parents ? *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*. If Charlemagne led all Europe into servility and profligacy by only vitiating the education of children, by appointing monks to blast and perish their understandings, and teach them even to take religion upon trust, would not direct contrary means produce direct contrary effects ? There is

no depicting the deplorable ignorance and horrible vice of the tenth century ; and it cannot be denied that they were natural consequences of the eighth and ninth, and the more christian the more wicked they became.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE BAPTISM OF ABORTIVES.

IF history be narration of the *whole* truth, this chapter must be inserted ; but as the subject is voluminous abroad, where the practice is common, and Casuists are obliged to discuss it at large in every point of view, so in a country where it is not in use, though the story must be stated, yet it may well admit of abbreviation.

The baptism of abortives proceeded from an excess of benevolence under the misguidance of an erroneous doctrine. It is, undoubtedly, the last stage of the corruption of baptism, and if it fell to the lot of the Roman church to exhibit this, it was because baptism had been so corrupted before the pope rose to the summit of his power, that it followed of course, and necessarily flowed out of the generally received doctrine. The Roman Catholicks were not the authors of this baptism, but a very ancient doctrine ripened in their hands into this practice.

Men were never baptized for the sake of being baptized, but for the sake of something connected with baptism. This something was at first a profession of Christianity, and nothing more ; and baptism was necessary to the profession. It was always supposed, that to be a christian was necessary to salvation ; and as all Christians professed Christianity by being baptized, the connexion between baptism and salvation was very early admitted in the church : but so admitted as always to include something more than baptism ; something that like a seed contained in it all the stamina of future fruits.

If it be true, as some very learned men affirm, that in the second century the Egyptian priests initiated into the mysteries of Isis by bathing candidates in water ; and if the Alexandrian Jews admitted their proselytes by the same ceremony : it follows, that in the beginning of the third century baptism alone was not sufficiently dis-

tinative of a Christian; and it was absolutely necessary to include something else in it, in order to support the vague opinion, that baptism was necessary to salvation (1). Sir John Marsham quotes a passage from Apuleius to prove that people were initiated into the mysteries of Isis by bathing (2). Apuleius was a native of Madaura in Africa; a city formerly belonging to Syphax, then to Masinissa, and, in the 2d century, when Apuleius flourished, a Roman colony. This learned philosopher, practised the law, and directed the publick games in his own country. His book, entitled the *Golden Assis*, is a satire on magicians, priests, and cheats. If it be all taken for true history, it is taken for more than it is worth, for the most judicious Pagans of his own time thought it a romance. The writer pretends to have gotten himself initiated into all mysteries, for the sake of knowing the bottom of all in order to expose them to contempt. His pretence of being bathed at his initiation into the mysteries of Isis may be romantick in regard to himself, and yet it may be a true report concerning the Egyptian mode of initiating (3). Sir John quotes a passage from the philosopher Arrian, to prove that the Jews admitted proselytes by bathing (4). Arrian was a Greek, born at Nicomedia in Bithynia, and flourished in the second century. He was a disciple of Epictetus, and published the maxims taught by his tutor, which were those of a just and beautiful morality: but whether the passage in question regards Jews, or Christians, who in the first ages were often confounded with Jews, may admit of a doubt (5). The Jews themselves are not agreed on the subject of baptizing proselytes. Some of the Rabbies ridicule John and Jesus for baptizing, and ask: "Who gave John authority to institute baptism? On what law could he ground the fancy? Neither on the old nor the new: for it is no where commanded to plunge persons or proselytes into water." On the contrary, the writers of the *Mischna*, the text of the *Talmud*, who flourished in the beginning of the third century, affirm, that the Jews baptized their proselytes: and this is the earliest mention of proselyte-bap-

(1) Joh. Marsham *Can. Chronic. Sac. ix. Baptismus Ebraeorum*

(2) *Metam. Lib. ix.*

(4) In *Epictet. Lib. ii. Cap. 9.*

(3) See his life in Bayle.

(5) Bayle. Arrian.

tism (6). It is therefore highly probable, that in the time of Origen, both Egyptians and Jews did initiate by dipping in water; and of course that baptism in water was not alone sufficiently descriptive of that baptism, which was held necessary to the profession of Christianity, and so to salvation.

Further, it is to be observed, that it was customary with the Greeks, when persons re-appeared, alive and well, who had been long absent either in war or travel, and had been reputed dead, and had received funeral honours, to account them *deutero-geneis*, born again, or come to life again; and the return was called *ecnagenensis*, or *palingenesis*, a being born again (7). The Romans adopted the phraseology, and a law of the empire declares, that slaves manumitted under certain conditions should enjoy the right of *regeneration*; that is, the manumission should be accounted in the eye of the law a natural birth; they should enter into the same state of perfect freedom as if they had been free-born (8). Origen, who was full of the lore of Egyptian, Jewish, and Grecian literature, finding in the conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus, *water, new-birth, and kingdom of heaven* united, without attending to the connexion and drift of the discourse, applied the passage to baptism; and it seemed to answer his purpose fully, for here was the external sign, and the internal something, and both connected with the kingdom of heaven. The doctrine, however, had some difficulties, especially to infants, that is, Catechumens, and martyrs, who might, and in some cases must, die without baptism. Origen was a singular genius, and he got over all difficulties by distinguishing baptism into three sorts. Baptism was *fluminis*, *flaminis*, *sanguinis*: that is, *river-baptism*: *fire-baptism*: *blood-baptism*. River-baptism is a being dipped in *water*. The baptism of fire is *repentance*, or a *disposition* to receive grace. Blood-baptism is *martyrdom* for Christ. In case the first cannot be come at, the two last supply its place, and a person *may* be saved without

(6) Dr. Gale's *Reflections on Wall's History*. Let. ix.

(7) Marsham. *ubi sup.*

(8) Παλιγγενεσία etiam facta est ex auctoritate Cæsarea, cum mutaretur natalium conditio. *Novell. lxxviii.* Justinian. Cap. i. *De jure annulorum, &c.*

the application of water (9). It is wonderful, that both Catholicks and Protestants have received this comment for the scripture doctrine of baptism, and differed only in their manner of explaining it, as Cardinal Bellarmine very fairly observes (1). They were all led into the mistake by applying to natural infants what Origen had said of only youth and adults. Origen's infants were capable of repentance and martyrdom : but the infants of the Reformers were incapable of both. In Origen the distinction was proper : in them the contrary.

The doctrines of the necessity, and efficacy of baptism, became more and more obscure in proportion as it approached to natural infants. Scripture had implied that baptism was necessary to the remission of sins, that is, to the putting off of a profession of vice, or false religion, and to the profession of Christianity (2). Origen had said, baptism was necessary to the remission of sins, meaning to a profession of Christianity, and to eternal life, the end of that profession ; explaining it, however, so as to save harmless people preparing for baptism, and especially such as were put to death before they could reduce their holy resolutions to practice : but when baptism came to be administered to children destitute of moral qualities, as incapable of resolving as of acting, the theory of the necessity of baptism sounded very harsh. Gregory Nazianzen felt this, and qualified the doctrine accordingly. In that famous oration where he recommended the baptism of little ones at three years of age, and urged the necessity of it to babes in case of danger of death, he took care expressly to declare what, in his opinion, infants would suffer, by dying unbaptized. Three positions give his precise meaning. Adults who wilfully neglect to be baptized will be condemned. Baptized infants dying in infancy will be saved. Infants dying unbaptized will neither be glorified nor punished : not punished, for it was not their fault ; not glorified, for they were not sealed, or initiated ; *ὡς ἀφραμίστους μέν*. When this doctrine came into the hands

(9) Origenis *exhort. ad Martyrium studio Joh. Rodolfi Wetstenii*. Basileæ 1674. p. 191. *Ἰπποκρίτης δαμνέ*.

(1) *Disputat. de contro. Christianæ fidei. adv. hujus temp. hereticos*. Tom. iii. Paris. 1608. Lib. i. Cap. vi. Kemnitius dissentit a catholicis in modo explicandi hæc tria baptismata, sanguinis, flammis, fluminis.

(2) Mark i. 4. . . . Luke iii. 3. . . . xxiv. 47. . . . Acts ii. 38. . . . xxii. 16.

of the barbarous Africans, they made no scruple to affirm both in their writings, and in their canons, that infants, dying unbaptized in the name of the Trinity, were inevitably punished with the torment of everlasting fire (3). This doctrine was the parent of the baptism of Abortives : and this doctrine in all its stages was called an apostolical tradition. This was a corps de reserve to the fathers ; but they sometimes forgot themselves, and no regard is due to what they say on apostolical tradition ; as for instance, Jerom says, elders are the same as bishops ; consequently, they and deacons are the only two orders of officers in the apostolical churches. Jerom had forgot, that a little before, he had affirmed, it was an apostolical tradition that there were three orders, bishops, elders, and deacons (4).

The men who embraced the doctrine of the necessity of baptism to salvation, did not foresee where it would end. They preached up the *propagation* of sin, and carried the ideas of guilt and punishment over from actions to nature, and so obliged their successors at every step to plunge themselves deeper and deeper in difficulties (5).

The apostle John observes, that the Gnosticks were not of Christians, although they went out *from* them. This was very true : they had embraced the principles of Gnosticism before they heard of Jesus ; and one was, the evil properties of matter : in other words, the universal pollution of nature. When they heard that Jesus, a son of Adam, was a perfectly good man, they reconciled it to their philosophy by affirming that Jesus had not a real, but an apparent body. This is what John intends when he says : they denied that Jesus was come in *the flesh* (6). When they heard of the resurrection, they denied that of the bodies of men. When in after times the fathers had admitted universal pollution of human nature, and had assigned to baptism the office of cleansing it, the case of the Old Testament saints came in due order before them. To get over this difficulty, they imagined a spiritual baptism, so that when David said, *wash* me, and I shall be clean, he wished to be baptized ; and St.

(3) Wetsten. *ubi sup.* p. 126.

(4) Tom. ii. *Epist. ad Evagrium*, apud Wetsten. p. 159.

(5) Concil. Trident. *Sess. v. De peccato originali*. 2.

(6) 1 John ii. 19. - 2 John vii.

Ambrose said, to will was to do in the case of baptism. For these purposes they made out eight sorts of baptism (7). There was the baptism of the world in Noah's flood, and the baptism of Israelites to Moses in the red sea, and so on. When the case of John the Baptist came before them, St. Gregory baptized him in spirit, in the old testament mode, and St. Austin affirmed, Jesus literally baptized him in the new testament mode. When the Reformers avowed the doctrine of the universal pollution of nature, and the necessity of baptism to salvation, they distinguished necessity into two kinds: the one was absolute necessity, the other was necessity *secundum quid*. They explained this by another case. Conjugal love, said they, is a duty, but it is the duty of only married persons, and it is their duty only while they are in a married state. In the final settlement of the business, the church of Rome affirmed the necessity of baptism to salvation in all conceivable cases: but baptism in that church stands for two inseparable things, *water* the *sign*, and *grace* the thing signified. Protestants, who contended that the Romans were nothing but Papists, they themselves were Catholics, laid down the same doctrine, but qualified so as, in certain cases, to suppose the thing signified may be, and in order to salvation, must be, where the sign cannot be united to it. *Water* the *sign*, and *grace* the thing signified, both remain to the Romans: *grace* of necessity, and *water* where it can be, remain with the Protestants: so that in the churches of the latter there remains the absolute necessity of *one*, and that the invisible part of the old Catholick baptism: and in the former both are retained. It must be allowed, the reformation is an amendment; it is one step backward from a horrible excess.

Retaining the necessity of water, to cleanse human nature from sin in order to salvation, exposed the Catholics to almost insurmountable difficulties. The subject will be lightly touched elsewhere, and lightly touched, is all it must be (8). It is only mentioned here for form's-sake. A discussion is too shocking: and to the feelings of parents cruel, insupportably cruel. *Human nature must be ascertained: this is not always easy.*

(7) Suicer. obs. s. s. c. iii. Baptismus- .i. Fluminis- .ii. Flaminis- .iii. Sanguinis- .iv. Diluvium- .v. Mosis- .vi. Legalis- .vii. Christ- .viii. Penitentia. His speciebus superaddit Cedrenus, in compend. hist. ix. Baptismus arenæ.

(8) In the chapter on *Aspersio*.

Water is essential : this in some cases is impossible to be applied : hence discussions on chymical liquors, surgical instruments : and so on. The union of the soul to the material form must be determined : hence indelicate scrutinies, and the necessity of miracles, to recal the departed spirit, and to confine it in the body till the saving benefit is applied. It is very hard to be obliged to work miracles in the eighteenth century. No, the subject must not be described by a Protestant : custom, second nature, may have rendered it innocent to a Catholic, perhaps an act of benevolence : but the world are not all callous, and nature hath begun to rebel against system. The Creator of the universe hath so wisely constructed society, that ills work to their own cure. Baptism rose pure in the East : it rolled Westward diminished in lustre, often beclouded with mists, and sometimes under a total eclipse : at length it escaped the eye, and was lost among attenuated particles, shades, non-entities, and monsters : then it took a contrary direction, and probably in time it will emerge from every depression, and shine in its original simplicity and excellence.



CHAP. XXX.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES NEARLY OR REMOTELY CONNECTED WITH BAPTISM.

THERE are two kinds of baptismal connections, the one natural, the other arbitrary. There is a natural connection between the baptism of a believer and freedom, as there is between that of a babe and spiritual dominion. This natural union hath been treated of as necessary to argument, from the nature and fitness of things in the christian religion, to the nature and fitness of things in the world. Believers' baptism accords with the nature of man and the happiness of society, as both are understood in good governments : infant baptism is in perfect harmony with the exercise of tyranny, as it is practised in families where the patria potestas deprives individuals of religious liberty, and in governments where the people are not allowed to choose their own religion. At present arbitrary connections are to be considered, and chiefly in that community

where they were invented and practised—the church of Rome.

A man, who would investigate this subject properly, ought for a moment to turn his eyes from Christianity, and fix them on the Roman empire, for the same reason that he who is going to account for the misapplication of an immense fortune, ought first to examine the qualities of the young heir who received it. It should be observed, that Rome, from its foundation, was inspired with a spirit of dominion; that in process of time the fetters which the citizens had forged for others, were by a faction fastened on themselves; that Julius Cæsar had butchered a million of his fellow-creatures to obtain absolute power; and that, if in the reign of his successor, when Jesus was born, the whole world was at peace, it was the quiet of a prison where dread forbade resistance, and where prudence preached acquiescence. When a succession of cruel Emperors caused Rome to flow with the blood of its inhabitants, and when no man's life was secure, every one wished to be master for his own safety. Competitors for power divided the empire: Goths and Vandals dismembered it; every little tyrant had Cæsar in his eye, and bishops in great cities being become, by the nature of their office, and by the gifts of their disciples, men of great political consequence, applied, as was natural, all the means in their power to render themselves independent, for the sake of securing their own safety and freedom.

Having surveyed the empire, the eye should fix itself steadily and distinctly on that class of people, who have been pleased to call themselves *THE CHURCH OF ROME*: for they were the men, who made the arbitrary connections in quest. This is a most perplexed and intricate subject: but a little cool attention may catch the clue, and that caught, the work is done, for all the rest follows of course.

There are in the New Testament three sorts of epistles. One class was written to individuals: as, the presbyter unto the well-beloved Gaius: the presbyter unto the elect lady and her children: Paul to Timothy: Paul to Titus: Paul to Philemon, Apphia, and Archippus. The second class was addressed to churches: as Paul and Sosthenes unto the *church* of God at Co-

rinth : Paul and Timothy unto the *church* of God at Corinth ; Paul and all the brethren with him unto the *churches* of Galatia : and so on. The third class was addressed at large to all persons of a certain description : as, to the Hebrews by some anonymous writer : to the twelve tribes scattered abroad by James : to such of the Jewish tribes as lived dispersedly in Greece by Peter : to such among them as had obtained like precious faith with the apostles by the same Peter : and so forth. The epistle of Paul to the Romans belongs to the third class, and it is addressed to such of the Jews at Rome as had not received any spiritual gift, and were not established in any form of christian communion, although their belief of the prophecies was universally known and applauded, and they were called, as all their nation had been by the prophets in the name of God, an holy nation, a peculiar people, and so on. As for the *church* at Rome, they assembled at the house of Aquila and Priscilla, and Paul besought these Jews to greet them in his name. The first is the class of people, who were out of the synagogue, but not in the church, who had a general knowledge of Christianity, but mixed with enthusiastical ideas and inveterate customs of Judaism ; who, probably, were the true parents of the modern church of Rome, and who, when they got into power, instead of greeting churches in private houses, suppressed them, established their own theology by law, and denominated themselves THE CHURCH OF ROME. On this subject it may suffice to hint, that by such men afterward, united with the haughty Romans, the Aaronical system of religion was lifted into a throne, and erected on the ruins of the New Testament, and of the reason and the rights of mankind.

Unconnected as baptism may seem to be with all this, it was, however, the chief instrument of acquiring power, and producing a revolution in favour of pontifical dominion. By this the hierarchy was formed, and by this, and not by argument, it was chiefly supported.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH THE ROMAN HIERARCHY.

It hath been said before, that in the reign of the Emperor Nero, Plautius Lateranus, who was consul elect, in pure zeal for the liberty of his country, entered into a

conspiracy to dethrone the Emperor. The design was defeated. Plautius was put to death, and the Lateran estate was confiscated to the crown. Several succeeding Emperors resided there, as it should seem, by some antiquities found there. The Emperor Constantine gave bishop Sylvester this old imperial mansion for a sort of parsonage house, and here, in this remarkable spot, sacred to the love of liberty, was the first artificial baptistery in Rome erected for the destruction of it (1). Sixty years before, there were forty-four of the Jewish christian congregations in Rome. Till the time of Sylvester they had baptized either in private baths, or in subterranean waters, or in any place without the city. From this period at proper seasons of the year all their Catechumens went to be baptized at the Lateran Baptistery. The Lateran church soon rose near the Baptistery, as that had done near the bishop's house, and nothing can be more natural than that the other congregations should look up to the bishop of the church at the baptistery, as a friend to whom they were all obliged ; who was the most proper person to be consulted about times and modes of baptism, administrators of the ordinance, choice of teachers, and regulation of all other ecclesiastical affairs. In process of time what convenience and perhaps conscience had begun, custom established as laws necessary to the well-being of the society. The bishop of St. John at the Baptistery seemed a common parent to all, who were born again of water and the spirit on his premises, and he retains the title of holy father to this day. In publick meetings the arm chair was naturally given to him. The other teachers in the city, necessarily on their Jewish principles, ranked below him : at his decease they complimented themselves by paying him due honours ; and as the peace of all their churches depended on it, they interested themselves in the choice of a successor.

One of the strongest prejudices of unbelievers against Christianity is, that the monstrous system of Popery grew out of it. This, however, is a fallacy. Had the church of Rome proceeded from the house of Aquila, the argument might have some force : but if it proceeded from the unembodied Jews, before mentioned, the prej-

(1) Jobi Ludolfi *Lexicon. Æthiop.* Lond. 1661. pag. 414. Baptisterium, stagnum, piscina, ubi homines solent baptizari.

udice falls to the ground. The hierarchy was formed long before Constantine established it, and the 44 city congregations, described by Cyprian sixty years before, were all in union with one high priest, and subject to as much control as government would permit (2). Their ecclesiastical polity had divided the city into regions. Their titular churches had been instituted for baptism and the burial of the dead. There were real christian churches in the city, with whom they held no communion, and whom they persecuted as far as they could. Constantine only brought the great faction into publick : they suppressed the rest. This period of the papal history is so confused with fables, and of so little consequence to Protestants, that it is not worth while to unravel it, and reduce it to precision. Two or three hints relative to ecclesiastical antiquities may serve. Pope Sylvester dedicated the first publick edifice of the party at Rome on the ninth of November. It is observed as a festival to this day (3). As this was at the old Lateran palace, it was with propriety called the palace of the Saviour; *Basilica Salvatoris*: that addition to, or that room of the old imperial mansion which was set apart for the worship of Christ. Hence, probably, came the name of cathedral churches; each is called *basilica*, a palace : right at the Lateran, and with a few exceptions, of which Canterbury is one, wrong every where else. Such as were called so before, were allegorically named from Solomon's temple. At the same time, to distinguish the place set apart for the worship of Jesus from others dedicated to pagan deities, Sylvester put up either a statue or a painting of Jesus. The temples of other city gods were thus distinguished. Perhaps this, which at first was a mere sign, was the true origin of pictures, images, and all ecclesiastical idolatry (4). Although the Catholics boast of the grandeur of the first Lateran church, yet, it seems, the most sacred piece of furniture was a wooden table, which, however, they called an altar; and agreeably to this Jewish idea, they denominated the men who officiated there, Levites (5).

(2) Mabillonii *Mus. Ital.* Tom. 2. In Ord. Rom. Comment. Cap. iii. *De antiquis basilicis ac titulis urbis, de diaconis, et de septem regionibus ecclesiasticis.*

(3) Missal. Rom. Nov. ix. *Dedicatio Basilicæ Salvatoris.*

(4) *Breviar. Rom.* Antwerpæ MDCLXXXIII. p. 1080. Lectio. v. (5) Ibid.

The same effects, which the baptistery had produced at Rome, followed in all other cities, where it was erected. There was one, and but one in Venice, Naples, Florence (6), Pisa, Bologna, Viterbo, Milan, Modena, Verona, Ravenna, Aquileia, and many other cities. Some have only one to this day, and the priests of other churches in the same cities cannot baptize in their own fonts, till they fetch a little water from that in the cathedral to mix with their own, in order to give validity to the baptism. This is the practice in the diocese of Milan. In all these places the priest of the congregation that claimed the baptistery became a prelate, the other priests in the city his clergy; and some of them were called his cardinal priests and deacons, chiefly because they assisted him to administer baptism (7). From these sprang suffragans, prebendaries, canons, chapters, conclaves and councils (8). There were originally in each city three sorts of places of worship (9). The first were oratories, vestries, or a sort of domestick chapels. Here any of the brethren prayed and taught. The second were rooms in hospitals: deacons generally served these. The third were places of publick worship, served regularly by ministers. These last in time became parish churches, and the ministers of these obtained the name of cardinal, that is, principal or chief in distinction from the two former classes. Cardinals derived their titles from baptismal churches (1).

Cardinals are now ecclesiastical princes, but like all other potentates, they sprang originally from the people. Each church had one or more sacerdotal teachers, and seven deacons, or levites, who were appointed to receive the alms of the church, and distribute them to the poor. The teachers, being old men, were called elders. When the church became so large as to render it necessary for them to divide and meet separately, one of the elders or deacons was sent to officiate to one party, and another to a different party. When any party approved of their officer, they naturally wished to make him sta-

(6) Onuphrii Panvinii *de præcip. urb. Rom. basilic. Cap. De baptister. Lateran.*

(7) M. L'Abbe Mallet. *Encyclopedie. Cardinal.*

(8) See Du Cange ---- *Encyclopedie*, &c. on the words *Eglise* --- *Conclave* ---- *College* ---- *Legate* ---- *Cardinal*, &c.

(9) *Encyclopedie. Cardinal.*

(1) Murator. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. v. Diss. lxi. *De cardinalium institutione*

tionary. This was called ordaining him. Somebody mispelt the word ordain, and it became cardain, and so in time, to cardain, was to make a cardinal (2). When one bishop had a deacon or an elder eminent for ability to officiate, and no where to employ him, he naturally applied to another bishop for a destitute congregation, and the bishop of Rome was the most likely to assist him. These elders and deacons, as their congregations increased, were obliged to detach other parties, and thus a natural train of events produced the hierarchy of Rome. The Catholicks attribute all this to the spirit of God ; some Protestants to the spirit of darkness ; but others see nothing either infernal or divine, but trace the whole from the synagogue: however, all agree, that the shadow of the ancient ordinal is yet visible in the sacred college, for Cardinals are of three orders, presbyters, deacons, and bishops.

Milan, Naples, Florence, Ravenna, Modena, London, Canterbury, and all other cities, had their cardinals (3). Those at Rome were first seven of the parish curates chosen to officiate, each his week, at the Lateran church in the absence of the bishop of that church, or to assist him if he were at home (4). When this bishop found himself like Moses, as he expressed it in one of his institutes, he thought fit to liken the cardinals to the elders of Israel, to fix their number to seventy, (which was a happy thought, for it was exactly the number of disciples appointed by Jesus) he invested them with peculiar habits, titles, honours, powers, privileges and revenues, which they enjoy to this day. As this college increased, the liberty of the people of Rome declined, they lost the choice of the bishop into the hands of the city clergy, as the clergy also in time lost their votes into the hands of the cardinals. Other cities, dazzled with the glory of this college, incorporated themselves with it, and some have to this day the dignity of a cardinalship affixed to the bishoprick, as Milan and others. From the little cause of assisting the bishop of the baptismal church have all these great events proceeded.

(2) Onuphrii Panvinii *De Episcopaliibus, titulis, et diaconiis Cardinalium liber. Cardinandum, antea legebatur ordinandum. Ernendatum est ex ipsa epistola. Cardinare vero seu cardinalem constituere, &c.*

(3) Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*.

(4) Murat. *ubi sup.*

The city fashion of building baptisteries was, as all fashions are, soon imitated by Christian inhabitants of country towns, and a great number of such were erected. The gentry built, and the priests consecrated many both for themselves and their tenants. Theodelinda, consort of Agilulf, king of the Lombards, erected one, called from its form, the round church, at Brescia, in the territories of Venice, and another at Mozza, near Milan, both dedicated to John the Baptist, as all other baptisteries were (5). In the latter several German Emperors have been since crowned as kings of Italy. Such as have not fallen into decay have been converted in latter ages into places of worship, and many of them rebuilt, now are called cathedrals and parish churches. The city clergy very freely encouraged the building of country edifices, and provided them with teachers, and administrators of ordinances; and the bishop of the baptismal church inspected and regulated their affairs for them, and generously supplied them from the Eleothesium of the metropolitan baptistery with oils and ointments necessary, according to the custom of the country, to prepare for bathing, and to perfume after it. The fetching of this chrism at Easter from the city baptistery became in time an evidence to prove the dependence of these baptisteries on that in the city, and trials of law between the baptismal churches of two cities concerning a right to baptisteries in the country, were determined by evidence that the unction was fetched from this church and not from that (6). The bishop, who supplied most baptisteries, acquired most parishes, and along with them first a custom and then a right to regulate the time and order of worship, the ordination of incumbents, or, to say all in one word, a right of patronage. It was the baptistery, precisely, and neither the parsonage-house, nor the church, nor any thing except that, which constituted the title to the whole: and for this reason baptismal churches are called titular churches.

It is, therefore, a general rule, that parish churches proceeded from the cathedrals of their diocesans, that the cathedrals proceeded from their metropolitans, metropolitan churches from their primates, and primacies

(5) Paciaudi *Antiq. Christ.* Diss. ii. Cap. ii. iii.

(6) Muratorii *Tom. vi. Diss. lxxiv. De paræciis.*

from St. John Lateran at Rome. There are, undoubtedly, exceptions to this rule : but they are easily accounted for, as one example will prove. The bishop of the isle of Malta is by some reputed suffragan to the archbishop of Palermo in Sicily, who is his metropolitan. If so, according to the general rule it should seem, that all the baptismal churches of Malta proceeded from the cathedral, and the cathedral from Palermo : but this is not the case. In the cathedral at Palermo none are baptized except the royal family : none are married there except the same family ; and none are buried there, except the family and the archbishops. The Maltese say, that Paul the Apostle was shipwrecked on their island, and they quote Chrysostom to prove that he baptized the two hundred and seventy-five companions of his shipwreck. About a mile from the place called *Cala di San Paolo*, where they say the Apostle landed, are the ruins of many buildings, and among them there is a chapel called *Saint John Baptist Thelceres*, that is, Saint John Baptist among the ruins. Digging, about an hundred and fifty years ago, to repair the chapel, the workmen found a stone baptistery, which had been supplied by a neighbouring river. Here, they say, the Apostle baptized the mariners. This is probably a fable : but a fact it is, that the baptistery, and the old chapel among the ruins, are far more ancient than the cathedral at Palermo, or the baptismal churches in Malta. Hence arises a debate among canonists whether Malta be suffragan to Palermo, or not. Both sides produce archives, and arguments : but the frequent revolutions of government solve the difficulty, by shewing that at some times it was, and at other times it was not, and in all late times it was what conquerors and kings, and knights of Malta, thought fit to make it. There were also other causes of multiplying independent baptisteries : but they are not necessary to be mentioned here.

THE BAPTISM OF BELIEVERS CONNECTED WITH UNIFORMITY, PERSECUTION, AND THE BAPTISM OF MINORS AND BABES.

Of the numerous parties that opposed the growing hierarchy, the Arians were the most popular and power-

ful. They did not allow the validity of a baptism performed in the name of the Trinity by the Catholicks, nor did the Catholicks allow their baptism to be valid. In the reign of Rothar, king of the Lombards, there resided two bishops in almost every city of the Lombards, one a Catholick, and the other of the Arian persuasion (7). The city baptistery then became an object, for neither party would lend it to the other : the Catholicks thought the Arians hereticks, the Arians thought the Catholicks idolaters (8). The zealous strained every nerve to get themselves elected by the congregation at the baptismal church ; for to get possession of the baptistery was to secure the profession of Catechumens at their baptism, and consequently their adherence to the party through life. The milder sort erected baptisteries for their own use, and thus there were two baptisteries in several cities, as at Ravenna and others (9). Modern fables have covered ancient times with obscurity, so that it is not easy to account for some certain facts, or to explain them by any given rules. If what some Italian antiquaries say be well grounded, that all the small and ancient churches dedicated to John Baptist were originally baptisteries, it should seem there were at least three at Ravenna, one called *ad fontes*, another belonging to the Carmelites, and a third without the city (1). In Constantinople there were fourteen churches, chapels, and monasteries, dedicated to John the Baptist ; but nothing can be more uncertain than reasoning on bare names (2). Nor is a conjecture founded on the round or octagon form of building any more conclusive. The name and the form, in conjunction with historical facts well authenticated, prove something : but the name and the form alone determine nothing. It doth not appear that in those days there was more than one at Rome, for the small round building called *S. Costanza*, was probably a mere temporary accommodation for the baptism of the Emperor's sister, and other court ladies, who might not choose to be baptized

(7) *Pauli Diaconi. Lib. iv. Cap. 44.*

(8) *Onuphrii Panvinii De præcip. urb. Rom. basilic. Cap. de baptister. Lateranen.*

(9) *Paciaudi Antiq. Christ. Diss. ii. Cap. iv.*

(1) *Hieron. Rubei Hist. Raven.*

(2) *C. Du Fresne Hist. Byzant. Lut. Parisiorum. 1680. Constantinop. Christian. Lib. iv. pag. 104.*

along with the lower sort of people. Gregory reprov'd the gentry of Nazianzum in publick, because they discovered a disinclination to be baptized in the same baptistery with servants (3). In general, where kings established the Catholicks by law, Arians were suppress'd ; where they favoured Arianism, Catholicks were kept under : but where they headed neither party, both were tolerat'd, and having separate churches and two baptisteries, they spent their zeal in declaiming against each other's heresy, and only one bad consequence followed. Each party for the glory of the cause brought forward at Easter as many Catechumens to be baptized as possible, and so far zeal was laudable : but, it is credible, while one gained nine months with his pupils, another stretch'd a year, and thus from baptizing infants of twelve years of age, they ventured to do it at eleven, and so on, till the little folks not being able to utter the renunciation with sufficient emphasis, their parents or tutors were allowed to pronounce that for them. The transition is very easy to all the rest.

King Agilulf was an Arian, his consort Theodelinda was a Catholick (4). Pope Gregory corresponded with her majesty, and complimented her with presents of his books. She had influence enough to engage her son Adelwald to be baptized into the Catholick faith, and this news gave Gregory so much pleasure that he sent along with a letter to the queen expressive of the highest satisfaction, presents of trinkets to both her children, Adelwald and his little sister (5). Had his holiness sent these toys into France, the law would have fin'd him fifteen shillings for pagan superstition, unless respect to his character had prevented it. Happy had it been if such a handsome mode of conversion had been always used, but Catholicks and Arians often made proselytes in a very different manner. The contest, however, continued through a long succession, and terminated in favour of the Catholicks. Then a new revolution took place in regard to baptismal churches, and laws both civil and sacred were enacted to cause all baptisteries to be restored to the Catholick bishops (6), and to secure

(3) S. Gregorii Nazianzens. Orat. xl. *In sanct. baptis.*

(4) S. Columbani *Epist. Edit.* Patric. Flemingi. Reges namque Arianam hanc labem in hac diu regione calcando fidem catholicam firmarent.

(5) S. Gregorii *Epist. Lib.* xiv. Ep. 14

(6) Pippini *Leges. apud* Murator. Baluz. Goldast. &c.

to them in future the absolute and inalienable possession of them, and of all the chapels (for so all other churches were then called) dependent on them (7).

Never was a finer piece of church generalship than this. This is what in the expressive language of those times was called taking the baptisteries out of the hand of a *people-man*, and putting them into the hands of a *priest-man*. Baptismal churches are the same in the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages as *portæ* or straits are in the art of war. They resemble the Thermopylæ in the Grecian history, and the castles in the wars of the Barons; and to get possession of these was a master stroke of policy. Of how much importance it was then thought, a mere cast of the eye may convince any man, for the Archives of those times are full of the subject. The learned and indefatigable Muratori hath from the most unquestionable evidence summed up the matter in his Dissertation on Parishes, and hath confirmed every word of consequence in respect to the *middle* ages, by authentick records subjoined (8). In other respects he speaks as a Catholick. The substance of what relates to the present view of the subject is this: People, at first, signified a congregation of believers under the care of one priest. When this congregation in a city became too large to assemble in one place, they parted and held separate assemblies, in perfect unity however. The first congregation built a baptistery near their place of worship, which served all the companies of Christians in the city. The old church became in time the cathedral, and retained the baptistery as its own property, though all the rest used it as they do to this day in Pisa, Florence, Parma, Cremona, Bologna, and other cities, and in the year thirteen hundred and twenty seven, the people of Modena intended to imitate their example and build a common baptistery. When Christianity spread into the country, the country people met for weekly worship where they could, but all came up to the baptismal church in the city for baptism. Thus the bishop insensibly became the father of all. In time, catholick Christianity continuing to spread, and the journey to the city becoming an obstacle in the way of baptism, the country gentlemen with the consent of the parent

(7) Muratorii Diss. lxxiv. Tom. vi. *Antiq. Ital.*

(8) *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. vi. Diss. lxxiv.

bishop built baptisteries on their own estates. Then the people of the adjoining district came to these baptisteries. These little baptisteries multiplied believers as those in the city had done, and country Christians parted, and worshipped separately as the citizens had done. In process of time it became necessary to allow some of these parties baptisteries, and they also multiplied as before. All the places where they baptized were called baptismal churches, and the rest were named chapels or oratories, and were really places where the priests only performed the divine services of prayer, chanting, teaching, reading scriptures, lessons, and so on. The institution of baptismal churches in the country is of the fourth century: but that of the cities much later; and some bishops, as was just now said, have never allowed a right to baptize to any of the city churches; it is reserved to the cathedral. This is the origin of parishes, and what was formerly called a baptismal church is now named a parish church (9). When a natural train of events had brought affairs to this state, Arians and Catholicks became competitors for power, and they were not scrupulous in the choice of means to obtain it. Hence came a list of crimes. The bishop who declaimed and published books did very well: but he who intrigued and bribed and taught and got possession of a baptistery, was the life of the cause. The baptismal church in the country was the road toward the baptistery at the cathedral, that toward another, and all led to that of St. John Lateran at Rome, the baptistery of which they thought was the mother of them all. There was a shadow of this among the reformed churches of Piedmont. The synod consisted of fourteen churches. They were divided into two classes of seven in each class, and the first church in the first class was S. Giovanni, S. John (1).

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH SUPERSTITION.

The canons of the church made in the middle ages tax the incumbents of the baptismal churches with av-
arice (2), and an instance or two will be given presently.

(9) *Ibid.* (1) S. Morland. *Hist. of the Churches of Piedmont.*

(2) Murat. *ut sup.* p. 432.

If any apology can be made, it ought to be taken from the laws of the countries, where the crime was committed. The laws of the Lombards of those times allowed infants in case of sickness or danger of death, to alienate their estates to endow the church (3). Some estates were given under this law, and it should seem the law encouraged the practice, for some of the usual forms of donation were dispensed with in these cases (4). Youths under eighteen were deemed infants, and it must be allowed this dangerous power of alienation in their hands was a temptation almost invincible to a poor incumbent of a baptismal church to make early proselytes, and steal a march to the baptistery. A bishop, any thing like adroit, could not fail to improve these favourable circumstances, especially when he had reason to fear that a neighbouring Arian incumbent would avail himself of the neglect. It is a fact, that of all the saints in paradise, St. John the Baptist bore the bell in those days. Where no new baptisteries were wanted, old ones were enlarged with vestries, chapels, oratories, and adjoining houses. Then they were adorned with inscriptions, pictures, mosaick work, statues, altars, bells, plates, cups, vases, and all manner of utensils, John being depicted on every one. Next they were endowed with houses, lands, farms, and revenues of various kinds. Blessed John the Baptist was engraven on seals publick and private, cut in precious stones of all descriptions for rings and ornaments, exhibited on the crowns of princes, the altar cloths and other ornaments of churches, and chosen by towns, cities, and whole kingdoms as their patron (5). The multitude imbibed the delicious frenzy, and when the priest inquired at baptism, What is his name? Not Jove : but John was the popular cry, and the baptismal hall resounded John---John---John.

To Protestant gentlemen, who have not turned their attention to the history of this old-fashioned saint, it may at first appear improbable, but on examination it will be found very credible, that if a thesaurus of what relates to this subject were collected and published in

(3) Luitprandi *Leges*. Lib. iv. Cap. I. *De etate*.

(4) Ibid. Tom. v. p. 619. An. 794. Luitprandi *Leg.* Lib. vi. l. xix. *ut sup.*

(5) Paciaudi *Antiq. Christ. Præloquium ad S. S. D. N. Benedict. Papam*. xiv.

one work, it would swell to the size of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which amount to sixty or seventy volumes in folio (6). John the Baptist was Saint the first. His reign seemed to be founded in reason, as will be observed presently. His empire was universal, and it continued as long as the baptism of adults and minors lasted. This part of the world was not much acquainted with it, for the continental Christianity did not arrive in Britain till about six hundred years after Christ, when infant baptism began to prevail very much, and when other saints were hastening to the throne, to which, however, in time the Virgin Mother ascended, at first in company with John, who complaisantly gave the lady the upper hand: but at last she eclipsed the glory of them all (7). One example, out of a great number of various kinds, is the old form of receiving a brother into a convent. His first petition to the Abbot was in these words; "Syr, I besyche you and alle the covent for the luffe of God, our lady sanct Marye, Sant John of Baptiste, and alle the hoyle courte of hevyn, that ze wolde resave me, to lyve and dye here among yow in the state of a monke, as prebendarye and servant unto alle, to the honour of God, solace to the company, prouffet to the place, and helthe unto my sawle." When he had completed his noviciate, he was to prefer his petition to the Abbot to be professed in the following words: "Syr, I have beyn heyr now this twell-month nere hand, and lovyde be God, me lyks ryght well, both the order and the companye; whereupon I besyche you and all the company for the luffe of God, our lady Sanct Marye, Sant John of Baptist and alle hoyle company of hevyn that ze will resave me unto my profession at my twellmonth daye." It is not improbable, that the two names of Mary and John were first united at Jerusalem, for the family at the hospital dedicated to John, and that at the monastery, dedicated to

(6) *Acta Sanctorum omnium, ex Latinis et Græcis monumentis collecta, et notis illustrata a patribus Societatis Jesu, Joanne Bollando, God. Henschenio, Daniele Papebrochio, &c. a mense Januario ad diem secundum mensis Octobris.* Antwerpæ 1643, et ann. seq. xlvii. vol. in folio. -- De Bure *Bibliograph* Les Jesuites D'Anvers continuent ce grand ouvrage. -- On croit communement que cette collection pourra fournir, en totalite lx. ou lxx vol. in folio.

(7) Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Tom. i. Londini 1655. Præfat. *Formula fratrem recipiendi in conventum.*

Mary, were at first one company (8). Never was an hospital so enriched in the world. The surplus maintained armies, and thence came the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, masters afterward of the Isle of Rhodes, and still of the Island of Malta. It is impossible, within the limits of this section, to describe, or even to give a list of the donations offered, and the honours paid to John, and the mass is so great that it is not easy to determine which to fix on to convey in a sketch a fair idea of the subject. Of civil honours the first at hand is a class of medals and monies : and of sacred decorations the nearest at hand is the furniture of a table in a baptistery.

The short Catholick way of accounting for these splendid things is by quoting orders from heaven. The short Protestant method of confutation is by attributing them to suggestions from the opposite point. A sceptick may perhaps think a deduction from allowed first principles not improbable. Not to be further tedious, the article of medals and monies shall be thrown into a note (9), and what was just now meant by reasonableness of enriching baptisteries shall be briefly explained.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH ENDOWMENTS.

Baptisteries were in fashion in Italy from the reign of Constantine to that of Charlemagne, a period of about five hundred years. Within this space they were amply adorned and endowed. The first gifts of the faithful were milk, honey and wine, for the refreshment of the Catechumens and their attendants. The next were oils, unguents and salts. Along with all these came cups, vases, plates and utensils, marked with the initial letters of the name of John Baptist, I. B. or John the forerunner ΙΩΑΝ. ΠΡΟΔ, which perhaps is the true origin of baptismal inscriptions. Then came money for the poor, and the support of those who spent their time in teaching and officiating. After these came habits, ornaments, pictures of John holding out his right hand, with a lamb lying in it, a reference to his words, "Behold, the Lamb of God," and these were followed

(8) Pierre Rene Aubert de Vertot. *Hist. des Chevaliers Hospital de l'ordre de S. Jean de Jerusalem.*

(9) Paciaud. [The article of medals and monies we omit. *Ed.*]

by others more complex: the whole forming a large body of superstitious theology, glaring in practice, but cumbersome to virtue.

His holiness, the late pope Benedict xiv. was a man of extensive learning and elegant taste (1). Had not the pontifical tiara eclipsed every other honour, he would have been celebrated as an antiquary. His cabinet contains a great collection of antiques relative to John the Baptist; and himself was an exquisite judge of the authenticity of each and the value of all to church history. Cups, patens, vases, seals, inscriptions, triptychs, habits, altars, precious stones, silver, gold, ivory, antiquities both of the Greek and Roman church on this subject enrich the invaluable Christian museum of this pontiff. It is in such collections as these, and not in garret-essays on Greek prepositions, that the history of baptism is to be studied. Some of these come alone before records, others come in company with testaments and deeds, and afford a sort of comment on the text. Last of all, come deeds alone, to be expounded however by the customs that occasioned them. In the present case it is to be observed, that in the nations where these affairs were transacted, it was a first principle of alienation of property, that something of equal value with the donation should be received from the donee by the donor, and this *quid pro quo*, value received, was expressed in the deed of conveyance. This consideration, for the sake of which the donor parted with his estate, seems to have been the Lombard *thinx*, *thingatio*, and *launegild* or *launegild*, words of very doubtful meaning, and in all probability chosen for that very reason; for although justice to prevent fraudulent bargains required something of equal value to be given by the receiver to the donor as the reason of the alienation, yet equity demanded that every man should be allowed to judge for himself what in his own peculiar case he might think of most value to himself (2). In donations to the church no launegild was required, for this very good reason: the church had nothing but spiritual benefits to bestow, and spiritual gifts are invisible. Deeds, however, express this invisible benefit, in lieu of which

(1) Paciaudi *Antiq. Christian.* Diss. vi. Cap. v.

(2) Muratori *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. i. Par. ii. pag. 28.

the donation was made, and call it the refreshment of the soul, the health of the soul, the remedy of the soul, the redemption of the soul, the remission of sins, and many such names. Every Catholick understands this not of value received, but of value to be received after death in a state of purgatory: but here a great difficulty presents itself. One says, there were no such phrases used before the eighth century: but another proves by monuments of unquestionable authority that it was the phraseology of several centuries before the eighth. A Protestant is obliged to admit the fact, for it is impossible to deny the authenticity of the monuments produced by these learned and laborious antiquaries: but he is not obliged to admit their inference, and to take the phrases precisely in their sense. It is readily granted, that in latter ages the phrase was understood in the catholick sense of purgatory, or of expiating sin. Thus in the year one thousand and seventy-one, Leofric, bishop of Exeter, that *his soul might be more acceptable to God*, left lands, ornaments, vestments, and books to the church (3). A thousand such instances might be adduced, and it is granted the donors intended expiation or purgatory: but it is far from being clear that four hundred years earlier the same words stood for the same ideas, and it seems most natural to understand them in the true Italian sense of a launchild or a valuable consideration received at or before the signing of the deed by the donor: and if so, the donation was reasonable, because it was an exercise of gratitude, not to say equity.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH COLLATIONS OF BENEFICES AND PURGATORY.

The infinite Wisdom that constructed the world hath so constituted man, that evils produce their own remedies. Man grasps at property and power. He obtains his wish; but finds his acquisition too unwieldy for his own hands. He calls in assistants. Assistants enter the world as he did, with a disposition to appropriate. Appropriation succeeds, and the assistant, now become a principal, calls in partners to ease himself. Partners like principals love wealth and ease; but as both are

(3) Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Londini 1655. Vol. i. pag. 221.

not attainable, property bursts out of confinement, and parts itself among those from whom it had been originally taken. Thus it happened in the church. A bishop of a baptismal church, with a great many dependent congregations annexed to it, finding himself in the decline of life, and becoming infirm, took in partners, and divided the care of his pluralities among them. These were the chorepiscopi, or rural bishops. Thus Irmengard, bishop of Arezzo, becoming old and infirm, and having buried his chief deacon, whom he called his right arm, appointed four prudent men to officiate for him (4). Here it is that the charge of avarice comes in. Three mighty passions domineer over man in three periods of his life. Love rules his youth : ambition his middle age : avarice takes him, when he becomes a cripple, and too often liberates him only at the grave. Some baptismal churches did not choose to be thus disposed of, and their teachers did not approve of officiating by commission. The bishops then invented a sort of alienation including dependence, and hence came collations of benefices, annates, or first fruits, and a long list of ecclesiastical dues (5) : dues which would have seemed unjust had they not been concealed under an appearance of equity by ordinations, inductions, installations, investitures, letters of orders, bulls, seals, palls, benedictions, confirmations, and so on ; all which had the air of doing something for the money. It was with great reluctance that the bishops resigned baptismal churches, and sometimes they granted only parts, reserving to themselves the other parts, which reservations Muratori thinks prove the charge of avarice brought against them by a council held at Pavia in the duchy of Milan. Thus in the year nine hundred and eighty-four, the bishop of Lucca granted Andrew the presbyter half a baptismal church. This was not without a precedent, for nine years before, his predecessor had granted the fourth part of a baptismal church to Arnolf a presbyter. Thus they divided among themselves the gifts of the living and the donations of the dead. The revenue accumulated in time by these means seems enormous, and the computation would pass all belief were it not authenticated by the best evidence. It was shrewdly observ-

(4) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. vi. p. 425.

(5) Ibid. 428.

ed by a British convocation in an address to Henry the Eighth for an act to take away annates, that *parchment and lead be very dear merchandise at Rome, and in some cases, an hundred times more worth, than the weight or counterpoise of fine gold.*

Seven hundred years Christians out of gratitude bestowed liberal gifts on the church : but in the middle of the eighth century, about the time that Pope Stephen called Pepin into Italy to succour him against the Lombards, a new scene opened, and the next five centuries prove, in the history of mankind, that in most men fear is a much more powerful motive in religion than love (6). The far greater part of the princes of those times were a barbarous, fighting, bloody race of men. The union of the church of the harmless Jesus with such men depraved the morals of the church. Depravity of manners was succeeded by doctrines of accommodation. The few could not prevail with the many to love God, they therefore endeavoured to make them fear him, and for this purpose declaimed on what religion hath of the terrible, as judgment and hell. The scheme took : it was believed the world was nearly at an end, and the most wicked dreaded the approach of the judge, and sought to appease his anger. Comparing the unbloody ecclesiasticks with themselves they thought them saints of superabundant merit, and complimented them as such. The saints, who knew such as themselves had been formerly put to death for sedition by such men, listened to this new language, believed the flattery, and in the compassion of their hearts contrived a mode of transferring their merits to these gloomy penitents, and nothing was wanting but time to give the transfer effect. This difficulty was soon removed by some ecclesiastical Columbus of that time, who discovered in scripture, that chart of the invisible world, a spot unseen before, where gentle flame, like the soft lightning of a serene summer evening, burns insects and noxious vapours, while it only purifies man. To this place, named from its qualities Purgatory, absolutely the only hope of a departing sinner, which if it were not could not make the case worse, and if it were, as the learned affirmed, might make it better, numbers wished to go rather than to hell, especially as the saints

(6) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. vi. Diss. lxxi.

on earth promised to assist them with all their influence and merit, to reap the benefit of the place. For this purpose, feeling for the agonies of departing souls, they turned their attention every way, collected all that might have a chance of giving their good wishes effect, and to the prayers of the living joined the bones and relics of the dead. Now every tide rolled wealth into the territories of the saints: not as formerly for the sake of religious benefits in hand, but for future benefits in hope. Gratitude had given money, houses, and lands, but fear tossed the sceptre and the sword into the lap of the church, and ecclesiasticks became secular princes. Castles, cities, marquises, duchies, with all the royalties annexed to them, vassals, fees, fines, tributes, salt-pits, mines, government in both its essential branches, legislative and executive, founded a new kind of monarchy, in the throne of which, furnished with powers celestial, terrestrial and infernal, for ages sat one single man. *All nations trembled before him; whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive.* (7).

CHAP. XXXI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH MONACHISM.

THE first monks took children to prepare by instruction for baptism. They soon found the benefit of this practice, and the tuition of children became the craft by which they acquired their chief wealth. They availed themselves of every artifice to procure little ones, and they became by habit such adepts in the art of managing them, that the property of the pupils was sure to fall into the common stock of the tutors.

Monachism is of the highest antiquity, and in some form or other always infested the East, where warmth of climate and luxuriance of soil were temptations to enthusiasm and idleness, too strong for some weak heads to resist. There was a sect of the kind among the Jews, called Essenes. When Paul went first to Ephesus he found three kinds of religious people there: Pagans who worshipped Diana, the city goddess: Jews

who worshipped the God of their fathers in the synagogue : and disciples of John the Baptist. There was a fourth class, who took a new form from the apostle. He had healed several diseases in the name, that is, by the authority of Jesus Christ, and he had formed the disciples into a church that assembled in the school-room of Tyrannus, leaving the synagogue to the Jews. Sceva, the Jew, priest at Ephesus, had seven sons, who were a sort of Essenes, monks, *therapeutæ*, travelling doctors, or as Luke calls them, *vagabond exorcists*, who understood the popular names of diseases, that is, demons in the literal sense of invisible beings that inhabited men and inflicted diseases on them, and they supposed the name of Jesus was a charm. These men set about exorcising, or casting out demons in a new form, and they took upon them to call over such as they supposed had evil spirits in the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth (1). They did not succeed at Ephesus, and they fled : but nothing can be more credible than that they, or such as they, were the parents of Christian monachism. Exactly such men appeared singly and separately among Jewish Christians in every age ; and in the fourth century, in Egypt and Palestine they associated into communities, and became conspicuous enough to obtain a place in history (2). Jerom, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Cassian, and many other fathers of the same complexion, speak of them as of angels ; and yet the same Jerom observes there was no office so mean, no service so vile and nauseous that they would not perform for the sake of getting away the property of infirm and dying people (3). His words are too gross to be translated : but the account is very credible, for they were neither philosophers nor contemplative Christians, but a set of vulgar enthusiasts, or, to use the language of the sacred historian once more, *vagabond exorcists*, the parents of exorcism in baptism (4).

(1) Acts xix.

(2) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. v. Diss. lxx. *De monasteriorum erectione, et monachorum institutione.*

(3) Ibid

(4) Jerome a Costa [*i. e. P. Simon*] *Hist. de l'origine et du progres des revenus ecclesiastiques* Frankfort, 1684 p. 33 Si nous ajoutons soi a ceque St. Jerome rapporte des prestres et des moines de son teins, il n'y a sorte d'artifice dont ils ne se servissent pour attirer le bien des particuliers. - - Comme il seroit mal-aise de traduire en nostre langue les paroles de S't.

Monachism arrived in the West in the fourth century, and fixed its first publick seat at Milan about the year three hundred and fifty-six. Martin, afterward bishop of Tours, was the founder of this first monastery in Italy. Very soon after, Athanasius by means of Marcella conferred the same favour on Rome; but it was Benedict who formed monachism into a system suited to the times, and so exactly did this species of devotion fall in with the views of the Italian Catholicks, that within the fourth and fifth centuries monasteries abounded at Milan, Rome, Ravenna, Nola, and elsewhere, as they did soon after all over Europe, and the Catholicks own, the monks were the chief support of eastern catholicism, and of the church of Rome (5). The eastern monks had copied the oblation of children to God from the history of Samuel; the parents of Gregory of Nazianzen had made an oblation of all theirs before they were born. Basil reduced the confused ideas of his contemporaries to rule, and had made one rule for receiving children, for he laid it down as an axiom that instruction was to precede baptism. His words are express, and he not only urges the command of Christ as an authority to baptize, but he strenuously pleads for an observation of the order of *words* as a rule for the order of *things*. Thus he begins: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of the living God, having received after his resurrection the promise, which God his Father made by the prophet David, saying, thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee: ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession: assembled his disciples, and first made known to them the power which he had received from God his Father: saying, Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I com-

Jerome avec le mesme force et la mesme *grace* qu'elles ont dans l' original, je me contenterai d'en rapporter seulement quelques extraits en Latin. -- Il decrit les services bas et honteux que les prestres et les moines de son tems rendoient aux vieillards et aux dames qui estoient sans enfans, asin d'avoir leur biens et leur heritages. Audio, dit il, in senes et anus absque liberis quorundam turpe servitium. Ipsi apponunt matulam, obsident lectum, purulentiam stomachi et phlegmata pulmonis manu propria suscipiunt, &c.

(5) Murat *ut sup.*

mand you. The Lord first commanded them to teach all nations, and afterward subjoined baptizing them, and so on; but you neglecting the first require of us a reason for the last - - - we think it necessary to explain and confirm the order prescribed by the Lord." Benedict copied Basil's rule of oblation with an amendment, that children once admitted should continue monks for life, and inserted it in his rules; and the oblation of children became the universal practice of the West (6). He made no alteration with regard to baptism. The babe was carried into the chapel, his hand was wrapped in the altar-cloth, a few ceremonies were performed, an offering of property for his support and for a reward to the monks was made, and by degrees the houses acquired immense riches by these means. During the reign of the first Lombards in Italy monachism was checked, and many houses were taken from their sacred inhabitants: but the latter Lombard kings, and after them the emperors, the popes, the bishops, the clergy, and the catholick gentry, revived the frenzy, and monachism rose to an incredible degree of wealth, power, and influence. Posterity stood amazed at the madness of their predecessors, and wondered what could possess them to enslave succeeding ages to a set of unprofitable enthusiasts, who only gave out that they were the disciples of Jesus, while all their actions proved they were an ignorant and wicked race of men. If a fair balance were struck between monachism and mankind, the account of mankind would charge them with robbing the populace of common sense, many kingdoms of their liberty, posterity of their birthrights, innumerable families of their property, multitudes of their lives by persecution, Christianity of its credibility, and God of the honour due to his infinite and undivided excellence: against which the monks would have nothing to set except the cultivation of a few waste lands, the relieving of some of the poor, which did harm by drawing their attention from industry, the writing of a few chronicles, the multiplying of their order, and the charging of posterity with the unavoidable support of a system replete with superstition, despotism and wickedness. In all such general estimates individuals are always excepted; and in the present case such men

(6) Mabillon. *Analecta*. Tom. iii. p. 473.

as Basil are to be excepted, whose schemes of monachism were different from those of later monks, and who certainly never foresaw what a scourge monachism would be to the world.

Two hints may suffice.

First. There was another species of monks, beside those who are generally so called, who are denominated canons of cathedrals, secular and regular. At first all the clergy were called canons, because they professed to live by a canon, that is, a rule different from that of other men. The canons of cathedrals lived with the bishop, by a rule, in the same house, and were supported by the revenues of the church for the purpose of chanting, reading lessons, and carrying on the service night and day. Augustine of Hippo was one of this class. He had learnt the institution of Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, who seems to have been the author of it in the West. Eusebius lived in the fourth century. From Italy it arrived in France in the seventh or eighth century, and in time it diffused itself into all the great churches of the West, which have been since on this account named collegiate (7). All such colleges learnt of the monks to take in children, by the same ceremony of wrapping the hand in the covering of the sacred utensils of the altar, and by accepting at the same time all their property, moveable and immoveable, for the use of the church (8).

Secondly. It is observed by Catholick writers, that all the communities of canons, monks, and nuns, of every order, became as they acquired wealth more depraved than the laity : and that they acquired great part of their wealth by *infantuli* : and it may be added, it was neither devotion nor superstition that gave monachism its run, but the suitableness of the institution to the debauchery of those who encouraged it (9). Here, as it would be easy to prove by many diplomas, princes and great families disposed of their superfluous chil-

(7) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. v. Diss. lxii.

(8) *Formula, qua Farulfus. --- offert se capitulo canonicorum Arretinorum.* In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Farulfus Presbyter spontanea mea voluntate offero me ipsum Deo, et ecclesiæ sancti Donati, et Jocundo preposito atque Archidiacono secundum regulam canonicam fideliter servitutum, pallio altaris manibus involutum, cum oblationibus mearum rerum mobilium et immobilium, &c.

(9) Murat. lxii.

dren : here clergymen and monks got handsomely rid of theirs : and here, as some abbots complained, the crooked and the stupid children of families, who thought themselves disgraced by such descendants, found a convenient retreat (1). The influence of this gainful trade on baptism has been mentioned in another place.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS.

Every new idea of Baptism, like a mathematical point, becomes a line, and a curve, and interweaves itself with many an unforeseen difficulty. The oblation of children to monks to be taught and baptized, and the acceptance of property to support both tutors and pupils, were truly and really a mutual compact. When the benefit became notorious, canons, bishops, and curates, became rivals to the monks, and councils forbade the monks to baptize, and their baptisteries were ordered to be destroyed. In the year seven hundred and seventy-two, Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, gave canons the force of civil law, and forbade the monks in his jurisdiction to baptize, except in case of danger of death (2). In like manner pope Gregory i. directed that the baptistery of the monastery of St. Andrew should be filled up, and an altar erected over it (3). The monks had included in oblation the idea of a solemn compact, and they called it a compact with God. Long was the struggle between the clergy and the monks, but the difference was finally adjusted by laws sacred and civil : oblation and compact were left to the monks, and the union made the child offered a monk : but baptism and compact were settled on the clergy, and the union made the child baptized a Christian and a parishioner, a member of the church, and a member of the state. In the parochial laws of those ages the priests were ordered to inform the people, that baptism was a compact between them and God : that in baptism they bound themselves to renounce all other religions and to embrace Christianity, that is, Roman Catholicism : and that the contract might

(1) Mabillon *ut sup.*

(2) F. Lindenbrog. *Codex Legum. Decreti Tassilonis ducis Baioariorum. Præfat.*

(3) Epist. Lib. ii. Ep. xcvi. Secundino *Episc. Taurominitan. De auferendo baptisterio de monasterio monachorum. Præcipimus . . . baptisterium auferri . . . repleto loco ipsorum fontium . . . altare fundetur, &c.*

be violated in whole or in part ; in part by pride, or envy ; or in whole by infidelity, heresy, or schism (4). The idea of social obligation being thus affixed to mere baptism, it followed of course that all baptized persons were bound to support the priesthood ; that parents were bound to have their children baptized ; that priests were bound to baptize them ; that bishops were bound to ordain priests, and to see that they discharged this duty of their office ; that princes were bound to protect prelates in the execution of their functions ; and that the people were bound to pay all of them for doing their duty. Hence proceeded a great number of penal statutes to oblige all ranks to uphold the baptism of children : for it was presently discovered in practice, that the earlier the contract was acceded to, the safer were the contracting parties, and the imbecility of children ceased to be an objection by the appointment of sponsors ; from which, however, the clergy took care by express law to save themselves, as well as to exclude the monks (5). Here then was baptism without instruction. Hence also came spiritual relationship, and marriages between godfathers, godmothers, and godchildren were prohibited, because they were reputed a-kin. On the ground of this pretended compact, the rights of citizens through life, and even the right of burial after death, have been refused in many states to persons unbaptized by the priests : and war hath been made by one nation upon another for the same righteous reason. This error of making baptism a part of the social contract, and the tyranny appending to it came down into modern establishments. There were at Augsburg in Germany, in the year fifteen hundred thirty-two, some Baptists, who, following their own convictions, met together to worship God : but they were imprisoned, because, say the Reformers, they held clandestine conventicles, and performed religious worship contrary to law (6). This law was a new order made by a few without the consent of the people. A faithless

(4) H. Ludovici *Imperatoris Capitular. Addit. ii. 3. Ut pactum in baptis-
mate factum cum Deo a baptizatis observetur.*

(5) Ansegisi *Aobatis. et Benedicti lewite capitula Karoli magni et H.
Ludovici p. ii Reg et Imp. De Baptismo.*

(6) Melch. Adami Urbani Regii. *Contra leges civiles clandestina cele-
brarent conventicula et sacra peragerent.*

English biographer, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, translated this according to his own persecuting principles : the Anabaptists, says he, were imprisoned at Augsburg for disturbing the public peace : as if it became a Briton to affirm, that uniformity in the rights of baptism is an essential part of the social compact between magistrates and people ! Such divines may understand theology : but they certainly do not understand civil polity. It was in resentment for this, that the old Baptists used to reproach the Catholicks in the words of John : *the beast causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their forehead ; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name* (7). During the persecution at Augsburg, just now mentioned, there was a lady of fortune imprisoned for attending the Baptist conventicle. The reformers were proud of displaying their talents for argument on such occasions. Urban Regius, who had been first a Catholick, next a zealous Lutheran, and who had just then become a strenuous Zuinglian, was at this time a preacher in the city by appointment of the senate. The lady in prison affected to despise the talents of Regius for disputation, and pretended she could confute him. The senate chose to hear them dispute, and they appointed a time, and the prisoner in chains was set facing Regius in full court. After the learned man had displayed his eloquence to the universal satisfaction of himself and all the senate, the insolent woman said : “ With what wonderful propriety, brother Urban, is this dispute between you and me conducted ! There sit you on an easy seat by the side of the consuls, and preach oracles as from the tripod of Apollo : and here am I bowed down to the ground, and compelled to plead my cause in these heavy chains ! ” Urban replied : “ Verily, sister, there is no injury done to you ; you was once freed from the slavery of the devil by Christ, you have since voluntarily put your neck again under his shameful yoke, and the mad fiend shews you in these ornaments for an example to others (8). ” Had Apollo utter-

(7) Rev. xiii. 16, 17.

(8) Regii Vit.

ed such sad oracles as these, the Pagans would never have worshipped him as a god.

While baptism was managed jointly by the monks and the bishops, children were first instructed by the monks, and then presented to the bishop for baptism, or if they had been baptized in the monastery, they were presently after it to be confirmed. This seems to be the true origin of modern confirmation. At first the process was this : a person was first instructed ; then baptized into a profession of Christianity at large ; and lastly admitted by a bishop, as the official in the name of a church, a member of that particular society to which the bishop belonged. Then the person was said to be confirmed or settled : not confirmed in the belief or profession of Christianity, but settled as a member of a particular society. Young monks, thus confirmed, succeeded in time to the mastership of their houses and became abbots, then the bishop-abbot extended his inspection as lord-abbot over all the family, whom he called the children of the abbot, and claimed jurisdiction over the abbey and all its endowments. This produced contention : and in the end, some houses were subdued by the bishop, and affixed to the diocese ; others obtained exemption from episcopal jurisdiction ; some put themselves under the immediate protection of the pope ; some became benefices in the patronage of the crown, or the families of the founders ; and others obtained churches, and chapels, which continue extraparochial to this day (9). These last are the places in which the monks were not permitted to baptize ; for over all baptismal churches the bishops acquired and retained jurisdiction in order to prevent the formation of an hierarchy within the hierarchy, the independency of which might have endangered the absolute power of Rome. This must be said to the honour of the first monks, that while they baptized they in general first taught ; and although they had reduced baptism to the size of minors, yet they had not every where brought it down to babes : but when the affair was taken out of their hands, as it seems to have been about the tenth

(9) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. vi. Diss. lxxi. *De Episcoporum, Abbatum, aliorumque ecclesiasticorum potentia* --- lxxiii.

century abroad, and later in England, baptism naturally sunk into the insignificance of mere words and forms. This was owing to the appointment of lay-godfathers, who were very inadequate substitutes for monks ; for although some monks were not in orders, yet all had leisure, and all were capable of teaching children more than they were afterward taught by parish priests and ignorant lay-godfathers, which in the sequel amounted to no more than a little while to say the Lord's prayer, the belief, and the answers to the questions in baptism, then only to utter two or three words, and lastly to make responses for them.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH HUMAN CREEDS.

Creeds alone, like problems alone, are inoffensive and harmless : it is the connection of them with civil or ecclesiastical polity, that gives them their consequence. An history of them and their connections would fill volumes, for they begin to move like little hand snow-balls from the top of some high hill, and gather as they roll down the slope till they come tumbling into a valley with a velocity and a size dreadful to such as stand in their way, as thousands have found to their cost. It is not easy to give a just idea of this subject in a sketch, for it naturally leads into voluminous investigations ; however, to avoid bulk, and to obtain at least an adequate notion of the fact, it may suffice at present just to observe the connection of faith and baptism in the New-Testament : and then the connection of faith and baptism in modern churches, particularly that of Rome.

In the New Testament two things are clear : first, that Christianity was proposed with evidence to the belief of men ; of course therefore it required *personal* faith, and the belief of a proxy is an idea not in the book : secondly, that baptism was administered to believers in the very first instance, *immediately* on their professing to embrace what they inwardly believed to be true ; and consequently it was some *very simple and obvious article*, suited to the first openings of the mind, that was believed. The case of the eunuch is in point ; it is a baptism above all suspicion (1). The eunuch was reading,

(1) Acts viii.

as he rode along, a part of the prophecy of Isaiah. At his request Philip took a seat at his side, and expounded to him the meaning of the prophecy. When they came to a certain water, the eunuch inquired whether there were any objection against his being baptized. Philip replied : *If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest.* He answered, *I believe :* and Philip baptized him. This was an exact conformity to the institution by Jesus Christ, and this case ought be taken for a pure and genuine exposition of the words of the institution, and of the order of the words regulating the order of things as the apostles understood their divine Master. This connection of baptism with faith was natural, for Christianity was a religion, baptism was a profession of that religion, and there would have been a manifest impropriety in professing a religion without believing it to be true. Here, then, personal belief is connected with baptism.

The next inquiry is, what was the creed, on the belief of which Philip administered baptism ? Happily, the historian hath inserted the very words. The eunuch answered and said : *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* Divines have given various senses to the word *Son of God :* but it is sufficient to the present purpose to observe, that it is left unexplained, and it amounts to the same, whether the eunuch left it so or the historian. If the eunuch said no more, then Philip thought such a profession a sufficient title to baptism. If the eunuch enlarged, and the historian omitted to record it, then Luke thought no more was essential. In either case the testimony is apostolical ; and a new-testament-baptism is connected with nothing but a general profession of believing in Jesus Christ, a profession of faith unconnected with civil affairs, and with fellowship in any particular society of Christians. Whether particular societies have any right to require explanations, and to exact more to make a member of a church than is requisite to make a member of Christ, must be left to every church to determine.

Human creeds are to be sought for first in schools, then in synods, next in offices of baptism, and lastly in publick rituals of divine worship. One of the most mischievous men that ever set foot into the Judaizing-Christian church was Origen, and his pretended learning

was a publick misfortune ; for from a church school at Alexandria in Egypt, where this wild youth uttered his reveries, came the frivolous science that produced human creeds, and ecclesiastical tests. The council of Nice, or rather Osius, bishop at Cordova, in Spain, framed a creed, which was made a test, and which created more errors, and caused more crimes than can be enumerated. Most future councils adopted this creed : but some factions framed others directly opposite, and both had their partizans. The Greeks first inserted creeds into their publick liturgies : and Leander was the first, who introduced the practice into the West. This was done in the third council of Toledo, in Spain, in the year five hundred eighty-nine ; and the canon that enjoins a repetition of the creed says, it was according to the form of the eastern churches (2). The Romans seem not to have repeated the creed in their publick worship till the eighth or ninth century, and then to have dropped the custom till the eleventh, when, in the year one thousand and fourteen, by desire of the emperor Henry i. it was revived, and hath continued ever since (3). The Reformers adopted this part of the papal ritual, and the creeds of their several established churches have been sources of perpetual disputes and divisions.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH JUDAISM.

It would be endless to pursue the associations, which fancy hath made between baptism and several other practices. Exorcism, or casting out demons, was in practice among the Jews long before the time of Jesus, and continued after him. The history of Saul, the first of their kings ; that of Tobit, which was written in the captivity ; the accounts of the evangelists ; and those in the book of Acts, fully establish this (4). The sons of Sceva, as was observed before, associated the name of Jesus with exorcism, and among other proofs that vulgar Jews were the real parents of the Catholick church, that taken from the union of baptism and personal exorcism, is one of considerable weight. It is one branch of the

(2) Concil. Toletan. iii. Can. ii.

(3) Mabillon. *in Ord. Roman. comment.* p. xlii.

(4) Sam. xvi. 23. - xviii. 10. - xix. 9. &c. - Tobit. iii. 8, 17. - vi. &c. - Luke xi. 18, 19.

doctrine of demons, which Paul foretold the apostacy would receive (5).

The association of baptism with consecration of officers, dedication of places, and purification of waters, is derived from Judaism (6). In ordination every thing is Jewish. The Roman ordinal says, the infants of the church were given to-understand, that if after baptism they should desire offices, and if they should behave well, they might arrive by degrees at the high-priesthood (7). When one was ordained an exorcist, the bishop gave him a book of forms of exorcism, saying : take this and get it by heart, and have power to lay hands on persons possessed, baptized, and Catechumens. When any one was ordained a deacon, he was informed, he was made a *Levite*, to serve at the *altar*, and his offerings were denominated *sacrifices* : next came *priesthood*, and lastly the *pontificate*. Unctions accompany the whole. The same ordinals have several forms of dedication : one for dedicating a place for a church, which had been a synagogue : another for a baptistery, and in this last the bishop prayed, that whoever went down into it, and was baptized by trine immersion, might come up regenerated (8). This, no doubt, was taken from the dedication of the temple, as the benediction of baptismal water was from the Jewish purifications of water for the use of the priests (9). None but Jews could introduce such practices as these. Most likely, from a confusion of ideas, Jewish and Christian, in some disordered brain, came those trials of innocence or guilt, which are called judgments of God (1). The Saxons called them ordeals. Austin, Ambrose and Gregory were among the first practitioners (2). If a person accused of crimes denied guilt and affirmed his innocence, an appeal was made to heaven for proof. The trial was begun in oaths at the shrines of saints. It proceeded in time to fire and water. After a most solemn service by

(5) 1 Tim. iv. 1. (6) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. iv. Diss. lvi.

(7) Thomasii *Sacram.* Lib. i. xcv.

(8) lxxxviii. *Orat. in dedicatione basilicæ novæ* - - xciii. *In dedicatione loci illius ubi prius fuit synagoga* - - xciii. *In dedicatione fontis.*

(9) *Benedictio aquæ.* - - *Benedictio fontis, &c.*

(1) Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. iii. Diss. xxxviii. *De Judiciis Dei, sive experimentis veterum ad scrutandum hominum crimen, sive innocentiam.*

(2) August. *Epist.* lxxviii. - - Greg. *Epist.* Lib. ii. Ep. xxxiii *ad Justinum prætor.* Lib. vii. Ep. xviii.

a priest, the suspected person was thrown into water, and if he swam he was held guilty ; or he passed blind-fold over red hot irons, and if he was burnt he was reputed guilty ; or he ate bread and cheese, after the priest had consecrated them, and if he were not choked, but digested the food, he was accounted innocent (3). Whoever examines the rituals used on these occasions, and attends to the constituent ideas of them, analyzing complex into simple thoughts, will not think it improbable, that the Mosaical ritual on the waters of jealousy, baptism by immersion in water, and baptism by fire, and many such like appending ideas, were the originals of these complex forms of ordeal : and that the compounding of the whole into one was the work of some half distracted Jews, in whose wild fancies the two economies were confounded, and the science applied to the purpose of obtaining wealth and Aaronical dominion (4). The address to a priest for the mind of God, was like appealing to the Urim and Thummim of Aaron. In those days a book of incantations bestowed by a bishop on a Levite was a treasure, especially when the Levite could practise on infants. Abbot Bonus, who, when he began, had but one missal, and one shirt, and who was forced to lie in bed till that was washed, acquired lands, houses, and utensils, by knowing how to use his missal ;

(3) Murat. *ubi sup.* Ordo ad faciendum iudicium ad aquam frigidam. - - Benedictio aquæ frigide ad furtum - - Benedictio panis et casei - - Benedictio super aquam ferventem - - Benedictio ferri ad iudicium faciendum.

(4) *Iudicium aquæ frigide.* Adjuro vos homines, per patrem et filium, et spiritum sanctum, et per vestram christianitatem quam suscepistis - - ut non præsumatis - - accedere ad altare - - si hoc - - fecistis. *Conjuratio aquæ.* Adjuro te aqua - - per ineffabile nomen Jesu Christi, qui etiam in te baptizari dignatus est, et suo baptismo consecravit. Adjuro te per spiritum sanctum, qui super Dominum in te baptizatum descendit, qui te invisibili sanctificatione sacratam ad animarum purgationem inenarrabile constituit sacramentum - - ut nullo modo suscipias hunc hominem, si in aliquo culpabilis est ex hoc, quod illi objicitur - - per virtutem Domini Jesu Christi rejice ex te, et fac illum natum super te, &c.

TRANSLATION.

Trial by cold water. I adjure you by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and by your christianity which you have received, that you presume not - - to approach the altar - - if you have done this thing. *Conjuratio of the water.* I adjure thee, O water, by the ineffable name of Jesus Christ, who deigned to be baptized in thee, and, consecrated thee by his baptism. I adjure thee, by the Holy Spirit, who descended upon the Lord when he was baptized in thee, who by an invisible sanctifying power hath constituted thee a sacrament of inexpressible value for the holy cleansing of polluted souls - - that you by no means receive this man, if he is in any respect guilty of the crime laid to his charge - - but by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, cast him out of thee, and make him to swim upon thee, &c. [*Ed.*

and left to his monks, at his death, a great estate, personal and real, and, among other things, a plenty of missals, diurnals, and nocturnals, and one missal of extraordinary worth to be kept always in an ark (5). That cabinet was to the house what the ark and the law had been to their predecessors, the Jews; and a priest, a missal, and the presence of God, were always united so that the secrets of hearts were opened, and demons fled before them.

Musick, both vocal and instrumental, was imported from the temple of Solomon into the Jewish Christian church, and was closely connected with baptism. The monks first taught the children under their tuition to sing. Then they invented choirs of picked voices to sing in their chapels: but as chanting was officiating in divine worship, and as none were allowed to perform offices except members of the societies, it became necessary to admit the children into the choir by baptizing them, and giving them the Lord's supper. The children are named promiscuously little ones, *parvuli*; infants, *infantes*; little infants, *infantuli*; the school of singers, *schola cantorum*; and so on (6). In the ninth century canons became rivals of the monks, but they never succeeded till they took children, and formed choirs in cathedral and baptismal churches (7). An emulation thus set up between the conventual and collegiate churches, improved musick, but damaged baptism, and handsome children with fine voices fell a prey to the ostentatious zeal of both monks and canons; nor were abbesses and nuns idle spectators. Hence came the charge against the bishop of Siena, that he had ordained presbyter a little infant not more than twelve years of age, who neither knew how to chant vespers, or matins, or mass. *Infantulum habentem annos non plus duodecim ad presbyteratus ordinem evexisset, qui nec vespero sapit, nec madodinos facere, nec missa cantare novit.* The addition of instrumental to vocal musick made a fresh demand for children, for the first instruments were a sort of fifes or pipes blown by children of the choir (8). Organs are of later date, and antiquaries cannot determine precisely when they were brought into

(5) Murat. Tom. iv. p. 788.

(6) Ibid. Tom. iv. *Ordo Roman.*

(7) Ibid. *ut sup.*

(8) Venantii Fortunati *Carmin.* Lib. ii. C. 10.

churches (9). With how much pleasure instrumental musick was received, it would be difficult to say. Choirs were highly improved, and kings and great men built domestick chapels, and formed choirs in their own palaces. Some say the Franks were the first, but others with more probability affirm that Luitprand, king of the Lombards, was the first who formed such a choir for his own daily amusement (1). This was the origin of the children of royal chapels, and as the amusement became general, of course there was a greater demand for children, and a stronger temptation to baptize them. This subject is fully discussed by the learned and elegant Abbot of Saint Blase (2).

The union between baptism and the covenant of God with Abraham and his family, of which circumcision was a sign, is to be placed among these arbitrary Jewish connexions : for the New Testament doth not mention any such union, neither is there any such contract between God and Christians, nor is baptism a seal, nor is there any likeness between circumcision and baptism, nor are the treatises on this subject any thing more than heterogeneous combinations of allegory and fancy : having no foundation in the reason and fitness of things, and being supported by nothing but detached passages of scripture. The baptism of proselytes hath been spoken of before.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH CHIVALRY.

Out of the savage condition of men in the rude ages of the world sprang the spirit of enterprise : out of the success of violent enterprizes came conquest : out of the condition of conquerors the feudal system proceeded : out of the disorders of the feudal system came knighthood as a relief : and out of knighthood came the point of honour accompanied with many heroical virtues, which in the end contributed their share to refine society. One celebrated modern writer hath shewn, with his usual acumen, that “the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace

(9) Mabillon. *Annal. Benedict.* ann. DCCLVII. --- Murat. *ut sup.*

(1) Murat. *Diss.* lvi.

(2) Gerbert. *De Cantu et Musica sacra. in verb. Psalmodia* --- *Pueri* --- *Bonifantes* --- *Choreæ* --- *Monachi* --- *Hebræorum* --- *Cantus* --- *Instrumenta musica, &c.*

and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life (3).” This idea is countenanced by the sacred historian, who says, *Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth : he was a mighty hunter : as if the transition was easy from the exercise of domestick cruelty to animals to the subduing and oppressing of mankind* (4). A second ornament of modern literature hath proved that the feudal system prevailed in the East in early times ; in Persia, in Arabia, in Hindostan, in Turkey, in Tartary, and that it was apparently introduced into Germany and Scandinavia by the Tartars, before the irruption of the Goths into the Roman states (5). The Goths and other Germans extended it all over Europe. Several have traced the influence of this system on manners, and have remarked that many benefits of modern life originated in chivalry, for chivalry was a compound of the wild and the wary, the cruel and the tender, the rapacious and the generous, the extravagant and the regular, the profligate and the devout. In time it was reduced to order, and the solemnities of religion were associated with romantick ideas of elves and fairies, sprights, magicians, enchanters and giants ; and “to love *God* and the *ladies* was the first lesson of chivalry (6).” After enthusiasm had spent its force, this institution produced humanity in war, refinement in gallantry, and the point of honour, from all which innumerable benefits proceeded to society ; for the virtues of the knights got the better of their excesses (7).

It is curious to hear the exhortation anciently given to a knight, when he was invested with the collar of the order. He was advised to fight under the banner of Jesus, to recollect with what patience he endured the insults of Pilate, Herod, and the soldiers, and he was

(3) E. Gibbon, Esq. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Vol. ii. Chap. xxvi. *Manners of the Pastoral nations. . . . Progress of the Huns from China to Europe, &c.*

(4) Genesis, Chap. x. 8, 9.

(5) Richardson's *Preface to his Arabic and Persian Dictionary*.

(6) Stuart's *View of Society in Europe*. *Origin of Knighthood. - Sources of Chivalry, &c.*

(7) Bernard Giustinian *Hist. Cronol. dell' origine degl' ordini militari e di tutte le religioni cavalleresche*. Venezia. 1692.

admonished to *revenge* his death (8). It is more curious to observe that the Catholick rituals used at the ceremony required the knight on his oath to declare his abhorrence of Anabaptism (9), and his unfeigned assent to the Athanasian creed: but the ridicule is extremely heightened by remarking further, that "the renowned Saint George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and the garter," was, probably, no other person than the infamous George of Cappadocia, the Anabaptist Arian, archbishop of Alexandria, the enemy and the usurper of the throne of Athanasius, the man who rose from nothing, by a lucrative contract to supply the army with bacon, into the wealth of a prince, and the dignity of a prelate, and whom the populace, driven mad by his extortions and cruelties, murdered as an enemy to gods and men. By a metamorphosis truly diverting, this blasted heretick, who died in his sins, hath been transformed into a Catholick saint and a martyr, and his worship and his fame have spread over all Christendom (1)

The institution of the Order of the Bath is placed by Justiniani in the year eight hundred and five, and this is probably the true date. Egbert, the father of the English monarchy, was at that time the reigning king of Wessex. He had spent twelve years of his life at the court of Charlemagne, where, it is credible, he formed the plan of uniting the heptarchy, and where he had learned the art of war, and the politicks of the times. This date agrees also with the ceremonies of the institution; for the bathing is evidently taken from that kind of baptism which was in general use in the time of Charlemagne. It is not a very improbable conjecture, that it was invented as a lure to decoy the wild Pagan soldiers of the time into a profession of Christianity under the specious form of military honour. On the continent the ceremony of bathing was performed in the baptismal

(8) Ibid. p. 8. *Regula militaris ordinis præcepta a Wilhelmo, cum in regem Romanorum eligeretur a principibus imperii in comitiis Coloniensibus. An. 1247. Rex Bohemiæ jugum impegit in collum tyronis ita dicens. - - Memento quoniam servator mundi coram Anna pontifice pro te colaphizatus et illusus - - - cujus mortem ulcisci te moneo.*

(9) p. 34.

(1) Gibbon's Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Vol. ii. Chap. xxiii On the other side see Mr. Pegge's observat. on the hist. of S. George. Archæol. Vol. v. i.

churches of St. John (2). Cola Di Rienzo, or Nicholas, the son of Lawrence, the celebrated tribune of Rome, was bathed in the Lateran baptistery at his investiture; and in his manifesto, which was dispersed in all courts, it is called a baptism (3). In England, it should seem, the bathing was performed in a moveable bathing-tub, for it is said, in an ancient ordinal, "the esquires governours shall make ready a bath, handsomely hung with linen, both within and without the vessel, taking care that it be covered with tapistrie and blankets, in respect of the coldness of the night, - - - and the esquire being out of the bath, the barbour shall take away the bath, with whatsoever appertaineth thereto, both within and without for his fee."

In the year eleven hundred and twenty-eight Henry i. king of England, conferred the honour of knighthood on Geoffry, son of Fulco, count of Anjou, at Rouen in Normandy at Whitsuntide, the usual time of administering baptism. Geoffry was fifteen years of age. The time, however, was arbitrary, and the investiture was performed on court festivals, as at the creation of the titles of princes, at coronations, at royal baptisms, and so on. James i. of Scotland, conferred the honour of the knighthood of the Bath on fifty young gentlemen at the baptism of his twin sons James and Alexander in the October of fourteen hundred and thirty. Instruction preceded the ceremony of bathing, for the king's chamberlain took along with him into the chamber of the esquire, "the most gentle and grave knights to inform, counsel, and instruct him touching the order and feats of chivalrie, and in the order and course of the bath." These gentlemen are called in some rituals the governours, and in others the godfathers of the esquire, and a part of their service was, "to undress the said esquire, and put him naked into the bath." The ritual says: "let him go into the bath in token of washing away sin, and every vice, that he may come out as pure as a boy

(2) p. 157. An. 1388.

(3) Johannis de Bazano *Chron. Mutinense. apud Murat. inter Rer. Ital. Scriptores*. Tom. xv. Ad honorem et gloriam Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et Beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancti Johannis Baptistæ, in cujus sancto templo in Conca sancti principis et gloriosæ memoriæ sancti Constantini imperatoris Christi amicissimi et Augusti, lavatorium et baptismum glorioso militari accepimus, &c. An. MCCCXLVII.

after his baptism (4).” The new name, and the white habit, and every other concomitant of papal minor baptism, were incorporated in this ceremonial. It was truly descriptive to put on the knight first a white habit in token of innocence, and then a scarlet vest to signify that he was to shed his blood in defence of the church. When a young knight was under age, and could not make oath, a substitute was allowed to swear for him, and to pledge himself that the young gentleman should ratify by his own oath as soon as he came of age what had been done for him in his minority. It is a very probable conjecture, that from these practices of the courts and the military, the clergy took the hint of sponsors, and incorporated it with ecclesiastical baptism.

The whimsical union of baptism with knighthood affected both. Baptism communicated ideas of purity to knighthood; and knighted polluted baptism with superstition. There remains one remarkable instance of the latter in the modern baptismal cross. The cross, which had been always an object of horror to the eyes of a Roman citizen, by a military stratagem was transformed into a symbol of force and courage. A modern successful investigator of ecclesiastical romance hath distinctly considered the standard, the dream, and the celestial sign of the first Christian emperor, and hath brought the famous vision of Constantine to an happy conclusion (5). True it is, Catholicks always discovered a gross attachment to the sign of the cross: but the affixing of it to baptism seems to have taken rise in the time of crusading. It was in the eleventh century, that all Europe was fired with the frenzy of recovering the holy land out of the hands of infidels. This was effected by the tales of pilgrims and the enthusiastical sermons of the monks. The cross was the badge of such as engaged in this enterprize, and six millions of persons assumed the sign, for popes and kings vied with each other in lavishing privileges, secular and sacred, on all who entered on this holy warfare (6). During two centuries the fury lasted, and within this period when esquires were invested with the honour of knighthood, they at

(4) *Intret balneum in signum lotionis peccati, et cujuslibet vitii, &c. puritatis prout est puer, qui exit de baptismo.*

(5) Gibbon's *Hist.* Vol. ii. Chap. xx.

(6) Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* Vol. i. Sect. i.

the same time frequently assumed the cross. The ritual seems to have been taken from the ceremony of giving the cross to minors, at their investiture, along with the ensigns of the order of knighthood ; and the military terms seem expressive of an obligation to become a crusader. The words are these : “ We do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that *hereafter* he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to *fight* under his *banner*, against sin, the *world*, and the devil, and to continue Christ’s faithful *soldier* and servant unto his life’s end.” A comparison of this ritual with that, which was used at the investiture of a knight, and which is too long to be inserted here, renders it highly probable that this modern baptismal cross was not taken from the ecclesiastical and popular crossing of early times, but from the military cross of the dark ages, when the *militia* of the church was distinguished from other classes of Christians by this *sign*.

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH SACERDOTAL HABITS.

In ecclesiastical history, two sorts of habits and ornaments are connected with baptism. The first are natural, decent, and proper for adult baptism by dipping. Of this kind are the waxed drawers of the pope of Rome, and the sandals tied over the heel of the archbishop of Milan ; and the usual dresses in which people are dipped. There is another connexion wholly arbitrary and superstitious. This prevailed in the dark ages, and yet continues ; that is, the ornaments continue to be worn, and a sublime science accounts for the meaning of them.

The learned doctor Du Saussaye of Paris, in a most elegant work, entitled, *The whole Armour of a Bishop*, the result of the study of twenty-five years, describes every episcopal ornament (7) : as the pastoral staff, the episcopal *ring*, the sandals, the mitre, and the triple crown, with all other appendages. What can seem less connected with baptism than the episcopal ring ? Remove back to the ages of allegory, and it will be found that the bishop, like Saint Paul, was animated with a godly jealousy to espouse the church as a chaste virgin to Christ : for as St. Jerom most supercelestially de-

(7) Andreæ Du Saussaye *Panoplia Episcopalis Parisiis*. 1646.

scribes him, the bishop is the organ of the omnipotence of Christ (8). In execution of his office, by order of council, on the first day of Lent he espouses the church by fastening up the doors of the baptistery and sealing them with the episcopal ring: for a garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed (9). Six weeks after, at Easter, the bride is delivered of a family, and the baptistery, which David calls the womb of the morning (he means the morning of holy Saturday) brings forth a nation of children in a day, all children of God, and the bishop, and the church. Episcopacy, triple crowns, diplomas properly sealed, baptism, and all other papal ceremonies are all complex and inexhaustible subjects, not on account of their first principles, but on account of the old age of the world. How much are the geniusses of mankind diversified! Abroad Canonists study hard, and write great books, pro and con, to settle on which hand, and on which finger of which hand, the bishop ought, agreeably to the true spirit and intent of the canon law, to wear the ring, and this important article displays what no laws of uniformity can destroy, variety of sentiment (1). Some laugh at the whole, and say, the dignified clergy have gloves and no gloves, sticks and no sticks; and that the pontiff himself at his institution is dressed and undressed, capped and uncapped, shod and unshod; and in the end is as like Peter as any Jew in Italy ever was (2). Others censure these profane wits for speaking evil of dignities, and quote Saint Jude and Saint Jerom to prove they are guilty of blasphemy.

Trite as these whimsical connections may appear, they are, however, very serious in their consequences. The spiritual relationship of the bishop to the church, establishes his paternal right to the children born of water and the spirit at the baptistery. It also forms an alliance between godfathers, godmothers, godchildren, and their children, which puts them in a condition of affinity or consanguinity, so that canon laws, courts, prohibitions to intermarry, dispensations to annul pro-

(8) Ibid. *Episcopus est Christi omnipotentiae organum.*

(9) Concil. Tolet. xvii. Can. ii. *Ostia sancti baptisterii, &c.*

(1) Saussaye *ut sup.* pag. 268.

(2) Ibid. Lib. i. *De Mitra antiquitate* Cap. v. *Tiare summi pontificis, contra Molinæ impias scurrilitates defensio.*

hibitions, and a thousand other civil inconveniences, proceed from the fanciful union. The act of parliament, which set aside all canonical impediments of marriage, except such as were contrary to God's law, attributes the abuses to the spirit of jurisdiction, and the love of lucre in the court of Rome (3). By such canons, marriages have been dissolved, and children bastardized, fines levied, and great sums exacted, because parents, by performing the office of susceprots to their own children, have become too near akin (4).

BAPTISM CONNECTED WITH WITCHCRAFT.

Some of the old Baptists have been most plentifully abused for calling infant sprinkling the *Devil's baptism* (5). In the heat of controversy, disputants are too eager to arrive at the conclusion, to give themselves much trouble to explain the premises, and phraseology is seldom attended to. The *Devil's baptism* must now appear a very offensive expression to such as make conscience of performing the ordinance in the method exploded : however it is a justice due to the manners of ancestors, to soften the asperity of their style by advert- ing to the facts, which probably gave rise to it, although many who used it in aftertimes might not be aware of its origin.

It appears by Scotch records of undoubted authenticity, that so lately as the year sixteen hundred and seventy-eight, ten women on one day, by the supreme judges of the nation, were convicted on their own confessions, condemned to be strangled at a stake, and burned for the imaginary crime of having carnal commerce with the devil (6). Part of the indictment runs thus : "Nevertheless ye are guilty of the said crime [of witchcraft] in so far as, about two years since, ye the said

(3) 32 Hen. viii. Chap. 38. *An act concerning pre-contracts of marriages, and touching degrees of consanguinity.*

(4) Deusededit. *Pape Epist. ad Gordianum Hispanens Episc.*

Paschalis *Pape ii fragment. Epist. ad Rheginum episc.* Qui ex compatre vel commatre post susceptos filios de fonte nati fuerunt, conjungi non possunt

(5) Robert Some's *Godly treatise.* London. 1589. Cap 12. *The Anabaptistical recusants hold that baptism administered and received in the Popish church is not God's, but the devil's baptism.*

(6) Hugo Arnot, Esq. *Advocate. Hist. of Edinburgh.* 1779. Book i. Chap. i. p. 193. *Records of privy council Records of judiciary* Sept. 13. 1678.

Isobell Elliott, being then servant to Helen Laing, in Peastoun, an witch ; ye, at her desire, staid at home from the kirk, and was present at a meeting with the devil, the said Helen Laing and Marion Campbell witches, in the said Helen's house, where the devil kissed you and - - - - caused you renew your baptism, and baptized you upon the face, with *an waff of his hand like a dewing*, calling you Jean - - - - and since that time ye have had several meetings with the devil." The cruel sentence of death was duly executed.

The baptism here described is a light sprinkling with a jerk of the wrist. The devil, dipping the tips of his nimble fingers in water, and snapping the flexible joints, baptized Isobell Elliott by besprinkling her face as softly as with drops of dew. It should seem, this is the sense of *waving his hand like a dewing*.

There were in Scotland at that time by computation two hundred thousand beggars, who lived a vagabond life, without any subjection to the magistrate, or any regard to laws, human or divine, habituated to promiscuous incest, and to the commission of all sorts of crimes. They assembled sometimes on mountains, and were often seen at country weddings, markets, burials, and on all other publick occasions where any thing was given away, or where any thing could be procured by theft. They were, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together. A contemporary writer says : " No magistrate could ever discover, or be informed, which way one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized (7)." It is not improbable, that the devil of the women above mentioned, was one of a company of these vagabonds, who lived by their wits, exactly like the rogue Torribio, the husband of Coscolina, the gipsy fortune-teller, and the father of Scipio, the valet of the renowned Signior de Santillane (8). Monsieur Le Sage described real manners, when he put the following account into the mouth of Scipio. " When my mother for the honour of her profession (of fortune telling) thought she must make the devil appear in her operations, Torribio always acted that part, which he performed perfectly well, the roughness of his voice, and ugliness of his face giv-

(7) Fletcher as quoted by Arnot. pag. 194.

(8) Gil Blas. Vol. iv. Book xiii. Chap. x.

ing him an appearance suitable to the character he represented. Those that were in the least timorous were always terrified by my father's figure. But one day, unfortunately, there came a brutal fellow of a captain to see the devil, whom he ran through the body. The holy office, informed of the devil's death, sent its officers to the house of Coscolina, whom they seized with all her effects ; and I, who was then but seven years old, was put into the hospital of Los Ninos." Gipseys and fortune-tellers were not the only persons, who represented the devil ; the character was acted on the stage, and thence came the phrase of *playing* the devil (9).

It is very credible that these vagrants held nocturnal meetings, and that by various arts they decoyed thither servant girls and vulgar women under pretences of telling their fortunes, communicating the knowledge of spells and charms, and teaching them how to practise arts of juggling and incantation. By such means they laid many under contribution, and acquired an easy livelihood, beginning in grimace, and ending in villany. Thus they express themselves :

With juggling tricks and mournful cries,
We spend six months in gaities.
With mournful cries and juggling tricks,
We pass away the other six (1).

His majesty James I, in whose time there was a *fearful abounding of these detestable slaves of the devil*, in his great wisdom, for the consolation of his timorous subjects, condescended to write a dialogue on demonology against *the damnable opinions* of two persons, one called Scot, an Englishman, who was *not ashamed in publick print to deny, that there could be such a thing as witchcraft ; and so maintaine the old error of the Sadduces in denying of spirits* : the other called Wierus, a German physician, who wrote an apology and a directory for these gentry (2). The opinion between these two was that of his majesty and most of his subjects. They believed witchcraft, and punished it by law : yet probably these witches and devils were nothing but beggars,

(9) *Collection of old Plays. Lusty Juventus, &c.*

(1) *Spectacle de la Nature. Vol. vi. Dial. vi.*

(2) *The workes of the most high and mighty prince James - - Published by James, bishop of Winton. London, 1610. The preface.*

thieves, fortune-tellers and credulous dupes. The royal author says : that the devil being a learned knave taught his disciples many things : that he understood physiognomy ; that his scholars crept into credit with princes, by foretelling things ; that they pleased their princely patrons by dainty dishes ; that they taught many *Juglarie* tricks at cards and dice, and so on (3). This agrees with foreign accounts, for at Lisle in Flanders the devil taught some of his very young female disciples to kill and steal "thirty young ducks and chickens in less than two hours time (4)." Similar feats are met with in all accounts of witchcraft, foreign and domestick. In England it happened, very luckily, that "*the devil accused some of the godly of receiving stolen goods* (5) ;" and as such accusations were laid against some of the brethren in New England also, a very happy effect followed (6). In sixteen hundred ninety-two, his excellency the Governor, and the Honourable Council, consulted several ministers on the then present witchcrafts in the village of Salem. Of the answer returned by the ministers, the following is the seventh article. "vii. We know not, whether some remarkable *affronts* given to the devils by our disbelieving of those testimonies, whose whole force and strength is from them alone, may not put a period unto the progress of the dreadful calamity begun upon *us*, in the accusation of so many persons, whereof we hope *some* are yet clear from the great transgression laid unto their charge (7)." The testimony of the devil in a thief against one of his own children for receiving stolen goods, had appeared very credible : but when the same devil laid an accusation against a church member, it became a case of conscience, and his evidence began to be suspected. Such suspicions affronted him, and he multiplied accusations, which in the end dissi-

(3) Book i. Chap. vi. The Devil's Contract, &c.

(4) Collection of modern relations of matters of fact concerning witches and witchcraft. London 1693. The discovery of thirty and two young girls in the cloister of Madam Bourignon at Lisle, found to be witches. 1661. Sect. 88.

(5) Bernard's Guide to grand jurymen in cases of witchcraft, p. 207, 208.

(6) Cotton Mather's Tryals of several witches lately executed in New-England : published by the special command of the Governor. Printed at Boston, New-England - - Reprinted at London. 1693. 3d Edit.

Increase Mather's Further account of the tryals of the New-England witches. London. 1693.

(7) Increase Mather's Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits. London. 1693.

pated the whole mist of witchcraft. Satan, however, revenged the affront, for he caused the witches to say "that they formed their assemblies much after the manner of congregational churches, and that they had a *baptism*, and a *supper*, and *officers* among them, abominably resembling *those of our Lord*."

The devil of Great-Britain had very early either turned the institutes of religion into ridicule, or used them as charms. Satan had done the first, and had taught his disciples to practise the last. To go no further back than the conquest. Every body knows the severity and cruelty of the forest laws. "The punishment for killing the king's deer was loss of eyes and castration, a punishment far worse than death. This will easily account for the troops of banditti, which formerly lurked in the royal forests, and from their superior skill in archery and knowledge of all the recesses of those unfrequented solitudes, found it no difficult matter to resist or elude the civil power (8)." The most famous of these heroes were, in the forest of Sherwood, Robin Hood, and in the forest of Englewood in the North, Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, or Clement of the Valley, and William of Cloudesly. Such thieves robbed the abbies and castles of the rich, and relieved the poor. "Robin entertained a hundred men, and they killed none but such as would invade them, or by resistance for their own defence (9)." These men were in high favour with the common people, and it is very credible, that many ancient ballads were of their own composing. Robin Hood was at least a yeoman, and some learned antiquaries affirm that his true name was Robert Fitz-ooth, and that he had real pretensions to the Earldom of Huntington.

Between this class of men and the resident poor was another large body, pedlars, thieves, beggars, and fortune-tellers, who probably were connected with both. Gilderoy was one of this order. This famous robber was caught and hanged at Edinburgh about the time of the Reformation. In the ballad his widow describes and laments him thus :

[This ballad, with a number of others which occur in these narrations, are not considered worthy of being inserted. [Ed.

(8) Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. Vol. i. Book. i. viii.

(9) Stow's *Annals*. An. 1190. in Percy.

James v. of Scotland wrote one ballad, entitled the jolly beggar, and one called the gaberlunzie man. Gaberlunzie, or gaberlunzie is a wallet, and a gaberlunzie man is a wallet man, a tinker, a beggar. This is another of the order just now mentioned. He is represented in the ballad as decoying a young country woman from her mother's house. ---

A very probable account may be given of the attendance of vagabonds and fortune-tellers at baptisms, for it was the custom to make good cheer on these occasions, and under servants knew how to trade in divination with offal victuals. The following is the bill of fare of a dinner at Tynningham, the house of the Right Hon. the Earl of Haddington, on Thursday the twenty-first of August, sixteen hundred seventy-nine, when his Lordship's son was baptized.

Fresh beef.	6 pieces.
Mutton.	16 pieces.
Veal.	4 pieces.
Legs of venison.	3
Geese.	6
Pigs.	4
Old turkeys.	2
Young turkeys.	8
Salmon.	4
Tongues and udders.	12
Ducks.	14
Roasted fowls.	6
Boiled fowls.	9
Chickens roasted.	30
Ditto stewed.	12
Ditto fricasseed.	8
Ditto in pottage.	10
Lamb.	2 sides.
Wild fowl.	22
Pigeons, baked, roast-	
ed and stewed,	182
Hares roasted.	10
Ditto fricasseed.	6
Hams.	3
A puncheon of claret, &c. (1).	

(1) *Household Book*. Arnot. Book i. Chap. iv. pag. 176.

Ibid. pag. 173. -- See page 60. Letter of James vi. to the Laird of Balfour, on the baptism of the princess.

Nor is it improbable that people of this kind versed in all the arts of legerdemain, should make themselves merry with the tricks of the monks, and particularly with what they might ludicrously call the baptizing of the devil, that is, the exorcism previous to baptism, or the expelling of the devil by sprinkling holy water. Writers on witchcraft observe that when a person was bewitched, it was sometimes said, "it was possible the devil had not been conjured out of the party before baptism by the exorcist, or the midwife had not baptized him well, but had omitted some part of the sacrament, and that it was a general rule, that who or whatsoever is newly exorcised must be rebaptized (2)." Every unbaptized person was supposed by the clergy to be possessed with the devil: the first work therefore was to exorcise the party to be baptized. This was done by sprinkling; and it appears by a British canon, which will be mentioned on another occasion, that the priests sometimes baptized, perhaps to save trouble, or perhaps when a child was dying, by only sprinkling holy water, confounding in their haste exorcism with baptism (3). King James expressly says: "the devil mocked the holy water of the Papists;" and his majesty had collected this from the trials of witches. There is an old black letter ballad containing thirty-three verses, of which the following are a part:

Since Popery of late is so much in debate
And great strivings have been to restore it,
I cannot forbear openly to declare
That the ballad-makers are for it.

If you give but good heed you shall see the host bleed,
If any thing else can perswade ye,
An image shall speak, or at least it shall squeak,
For the honour of our good Lady.

You shall see without doubt the Devil cast out,
As of old he was by Erra Pater,
He shall skip and shall tear like a dancing bear
When he feels the pure holy water (4).

(2) Scot's *Discovery of witchcraft*. London. 1651. Book xv. Chap. xxv. *Seven reasons why some are not rid of the devil - and why the devil is not so soon cast out of the bewitched as of the possessed.*

(3) See Chap. xxxiii. *On aspersion.*

(4) *Catholic Ballad.*

As an additional proof, that it was exorcism, and not baptism, which these frolicksome strollers ridiculed, it is to be observed, that the kirk did not then baptize by sprinkling, for the directory says: "as the minister speaketh the baptismal words, hee taketh water in his hande, and layeth it upon the childes forehead (5)." This laying water upon the forehead is called in another part of the same book "*pouring* it upon the head (6)." It is the same in other editions. The introduction to the order of baptism says: "The sacraments are not ordeyned of God to be used in private corners, as charms or sorceries, but left to the congregation." This is a censure of exorcism as well as of private baptism, and the devil and the witches had the high authority of the kirk for calling exorcism the baptism of *witchcraft*, that is, in the vulgar style of vagrants, the baptism of the *devil*. A writer just now quoted from Mr. Arnot supposes the magistrates could not detect these vagabonds: but it is far more likely, they were afraid of the number of them, and durst not punish them. Bishop Latimer had been in a like predicament. He went to preach at a town on Robin Hood's day, and says he, "I was fain to give place to Robin Hood." It is clear by the royal author of Demonology that the magistrates were afraid of them: the subject is particularly mentioned, and an inquiry made how far the power of the devil extended over magistrates.

On the whole, it is not impossible, that some of these arch wags, who played the devil before country dames in nocturnal assemblies, might gravely teach such vulgar dupes to use exorcism, or the devil's baptism, as it is called, as a charm; but it is far more likely that, from the conquest till the last century, outlaws, vagrants, and except a few individuals, all the classes above mentioned, lived without any religious institutes, and turned all into ridicule.

The learned and instructive modern historian of Edinburgh, who hath most happily united information with

(5) The form of prayers and administration of the sacramentes, vsed in the Eng. church at Geneua, approued and receiued by the church of Scotland. 1584. -The order of Baptisme.

(6) The Catechisme- -made by the excellent Doctor and Pastor in Christes church John Calvin- -Sunday the xlix. wherefore the water is poured upon the heade, &c. - -The same book imprinted at Geneva, by John Creg-pin. 1556.

entertainment, seems to express himself as if he supposed Anabaptism would be a public benefit in that city. Having observed that the poor people of Scotland are exceedingly addicted to a nasty way of living ; he adds, " Indeed, the mob seems a monster, so little affected by reason, and so powerfully influenced by religion, that *frequent* ablutions ought to be inculcated, as a part of the Christian, as it has been of the Jewish and Mahometan religions ; and to this the ceremony of *baptism*, in the christian dispensation, seems particularly to point (7)." Travellers devoutly wish the poor of Edinburgh may profit by the hint ; and for the honour of the city police, for the benefit of their own health, and for the consolation of southern visitants, go beyond the Anabaptists, and practise hemerobaptism.

CHAP. XXXII.

CEREMONIES IMPROPERLY CALLED BAPTISM.

THE BAPTISM OF BELLS.

THE Roman Catholicks are censured by many Protestants for baptizing bells(1). This was one of the grievances complained of by the Germans at the Reformation (2). The Catholicks deny the charge(3). They grant they bless bells with certain ceremonies as they do all other church utensils, and that one of the ceremonies is giving the bell a name, to distinguish it from others, or in honour of some saint. They ought therefore to be held acquitted of the blame of prostituting baptism in this case, and censured, if censurable, for consecration, and benediction only. It should seem, bells were first used, by being fastened to the horns of sheep, to inform shepherds where to find their flocks. Then they mounted on the heads of cows and neat cattle, and thence they passed to the necks of road horses, to give notice to travellers in narrow passes, lest there should be a stop or a mischief. There are laws both of the

(7) Arnot. Book iv. Chap. v. *Of the Trinity hospital.* p. 563.

(1) P Pauli Vergerii *De Aqua benedict. et baptiz. campan. Lib.*—— Thomæ Naogeorgi *Regn papistic.* Lib. i.—— Rod. Hospiniani *De templis.* Lib. iv. Cap. ix, &c.

(2) Edw. Browni *Fascic. Rer. expetend. Gravam. Germ. li.*

(3) Bellarm. Op. Tom. x. p. 810.—Labbei Concil. Tom. ix. an. 965.

Franks and Lombards to prevent the stealing of these (4). In time bells were found useful in houses, and the Romans had one in each bath to give notice of the time of opening the bath for publick use (5). The first great bells for the use of christian places of worship were introduced about the year six hundred, and are said to be the invention of Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Campania, whence they had their name: but this seems a popular error, and Pope Sabianus was most likely the man. They were first fixed in the baptisteries after the model of the baths. It was about the year nine hundred and sixty that Pope John xiii. first consecrated a bell in the Lateran, and named it John the Baptist (6). Being found useful to call the people together it was ordered that each church should have two at least, and if it could be afforded, three (7). Before they were hung, they were washed, crossed, blessed, and named by the bishop. This is what some Protestants call baptizing them (8): but others say, it ought to be called a lustrating of them like the lustrating of trumpets among the Romans (9). Whatever occasion some Catholicks may have given for the reproach, that they attribute to bells the power of driving away demons, and dispelling storms, and so on; it is certain the ancient canons of the church only ascribe this power very remotely to bells. Their meaning seems to be this. Satan fears and flees from the bells because he knows bells summoned good people to church to pray, and he dreads their prayers. It was then to prayer, occasioned by the ringing of bells, and not to the bells, that such good effects were at first ascribed. Bells were in churches in

(4) Baluz. Capitul. Tom. i. an. 630 -- Dagobert. 2 Tit. viii. xi. *De tintinab.*

(5) Andreæ Baccii *De thermis veterum* Cap. xii. *apud* J. G. Grævii *Thesaur. Antiquitat. Roman.* Tom. xii. p. 324.

(6) Vita Joannis Papæ xiii.

(7) Concil. Aquense *De Campanis.*

(8) Hospinianus *ut supra*, *Inscriptio companæ Stæbbori oppiduli ad lacum. Venetum.*

Colo verum Deum: plebem voco; et congrego clerum:

Divos adoro: festa Decoro: Defunctos ploro: Pestem Demonesque fugo.

TRANSLATION.

The inscription of a bell in Stæbborough, a small town on the gulph of Venice.

I worship the true God: I call upon the people: I collect together the clergy: I adore the saints: I adorn the festivals: I mourn for the dead: I chase away pestilence and devils.

[*Ed.*

(9) Petri Vireti *De Adult. Cæna Domini* Lib. iii. Cap. 2. *apud* Hospinian.

England before the time of Bede (1): but the Greeks had none till the year eight hundred and sixty-five, when a Doge of Venice sent some to the Emperor Michael (2). Casalius says, when he was in England the churches in London, as in Holland, Germany, Scotland and France, had each one bell, and no more; and he adds, the figure of a cock in some metal was set on the top of all the steeples, as an emblem of vigilance. He was misinformed of the number of bells in England, for there is a canon of the 13th century commanding the bells of churches to be always rung when the bishop of a diocese visited or passed through or near the towns of his diocese. There are several instances about the time of the reformation of fines for not ringing on those occasions. Bonner fined Bishop Stortford for this omission, when he visited the town with an intention to burn the Protestant inhabitants. The clergy were the first ringers, and Belward or Belwarden was an ancient church officer, who had the care of the belfrey. The tintinnabulum, or little hand bell, rung at the elevation of the host, was an utensil to be provided by the parish. In brief, baptisteries were the first publick edifices of christians. They were the parents of churches, and the font, the pulpit, and the great bell, are old furniture of the deceased parent, inherited and modernized by his children. What so proper as a bell to give notice to all the Catechumens in the adjoining vestries to proceed to baptism, the men to come out into the hall, and the women to repair to their own bath to be baptized by the deaconesses! This resembled the custom of the city baths.

TROPICAL BAPTISM.

ii. A second abuse is what mariners call tropical baptism or christening: a ridiculous ceremony, says a foreign writer; but an ancient and inviolable custom among seamen of several nations, and regularly performed on such as for the first time pass the tropick, or the equinoctial line, who are supposed to enter as it were a new world. Some captains will not suffer it: others commute with the sailors for a distribution of liquors. The ship is al-

(1) Bedæ *Hist.* Lib. ii. Cap. 23.

(2) Goarî *Euchologion* p. 566.

ways bought off, and the passengers generally : but when it is performed, it is in the following manner. A tub filled with sea water is set on the deck at the foot of the mainmast. The pilot, disguised in his habits, and dismal in his face, takes his stand at the front of the tub, holding in his hand a book of marine charts open, attended by five or six sailors dressed like himself, and surrounded by many more, each with a bucket of water in his hand. Some mount the yards and the shrouds of the masts. With great ceremony the man to be baptized is conducted to the pilot, or mate, who first orders him to be seated on a board over the tub held at each end by one sailor : and then swears him on the book in his hand to perform the same ceremony as often as he shall have occasion on all others in the same case. Instantly after the oath is administered, the two sailors turn up the board, and backward he goes over head and ears into the tub of water, while pails and buckets from above and below all drench him, and he escapes as he can. This is the French form of a tropical baptism. Other nations differ in the ceremonies ; but no tars of any country have yet embraced the practice of sprinkling. Lexicographers ought not to put this under the article baptism : but under that of sousing. Shakespeare would justify them, for on a certain occasion he makes Falstaff say, " They soused me into the Thames with as little remorse as they drown blind puppies."

THE CHRISTENING OF FLEETS.

iii. The ridiculous ceremony of christening ships, and blessing fleets, seems to have flowed from a principle of justice in time debased by superstition. The principle of justice is, that a fleet of men of war ought never to sail on any unjust expeditions. Maritime like land forces ought to be employed to defend the just rights of mankind, not to destroy them. The notion is so popular, that all princes have always pretended to do so. In the year five hundred and thirty-three, Justinian, Emperor of the East, fitted out a fleet to attack the Vandals in Africa. Belisarius was appointed commander in chief. The Emperor ordered the admiral's ship to be towed up to the front of the palace to receive benediction

in the name of the whole fleet before it sailed. Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople, performed the ceremony, one principal part of which was putting on board a soldier immediately after he had been baptized into the Christian faith. A Christian in the Greek church was supposed to bury all his sins in the act of immersion in water, and for this reason, as the learned father Montfaucon hath observed in his notes in his elegant edition of Chrysostom, the Greeks called baptism, burial: and burial and baptism were synonymous. Theophylact speaks accurately, when he says, Jesus and his followers were buried: he in earth, they in water: he three days, they three times by being three times immersed at baptism. When a newly baptized man came up out of the water, he was supposed to rise as it were from the dead, to enter on a life like that of the blessed in heaven, all composed of righteousness and true holiness. What a sight at Constantinople! How full of conviction to the gazing multitude! A soldier at full age in the prime of life, having well considered the matter, comes to the baptistery, pauses before he enters, coolly confesses that he had formerly lived in error and vice, but that having weighed the matter, he had come to a resolution to renounce all sin, and to embrace that religion, which the just and holy Jesus had exemplified: that to express his renunciation of sin he would renounce his former life in a figure by being buried in water, and prove his sincerity by rising out of it and practising in future piety and justice. Down he goes with an holy man into the water, and, in the sight of all, comes up a new creature. A few moments he disappears, to put off his wet habits, and put on his regimentals. Then following the patriarch, he goes on board, and the first act of the holy man's life is the unfurling of a flag, or the pulling of a rope to express that the war is undertaken on principles of the purest justice. The admiral, his lady, his family, and his train follow: the fleet sails, and if the expedition succeeds, Te Deum brings up the rear, and the empire bless God for prospering such an upright undertaking.

All this passes in the face of the sun: but should the reader choose to step behind the curtain, the present case would appear somewhat different (3). The com-

(3) Procopii *Alexandolæ. Historia Arcana. Tom. ii. Cap. i. H^o de J^o.*

mauder, Pelisarius, was the first general of the age. His lady Antonina was of an elegant form, but of manners lascivious to the last degree. Theodosius, the young gentleman baptized on this occasion, was the son of an Arian Anabaptist, of the party called Eunomians, who did not baptize their children. He was a fine figure, in the flower of his youth, and the general's lady had fallen in love with him. He was chosen to be the person baptized, and as it was the road to promotion, baptized he was. The patriarch performed the ceremony, and the general and his lady adopted Theodosius : a custom common among the Greeks at baptism. The spiritual mother, however, long practised in the art, debauched the morals of the youth during the voyage. The general discovered the intrigue. Theodosius was shorn and converted into a monk. He had tasted the world, and could not relish solitude, and he escaped to practise intrigue, and fall deeper into misery. After a few adventures, just as he seemed to be stepping, through the favour of the Empress Theodora, into promotion in the army, he died. How wisely constituted was his father's church ! How undeniable the fact, that virtue is not hereditary !

PURIFICATIONS BY FIRE.

No purifications by fire have been mentioned, for they are very inaccurately called baptisms ; and, strictly speaking, purification by fire was only adherent to lustration, which is called pagan baptism, and was performed immediately after it. A learned Florentine antiquary hath published both a representation in a plate, and an essay explanatory of that practised by the Etruscans in the rites of Mithra ; and Mr. Pennant saw what may be supposed a remnant of it in Scotland, appending to christian baptism, as it had formerly to the lustration of the Pagans. A learned and ingenious investigator of antiquities says, " The act of leaping through the flames was certainly a religious one, and was meant as a kind of purification, and not merely a sport and display of agility. Mr. Pennant mentions another remarkable custom in Scotland, of which he was an eye witness. " They take the new baptized infant, and wave it three or four times gently over a flame, saying thrice, " *Let*

the fire consume thee now or never :" this seems to be the direct act of purification in passing the fire of Moloch. Like other heathenish customs appropriated to festivals of the christian church, these are adopted on the day of St. John [the Baptist, the twenty fourth of June] or rather used on the same anniversary, and the name of that saint assumed to give them new sanctity. Mr. Brand quotes several passages from Gebelin's *Allegories Orientales* : "Can one, says he, overlook here the St. John fires kindled about midnight, on the very moment of the solstice, by the greatest part both of ancient and modern nations ? A religious ceremony, which goes backward thus to the most remote antiquity, and which was observed for the prosperity of states, and to dispel every kind of evil."

"The common and most tender appellation of an infant is Babba. This name Mr. Bryant, in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, says, is derived from the exclamation made by the congregation during the ceremony of purification, by passing infants through the fire of Moloch. Fire worship was used in this country, and in the Druidical rites such ceremony might be retained : for they held many customs so similar to those of the Hebrews, that it strengthens the idea greatly that they were communicated by the Phœnicians, or introduced from Germany, where the Amonians most certainly were well known. The Saxons also introduced their customs : they were worshippers of fire, and might hold such office of purification."

Learned men have written many dissertations on what are called St. John's fires, which were lighted up on the night of St. John Baptist's day. Catholicks give devout and spiritual reasons. Some Protestants say, the church adopted the pagan palilia : others that it was taken from the Jews : others again observe that lustration and purification by fire were united among the Pagans. Antiquaries observe that such festivals were universal, and thence they infer, that for some reasons they were wisely practised by the first Fathers of mankind, and were continued superstitiously by their descendants, who retained the rites and forgot the reasons of them. It would be possible to add one essay more. It might be observed in regard to the first, that a spirit-

ual reason for a fire-festival could obtain only among spiritual men : but this was a general custom. In objection to the second, it might be urged, that the Romans celebrated the palilia on the twenty-third of April : but St. John's fires were on the twenty-fourth of June. To the third it might be objected, that these are Christians, not Pagans, that lustration was not baptism for ages, and that during the ages of dipping these fires were kindled, as laws to regulate them prove. It might be observed of the fourth, that there is no necessary connection between baptism and fire-festivals, and that the question remains, how came these festivals united with John the Baptist, rather than with St. George, whose festival falls on the very day of the old palilia. It might be observed that there are cases in which fire and baptismal water are naturally connected. Otho, the apostle of Pomerania, who baptized persons naked by immersion in a season excessively cold and rigorous, ordered fires to be made, and warmed the water for baptism. The baptism of persecuted people in a desert, a baptism in the night, or in excessive cold, and many reasons beside, might render fire necessary, and when fire and baptism are united, fire and John Baptist will not be far asunder. It would be easy to trace this down to sprinkling, and infants, and so to raise from the dead, as it were, an old Pagan rite : but it is a matter of no consequence to the present history.

INSULTS ON INFANT BAPTISM.

Sense of decency would seem to forbid the insertion of any actions of insolence and contempt : but justice to the characters of some worthy persons demands it. It is a notorious fact (to omit the history of other countries) that, in the time of civil discord in England, infant baptism was attacked by rational arguments, and insulted by ludicrous scenes. It is generally supposed the same persons were the agents of both : but this is a mistake. Sober persons argued : but profligate men of no religion at all, and avowed enemies to the Baptists, committed insults.

Of many such scenes the following are a specimen. Soon after the passing of the conventicle-act, a Baptist, named Headach, a man of fortune and reputation, was

accused of having spoken *treasonable* words by a pretended brother, named John Poulter. Headach was ready to be arraigned at the bar on the oath of Poulter, and of course to lose both his estate and his life, when all on a sudden Poulter disappeared. It was soon found, that Poulter was the son of a butcher in Salisbury; that he was there reputed one of the most debauched and profligate of mankind; that he had turned informer, and had been employed by Dr. Mew, then Vice-chancellor of Oxford, and Judge Morton, who used to call him *John for the king*, to obtain in the county of Bucks a full account of what number of dissenting meetings there were; in what places they were held; what number of persons attended them; of what rank; whether of estate; where they resided, and so forth. Poulter, like the rest of his order, was sometimes a Quaker, and sometimes a Baptist, and, when he was found out in one country, he shifted quarters, and acted the same parts in others, always protected and supported by some great persecutors then in power. Having committed many other crimes, and been guilty of many felonies, which came to light at once, he fled the country. Headach was dismissed, and among other exploits it was found, Poulter had in contempt of infant baptism, christened a cat, and in derision of the queen, had named it Catherine-Catharina. So zealous an enemy was this pretended Baptist to infant baptism and civil tyranny over conscience (4).

“Paul Hobson’s soldiers christened a colt, that was foaled in St. Paul’s church, by sprinkling it with water which he had made in his helmet, in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and because it was a *bald* colt, he named it Baal rex (5).”

“Captain Beaumont and his soldiers in 1644, christened a colt at the font in Yakesley church, Huntingdonshire, in the same manner, with the same sort of water, calling him, because he was hairy, Baal Esau (6).”

(4) *The history of the life of Thomas Ellwood*—written by his own hand. London. 1714. pag. 279, &c.

(5) *Newes from Powles*. One sheet 4to. 1649, in Mr. Gough’s topography. Vol. i. pag. 609.

(6) Edward’s *Gangrena*. Vol. iii. pag. 18. . . . Oldys’s *Mss.* . . . In Mr. Gough, as before.

History mentions ancient mockeries of baptism, but they were very different from these. Prynne collected two from Nicholas Cabasila. "It is recorded of one Porphyry, a Pagan stage-player, that he grew to such an height of impiety, that he adventured to baptize himself in jest upon the stage, of purpose to make the people laugh at Christian baptism, and so to bring both it and Christianity into contempt : and for this purpose he *plunged* himself into a vessel of water which he had placed on the stage, calling aloud upon the Trinity, at which the spectators fell into great laughter. But lo the goodness of God to this profane miscreant ! It pleased God to shew such a demonstration of his power and grace upon him, that this sporting baptism of his became a serious laver of regeneration to him, insomuch that of a graceless player he became a gracious Christian ; and not long after a constant martyr." Credat Judæus Apella.

"The like I find registered of one Ardalion, another heathen actor, who, in derision of the holy sacrament of baptism, baptized himself in jest upon the stage, and by that means became a Christian, God's mercy turning this his wickedness to his eternal good." Credat Judæus Apella, Non ego.

COMMEMORATIVE BAPTISM.

A festival in commemoration of the baptism of Christ is observed by some oriental churches ; but it doth not appear with sufficient evidence that any except the Ethiopians are themselves rebaptized. The Armenians dip a cross. The Greeks bless the waters by the same ceremony. The disciples of John administer baptism annually : but the Ethiopians are literally rebaptized. Indeed, there is great reason to suspect the genuineness of the account, but, such as it is, the following is a sketch of it. In the year fifteen hundred thirty-four an Ethiopian, named Zaga Zabo, who called himself a priest, a bishop, and Bugana Rez, or Viceroy of the province of Bugana, at Lisbon, by desire of the celebrated Damian a Goez, wrote an account of the faith and discipline of the Ethiopian church, which was afterwards printed. The whole is so purely papal, that the most zealous missionary of Rome could not have forged a letter more

satisfactory to the Roman pontiff and the sacred college. The author says, Jesus was baptized in Jordan when he was thirty years of age : that the eunuch whom Philip baptized first communicated the doctrine of baptism to the Ethiopians : that it had been the custom time immemorial for the Ethiopians to circumcise all their children male and female on the eighth day : that since the introduction of christening, males forty days after their circumcision were baptized, and females eighty days after, except in cases of necessity : that the water in which they were baptized was consecrated and blessed by exorcisms ; and that on the same day the children received the venerable body of Christ under the form of a little bit of bread : that the Ethiopians did not, like the church of Rome, call unbaptized infants, heathens, but half-christians, because they were born of christian parents, and had been elected and sanctified in their mother's wombs, and had been partakers of the body and blood of the Lord in the wombs of their pious mothers ; that every year on the epiphany in commemoration of the baptism of Christ, all Ethiopians were baptized, in honour of the Saviour, and not because they thought it necessary to salvation.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ON ASPERSION.

IT was said some time ago, that infant sprinkling was more ancient than the institution of baptism itself. and it may be added with equal truth, that it is more ancient than Judaism: and the origin of it is hid in the most remote depths of antiquity.

Tertullian in the second or third century, affirmed that the ancient Pagans initiated persons into the mysteries of Isis and Mithra by a mock baptism, which Satan inspired them to administer, in order to render ineffectual that baptism, which he foresaw Jesus would institute (1). In the eighteenth century, under the patronage of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with an imprimatur from the Archbishop of Florence, and the Inquisitor

(1) *Tertul. de Bapt. Cap. v.*

General, a learned Catholick antiquary published one volume of plates of Etruscan antiquities, and another of dissertations to explain them, and, in one of these, entitled on baptism, he proves beyond all contradiction the truth of what Tertullian hath asserted, except one article, for of Satan the monuments say nothing (2). Every thing else the learned antiquary found; a priest, a godfather, a subject of baptism, an aspersion, an initiation, an initiation to mysteries too, nearly a complete Catholick baptism, by only exchanging the name of Mithra for that of the true God. Can the most zealous admirer of antiquity wish for more!

The great principle, on which the Roman Catholick church is founded, an implicit obedience to authority, exonerates the members of that church from the necessity of examining for themselves the monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity, except merely as matters of curiosity: for the church doth not allow any private opinions to regulate the publick rituals, and the members perfectly understand it so. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, his Eminence, Cardinal Frederick Borromei, Archbishop of Milan, founded a noble library in that city, and employed several learned men of the college of St. Ambrose to investigate separate subjects, and hence came that invaluable set of books, which are distinguished by the name of *Ambrosians*: books, which all connoisseurs value for their beauty and scarcity, and which all learned men esteem for their copiousness, erudition, and fidelity. By order of his Eminence, Dr. Rusca wrote on the present state of punishment (3); Dr. Collius on the blood of Christ (4), and the souls of the Pagans; Dr. Ferrari on preaching; and Dr. Visconti, or Vicecomes, on baptism, and the mass (5). This last writer laments in the preface that while so much attention had been paid to the antiquities of Pagan Rome, so little had been written on the antiquities of the Christian Church. He struck out a method on baptism, and

(2) Ant. Fran. Gorii *Museum Etruscum*. Florentiæ 1737. Tom. ii. Tab. clxxii.

(3) Antonii Ruscæ -- *De inferno et statu dæmonum, ante mundi exitium*. Lib. v. *Mediolan*.

(4) Francisci Collii *De sanguine Christi*. Lib. v. *Mediolani* 1617. --- *Ejusdem. De animabus paganorum*. Fr. Bernardini Ferrarii *De ritu sacrar. concionum*. Lib. ii. *Mediolani*. 1620.

(5) Joseph de Vicecomit. *Observat. Eccles. de baptismo, confirmatione, et de Missa*. Tom. iv. *Mediolani*. 1615, 1618, 1622, 1626. *præfat*.

hath left nothing unexamined. He had every advantage, a free access to one of the finest libraries in Europe, and a religious principle, which did not even tempt him to use collusion; for a learned Catholick is not shocked at finding that a ceremony is neither scriptural nor ancient, because an order of the council of Trent is as valid to him as an apostolical canon. What this great man said of sprinkling will be observed in its proper place: at present it will be sufficient to remark, that a revolution in the application of antiquities to religion, greatly in favour of the study of the holy scriptures, hath taken place in the Catholick world. In Father Mabillon's time, the writings of hereticks were directed to be kept under lock and key, chiefly for the use of such as wrote against heresy (6): but the present century exhibits a different view. With an express design to illustrate the holy scriptures, Ugolini published at Venice a noble and elegant Thesaurus of thirty-four folio volumes, consisting of dissertations written by authors of all churches, Catholick and Anticatholick: a work that does honour to the author, and must do good to the whole Catholick world (7). They are the liberal researches of men above vulgar prejudices, and not a peevish attachment to the little circle of one school, from which Christians are to expect *a light to shine unto perfect day*.

No remark is more common among such Catholick writers, than that there is a striking resemblance between baptism, as it is administered by the church, and the lustration of infants as it was practised by Pagans (8). Hence they very often call baptism lustration. The remark is ingenuous and just: and the resemblance is too striking to escape notice. At first sight, it appears probable in a very high degree that Christians took this ceremony from the Pagan ritual: but this is not precisely the case; and lest any rash conclusions should be formed, it will be necessary to take a circuit, and to observe first, that the Pagans did lustrate infants - - - then that Christians introduced lustration into their ritual - - - afterwards that a position was laid down in the church, which rendered

(6) Mabillon *Traite des etudes monastiques*. *Advertissement*.

(7) Blasii Ugolini Thesaurus Antiquitatum sacrar, complectens selectissima clarissimorum virorum opuscula, in quibus veterum Hebræorum mores, leges, &c. illustrantur. Opus ad illustrationem utriusque testamenti... necessarium. Venetiis. 1744-69.

(8) Ludovici Pratei *notæ in Persii Satir.* ii. ver. 3.

the lustration of infants very desirable, if not absolutely necessary ---- further, that those writers, who affirm, infant sprinkling is not Christian baptism, but lustration christianized, have a great many weighty reasons for saying so ---- and lastly, that the theory of reducing baptism from dipping to sprinkling is supported by true facts.

ON PAGAN LUSTRATION.

Lustration is generally, and not improperly, defined a purification by water : but this is a very vague definition, for the word is sometimes put for a literal cleansing of the hands from soil, or the head from the effluvia of perspiration : and at other times for a sign of the inward moral improvement of the mind. To investigate this subject fully would require a volume : but, having spoken before of Pagan ablutions, it shall suffice at present to give only a sketch of lustration in general, and a direct proof of that of infants in particular.

i. Purifying by water is a ceremony of the highest antiquity. Grotius thought it was practised in commemoration of the flood : and some say the apostle Peter refers to this, when he says, *In the ark eight souls were saved by water* (9). *The like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth now save us.* Whatever might be the origin, it was practised by the Romans and the Greeks, the Etruscans and the Egyptians, the Druids and the Celts : and all other people, of whom any knowledge is come down to the present times.

In general, Pagan lustrations may be divided into two parts, the one common, which was immediately before divine worship, or at sacrifices or publick festivals : and the other special, at an initiation into mysteries (1). Holy water for these purposes was kept in the temples of the gods, and the cistern in the temple of Isis at Pompeii remains yet to be seen (2). When Christians got possession of these edifices, they converted many of them into places of worship, and it is not improbable, that they made use of some of the purificatories for baptisteries (3). The Pagans consecrated water, or made it

(9) 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21.

(1) Jo. Laur. Mosheimii *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* p. 194.

(2) *Voyage pittoresque de Naples et de Sicile.* Paris, 1781. pag. 120.

(3) Gorius. Vol. ii. Tab. xl. p. 112.

holy, or to speak more plainly, set it apart for religious uses by the ceremony of putting into it a burning torch taken from the altar. Pure water would do : but salt water was preferred. The same torch was sometimes used to besprinkle the people : at other times boughs of laurel and olive served the same purpose. All this is confirmed by ancient writers, and by representations on statues, vases, sepulchres, and monuments of various kinds.

ii. In Greece infants were lustrated on the fifth day after their birth, and received their names on the seventh (4). The Romans performed the ceremony on female children on the eighth day, and on males on the ninth (5). The lustration was performed at home, the name was given at the same time, accompanied with various solemnities, and the infant was then carried to the temples of the gods, and was held initiated (6). A feast was made, relations and friends were invited, the mother received the compliments of the company, and presents were made both to her and the child. A very small alteration of the words of Persius would render the eight lines, in which he describes the lustration of an infant, a picture of a christening (7). Various names were given to the day : but the most common was the lustrating day (8). The Peruvians give the name at two years old, and the godfather, as he is called by Christians, cuts off the hair (9). The Mexican midwives baptized, and little boys gave the name, and there is, say historians, an evident resemblance between the Mexican customs at the birth of infants and the circumcision of the Jews, and the baptism of Christians (1). Dr. Borlase says, the Celts used lustrations and even baptismal rites.

(4) Plauti *Truculent.* Act ii. Scene 4.

Johan. Lomeieri De Vet. Gentil. Lustrationibus Syntagma Ultrajecti. 1681. Cap. xxvii. Lustrationes infantum. Apud Græcos quinto die fiebat -- Septimo die nomina pueris imponi solita testatur Aristoteles. hist. animal. lib. vi. cap. 12.

(5) Pompeii Festi et M. Verii Flacci de Verbor. Significatione. in voc. Lustrici. Lustrici dies infantum adpellantur puellarum octavus, puerorum nonus, quia his lustrantur, atque eis nomina imponuntur.

(6) Jo. Gottl. Heinecci. *Antiquitat. Rom.* Lib. ii. Tit. 7.

(7) Persii Sat. ii. 31.

(8) Lomeier. *ubi sup.*

(9) Garcillasso de la Vega. *Hist. des Incas, Rois du Perou.* Liv. x.

(1) Picart's Religious Customs, &c. Vol. iii. p. 149.—Borlase Cornwall. p. 252.

CHRISTIAN LUSTRATION.

The second observation is, that Christians introduced lustration into their ritual. This was done long before it was applied to infants. The primitive Christians considered lustration with abhorrence, deemed it a sort of magick, and preached and wrote against it : but a habit so ancient and inveterate was not easily eradicated (2). Councils made canons, and Emperors issued edicts against it. Constantine the great gave it its death wound : but it did not expire till the reign of Honorius. At what time it was introduced into the Christian ritual authors are not agreed. Some say, Pope Alexander i. who flourished in the beginning of the second century, introduced it (3). Others call it an apostolical tradition (4): but the most likely opinion is, that it was first used in the 6th century as a complaisant accommodation to the prejudices of Pagans, and afterward continued by connivance, till in the end the legislature was obliged to humour the popular taste, and holy water was enacted by law, and the use of it regulated by canons and rituals.

It is impossible to form a clear notion of this subject without distinguishing and dividing waters, for several sorts of water have been in use in the church, and they, who best understand their own ceremonies, expressly require a distinction to be made (5). It will be sufficient for the present purpose to remark only three.

i. The first, which is the most ancient, is that which flowed somewhere in the avenues of the primitive places of worship : a mere convenience for cleanliness and refreshment. Above, the thirsty Christian, who had come many miles out of the country to hear the divine word, might drink : and below, the heated and dusty traveller might refresh himself by washing. When teachers began to expound St. Paul's advice of lifting up *pure* hands in prayer, literally of clean washed hands, a fountain near the doors of the temples became necessary. There was one in the area before the Vat-

(2) Lomeier *ubi sup.* Cap. xxxix.

(3) Rab. Mauri *de institut cleric* Lib. ii. Cap. 55. *De Benedictionibus*—Walafriidi Strabonis. *De reb eccles.* Cap. xxix. *De aqua sparsionis.*

(4) Longi *Concilia.*

(5) Baronii *Annales.* lvii. cix. cxxxii. 34.

ican church at Rome (6). Eusebius describes that at Tyre, which was placed in the avenue to that elegant temple which Paulinus erected (7). He observes, that washing before entering the church at Tyre resembled baptism: a very natural allusion; for to be baptized was to be dipped in water before entering a Christian society as a member. In time it was thought necessary, where fountains could not be procured, to place a labrum, or a vase, sometimes called an aquamanile in the church porch for the use of the worshippers as they entered the church (8).

ii. The second water is that of baptism. The first Christians baptized in rivers, and it is not conceivable that they pretended to consecrate them: for to do any thing to clean pure water is to defile it. They also baptized in the sea: but it was never heard, that they affected to consecrate the ocean. When it became the fashion to erect baptisteries, the practice of consecration was introduced, and a very solemn ceremony it was. Early in the morning of the Saturday before Easter day (9), and Whitsunday, and in some places of the Epiphany, divine service was performed in the church, and infants and Catechumens were prepared for baptism in an adjoining chapel. At a fixed time the bishop in proper habits, preceded by a procession of clergy, and the children of the choir singing, went to the baptistery, which was at some distance from the church. It is particularly remarked by the Roman historians, that baptisteries were not adjoined to churches till the year four hundred and ninety-six, and then they stood without the church (1). The first of this kind was prepared for the baptism of Clovis, king of France, who with his sister Audofledis, was dipped three times by the hand of Remigius. The Emperor Charlemagne waited in the church of St. John Lateran till Pope Adrian returned from the baptistery, where he had been ad-

(6) Pauli Aringhi *Roma Subterranea*. Tom. i.

(7) Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. x. Cap. 4.

(8) Du Cangii *Glossarium in verb.*—Jos. Vicecomitis *De Missæ Apparatu*. Lib. vi. Cap. 34.

(9) *Ordo Romanus* Ord. de sabbato sancto—Rabani Mauri *De instit. clericor.* Lib. i. Cap. xxviii. Post hæc consecratur fons, et ad ipsum baptismum catechumenus accedit, et sic in nomine sanctæ trinitatis trina submersione baptizatur.

(1) Joan. Bapt. Casalii *de veter. Christian.* Cap. v. *De Baptismo*.

ministering the ordinance (2). At the water side the bishop prayed, and in the eastern churches the deacons read several portions of scripture : as, the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men——This is the victory that overcometh the world——The angel of the Lord spake unto Philip——There was a man of the Pharisees named Nicodemus, and so on : passages well chosen, and properly applied to the subject (3). Then the bishop went into the water, and, though the forms are very different, yet they generally agree in some articles, as, that prayer was offered up, that the water was crossed, that chrism was poured in, that a lighted wax taper was held down so that the melted wax dropped into the water, that then it was extinguished in the water ; and that at the close the multitude was sprinkled, and the people took some home with them to asperse their houses and fields (4). In process of time, lest the people should take this aspersion for a rebaptization, this part of the ceremony was left off, and when, in the western church, the labrum took the place of the baptistery, there was no need for the priest to enter the water : but crossing, exsufflation, and other parts of the old ritual, remain in practice there to this day, as do all the ancient forms in the East (5).

iii. Holy water is very different from both these, and it seems to have come into use in the sixth century (6). It was made every Sunday morning by the priest, immediately before mass, with salt, crossing prayers, and benedictions (7). It was not intended to wash off soil from the flesh ; but it was to be applied by sprinkling to persons and things to keep off, expel, and drive away that mischievous fiend, Satan. The chief quantity was kept by the rector or curate in a stone or marble labrum, to which a sprinkler was affixed. A small bason of it was placed in the entry of churches and chapels. By order of the Emperor Charlemagne this water was car-

(2) Filippi De Rossi *Roma Moderna. Di. S. Gio Battista in fonte.*

(3) Titus ii. 11, 14.—1 John v. 4, 13.—Acts viii. 26, 40.—John iii. 1, 36.

(4) *Viccomitis ubi sup. Lib. i. cap. xvi.*

(5) Thomæ Naogeorgi *Regnum papisticum carmine descript.* Lib. iv.

(6) Rodolphi Hospiniani *de templis Lib. ii. Cap. xxv. De origine Aquæ lustralis.* Ecclesiastici scriptores, qui ante Gregorium Magnum floruerunt, nusquam aquæ lustralis mentionem fecerunt.

(7) Gulielmi Durandi *Rational. Div. Officior. celebrandorum—Ordo Romanus.*

ried about the church every Sunday, and many canons directed the application of it to various devout and expiatory uses (8). Hereticks used to call the spargill, or sprinkler, the key of hell, which opened a door to admit innumerable errors and vices (9): they, who made use of it, and who must know best the virtues of it, declared, on the contrary, it was by this very key, that Satan was confined. It is wonderful to hear what success attended the use of it (1). If Satan rioted in a high wind, holy water drove him away, and the tottering buildings stood erect again. Locusts fled before it, and the moment they scented this, they quitted the delicious juices of herbage and green corn. It cured cattle of the murrain, and preserved gardens from the rapacity of reptiles, birds and flies. It healed all sorts of diseases in the human body, and restored the distracted to a right mind. It wrought many miracles, and maintained its reputation for ages, and, what was the greatest miracle of all, it produced a plentiful revenue. The obligations of this country to it are very great, for when learning was at its lowest ebb, several humane bishops gave the sale of it for a perquisite to poor scholars, who carried it about country towns on festival days, disposed of it in streets and villages and farm houses to sprinkle men, women, children, houses, beds, books, cattle, fruit, any thing in the world, and with the profits of it defrayed the expenses of their education (2).

CHRISTIAN LUSTRATION APPLIED TO BAPTISM.

The dispute between Protestants and Catholicks concerning lustration lies in a narrow compass. Both sides acknowledge the fact: both generally agree it is not a ceremony of divine appointment: and the chief question is of the efficacy of it. This doth not concern the present inquiry, and the inquirer may pass on to the

(8) Du Cangii *Gloss. in verb. Aquæ benedictæ beneficia*—Stephani Baluzii *Capitularia* Reg. Francor. Tom. i. Lib. v. Can. 372.

(9) Jo. Steph. Duranti *De Ritibus*. Lib. i. Cap. xxi. *Aspergillum aquæ benedictæ Flagellantes et Lollardi clavem infernalem appellabant.*

(1) Durant *ut sup.* *Aquæ benedictæ virtus variis miraculis illustratur* --- Complures commemorant aqua benedicta demonem fugasse, &c.

(2) Wilkin. *Concilia*. Constitut. Conventriens. 1237 - Sarisburiens. 1256 - Eoniens. 1287. Johan. Peckham. 9. *Quia plerique scholares carent necessariis volumus ut scholares ferant aquam benedictam per villas rurales* --- Tom. ii. p. 147. Cap. xxix. *Ut beneficia aquæ benedictæ solis scholaribus assignentur.*

third observation, that a position was admitted by the church which rendered it very desirable, not to say absolutely necessary, to lustrate infants.

It is written in the gospel: Except a man be born of *water*, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. This passage was very early expounded literally of water-baptism, and the church of Rome admitted the consequence, that no person could be saved without being baptized in water. All Pagans inevitably perished. All infants dying unbaptized were in the same condition: and even Catechumens, who had been instructed, and whose lives were holy, were absolutely lost, if they deceased a day before holy Saturday, except they were martyred, and then a bathing in their own blood supplied the want of water-baptism (3). This doctrine which had been long growing, arrived at maturity in the reign of the Emperor Charlemagne, and this maturity formed the great evil, which first pouring, and then sprinkling, were intended to relieve.

In the reign of this Emperor the law of baptism in his empire was excessively severe. It was death for a man to refuse to be baptized (4). Public baptisms were administered only at Easter and Whitsuntide, and a heavy fine was levied on the parent, who, except he had a license from the priest, omitted to baptize his child within the year (5). Private baptisms were allowed only in cases of necessity: and baptism was defined immersion, single or trine. Alwin, the Emperor's prime ecclesiastick, contended warmly for trine immersion: but some bishops practised the Roman mode, and dipped only once (6). The absolute necessity of dipping in order to a valid baptism, and the indispensable necessity of baptism in order to salvation, were two doctrines which clashed, and the collision kindled up a sort of war between the warm bosoms of parents who had children, and the cold reasonings of monks, who had few sympathies. The doctrine was cruel, and the feelings of humanity revolted against it. Power may give law; but it is more than power can do to make unnatural law sit easy on the minds of men.

(3) Mabillon, *Annales Ordin. Benedicti*. Feb. 10. An. 856.

(4) See Chap. xxvi. (5) See Chap. xxvi. p. 283.

(6) Flacci Alcuini *Epist. Edit.* Quercetan. lxxxii. --

The clergy felt the inconvenience of this state of things, for they were obliged to attend any woman in labour at a moment's warning, night or day, in any season, at the most remote parts of their parishes, without the power of demanding any fee, whenever a case of necessity required, and if they neglected their duty, they were severely punished.

A great number of expedients were tried to remedy this evil; but for a long season nothing succeeded. There was a regular train of trials. At first infants were baptized along with Catechumens in publick by trine immersion at two times in the year; when it was observed, that some died before the season for baptizing came, priests were empowered to baptize at any time, and in any place, in case of sickness. When it was remarked that a priest was not always at hand, new canons empowered him to depute others to perform the ceremony, and midwives were licensed. It happened sometimes, while the midwife was baptizing a child not like to live many minutes, the mother was neglected and died. To prevent such accidents in future, it was decreed, that any body, licensed or unlicensed, a Jew, or a degraded priest, a scullion or felon, might baptize. It fell out sometimes, that a vessel large enough, or a quantity of water sufficient to dip an infant, could not be procured on a sudden: and while in the dead of the night, and perhaps in a severe frost, the assistants were running to borrow utensils, or to procure water, the ill-fated infant expired. In vain were laws made expressly to require pregnant women to have every thing ready prepared, the laws of nature defied human control, the evil was incurable, and the anguish intolerable. Some infants died the moment they were born, others before, both unbaptized, and all for the comfort of the miserable mother, doomed like fiends to descend instantly to a place of torment. In brief, it became impossible to maintain the two propositions, that baptism was dipping, and that dipping was essential to salvation.

Peace be with the remains of that humane Frenchman, who first freed the western world from the custom of baptizing new born infants by dipping, a custom rendered barbarous by the reason given to support it! It is

but one of many kind offices, which the polite natives of France have done for the benefit of mankind : but it is one of such a magnitude, that the ladies, could they name the man, ought to erect a statue to his memory. Mr. Voltaire, with his usual vivacity, says, "The Greeks, who never received baptism but by immersion, plunging themselves into baptismal tubs, hated the Latins, who in favour of the northern Christians, introduced that rite by aspersion (7). This is strictly true : but as this is only a general account, it may not be deemed impertinent to give a brief detail of the matter.

In the year seven hundred and fifty-three Astulphus, king of the Lombards, oppressed the city of Rome (8). Pope Stephen iii. fled into France to implore the assistance of Pepin, who had lately been elected king. Pepin, whom many considered as an usurper, availed himself of this event, and with the address of a great politician, turned it to his own advantage (9). He received the exile bishop with all possible respect. He examined with profound reverence a letter which St. Peter had written and sent him from heaven by the hands of Stephen to persuade him to assist the church. He promised instantly to execute the celestial commission : and he fulfilled his promise by freeing Italy from the Lombards, by replacing Stephen, and by richly endowing the church. Stephen was not ungrateful to his benefactor, he sanctified his title to the crown by giving the royal unction to Pepin in the church of St. Denis, made him the first anointed sovereign in Europe, and denounced an anathema on the French, if they should ever bestow their crown on any other family than that of Pepin.

Stephen resided in France all winter, and had a severe fit of sickness, occasioned by the fatigue of journeying, and the perplexity of his affairs, from which however he soon recovered. During his residence in the monastery of St. Denis, he introduced the Roman

(7) Voltaire's works, Vol. i. Chap. vii. State of the Eastern Church before Charlemagne.

(8) Hermann's Chronicon. An. 753. Stephanus papa, pro auxilio contra Haystulfum Longobardorum regem poscendo ad Pipinum regem in Franciam venit, et filios ejus Carolum et Carolomanum Parisiis reges unxit.

(9) Stephani *Papæ* iii. [ii] *vita* --- Mons'r De la Hode. Hist. des Révolutions de France. An. 754.

ritual (1). In the spring of the next year, seven hundred and fifty-four, in answer to some monks of Cressy in Brittany, who privately consulted him, he gave his opinion on nineteen questions, one of which is allowed to be the first authentick law for administering baptism by pouring, which in time was interpreted to signify sprinkling (2). The question proposed was (3): whether *in case of necessity* occasioned by illness of an infant it were lawful to baptize by pouring water out of the hand, or a cup, on the head of the infant (4): Stephen answered: if such a baptism were performed, in such a case of *necessity*, in the name of the holy Trinity, it should be held valid (5). The learned James Basnage makes several very proper remarks on this canon (6): as that “although it is accounted the first law for sprinkling, yet it doth not forbid dipping: that it allows sprinkling only in case of imminent danger: that the authenticity of it is denied by some Catholicks: that many laws were made after this time in Germany, France, and England, to compel dipping, and without any provision for cases of necessity: therefore that this law did not alter the mode of dipping in publick baptisms: and that it was not till five hundred and fifty-seven years after, that the legislature, in a council at Ravenna, in the year thirteen hundred and eleven, declared dipping or sprinkling indifferent (7).” The answer of Stephen is the true origin of private baptism, and of sprinkling.

(1) Severini Binii *Notæ in Vit. Steph.*

(2) Jacobi Sirmondi *Notæ in Responsa Stephani Papæ.*

Labbei *Concilia* Tom. vi pag. 1650. Responsa Stephani Papæ ii.

(3) Ibid xii. Si licet per necessitatem cum concha, aut cum manibus, infanti in infirmitate posito, aquam super caput fundere, et sic baptizare?

(4) Concha. There were two utensils of this name. The smaller held about two spoonfuls: the larger about six.

(5) Labbeus *ut sup.*

(6) Jacobi Basnagii *Monument* Vol. i. Præfat. Cap. v. S. 4. *De canone Stephani iii Papæ.* Hæc prima lex habetur adversus immersionem -- nec tamen immersionem prorsus rescindebat pontifex, nisi impellente summa necessitate. --- Absurdi visi sunt plerisque illi canones Stephani, ideoque insurrexit ab aliquot annis Harduinus illos tanquam spurios, quique Siricio, ut et Stephano falso tribuantur, oppugnaturus: sed debilibus prorsus argumentis. --- Hos canones admisit Natalis Alexander. *Hist. Sæc. viii.*

(7) Concil Chelyc 816. Concil. Rotomagens. 1072 --- Synod Nemausens. 1284 Infantem ter immergendo, dicat. Ego baptizo te, &c. cum multis aliis. --- Alcuini *Epist.* --- R. Mauri *De Offic. Cler. C. xxx.* --- Strabonis *De reb. Eccles.* Cap. xxvi --- Fulberti *Carnotensis Ep. i.* --- Basnag, *ubi. sup.* Perseverasse in ritu trinæ mersionis patres ad Sæculum undecimum, imo duodecimum, usque, &c.

Whether the good monks procured this canon fairly or not, it got about for the law of private baptism in cases of extreme necessity, and, no doubt, it was a great relief to many matrons : but the remedy was partial, for the doctrine of the necessity of some sort of baptism in order to salvation continued, and gathered strength by this new provision. In an age much more enlightened than that of Stephen, the council of Trent denounced an anathema against the man, who should expound the passage in John, Except a man be born of water, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, metaphorically (8). A thousand ingenious devices, therefore, have been invented to administer baptism by sprinkling in extraordinary cases. It would shock the modesty of people, unused to such a ceremony, to relate the law of the case. Suffice it, therefore to observe, that if the hand or foot only of a babe dying with its mother in the birth be sprinkled, it is baptism, and the child is saved.

A Protestant can hardly avoid making two observations on this affair : one on the natural tendency of the constitution of the church of Rome to substitute frivolous investigations in the place of sound and useful literature ; and the other on the tendency of infant baptism to immorality.

In regard to the first. The constitution, instead of cherishing free inquiry, absolutely forbids it, and affirms the inspiration of the clergy, and more than inspiration, infallibility to the high priest. The people, therefore, are not to inquire, but to believe their guides, and their guides are to look up to their guide, the sovereign pontiff, or rather to the pontificate, for whatever is affirmed by popes dead or alive is held for law. Hence a strong temptation to unprincipled men to forge pontifical letters and orders, and an absolute necessity for upright men to investigate such productions in order to distinguish the genuine from the spurious. History presents nothing more frivolous than the responses of Stephen : and yet

(8) *Concil. Tridentinum*. Sessio. vii. *De Baptismo*. Can. ii. Si quis dixerit aquam veram et naturalem non esse de necessitate baptismi, atque adeo verba illa Domini nostri Jesu Christi, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, ad metaphoram aliquam detorserit : Anathema sit --- Can. v. Si quis dixerit, baptismum liberum esse, hoc est, non necessari-um ad salutem : Anathema sit --- *Catechism. Trident.* --- Francisc. Suarez. *Oper. De Sacram. Disp.* xxvii. Lindani *Panop.* iv. Cap. 15.

how many men of real learning have spent their time, and wasted their talents on these idle papers? One of them regulates the hair-dressing of the monks; another directs wine to be used instead of water in baptizing infants in cases of extreme necessity, where no water can be procured; the rest are equally futile. There are several different copies, the true one must be determined. Father Harduin says of the nineteen responses, ten are forgeries, and that of infant baptism is one of the ten (9). Father Harduin must be confuted. Others affirm they were not given by Stephen, but by Siricius. There was a time when the guides of the world could not write their names; and when they signed papers they did so by marking the first letter of their names, or by a monogram or cypher: copyists therefore might easily mistake Siricius for Stephen, or Sergius, or Silvester, for Sixtus or Soter, or Simplicius or Symmachus, or any other, whose name began with an S (1). No, replies Father Harduin, here is no mistake, here is a direct forgery of the time of Gratian the monk, of the eleventh century (2). A Protestant, because he is a Protestant, is happily discharged from the necessity of all such bootless studies: he hath other and nobler pursuits to employ his time and talents: he says of all departed pontiffs, peace be with their ashes: and to all living Catholick disputants on such subjects,

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites :
Et vitula tu dignus, et hic (3).

That the baptism of infants tends to defile the mind by introducing indecencies both in speculation and practice will appear evident to Protestants; but to Catholics habituated to such things as parts of religion, they have a very different air, and probably many write on the subject, and reduce it to practice without any danger to their virtue. A conscientious parish priest is ordered to teach the doctrine of original sin, and to baptize in-

(9) Joannis Harduini *Soc. Jes. presbyteri De baptismo questio triplex: De baptismo pro mortuis; De baptismo in vino; De baptismo in nomine Christi. Parisiis. 1687. De vino.*

(1) Muratori *Antiq. Ital. Tom. iii. Diss. xxxiv. De Diplomatibus et chartis dubiis aut falsis.* - *Diss. xxxv. De Sigillis.*

(2) *Ut sup.*

(3) *Virg. Ecl. iii. 108.*

infants as a remedy, and a remedy so necessary, that if it be not applied through his negligence before the babe expires, the babe perishes, and he is accountable to God for the loss of it. His condition necessarily obliges him to inquire when is the human frame first animated, when doth original sin first pollute it, and what is to be done in cases of extreme necessity: as if the child should be like to die before its birth; what if no water can be procured, and so on. Every question of this kind hath been actually discussed, and most casuists have determined, that the least suspicion of death is ground of action, that pure water ought to be used if it can be procured, but if it cannot, that beer, distilled waters, the juices of herbs, and liquids in which it may be doubtful whether there be any drops of pure water, may be used for the purpose of baptizing. Soon after pope Alexander vii. had determined the long depending question of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, Father Jerom Florentini of Lucca published a fourth edition of a middle sized quarto, which had been published by him some years before in a smaller compass, to explain, confirm, and direct the baptism of infants unborn (4). A book is seldom seen graced with so many imprimaturs and recommendations. There are no less than forty of divines, bishops, physicians, generals of orders, and universities (5). By an excess of spiritual gallantry the author dedicated it to her majesty Christina, late queen of Sweden, then resident at Rome (6); he congratulated her on the happy omen of the name of Alexandra, which the late pope had added to that of Christina, when he had received her renunciation of Protestantism, and had admitted her into the Catholick church; and he offered to her an empire over a larger world than Alexander the Great had governed, a world greater than those other worlds for which he wept in vain, the untold multitudes of abortives, whom by patronizing his book her majesty would be the happy instrument of saving perhaps from purgatory, but certainly from hell. Even in the present times an humane doctor

(4) R. P. Hieronymi Florentini Lucensis De hominibus dubiis baptizandis Pia Prothesis. Lugduni. 1674.

(6) Index censurarum.

(6) Christinae Alexandræ Suecorum reginæ, sapientissimæ, religiosissimæ, Augustæ, et apud apostolicam sedem gloriosissimæ.

of divinity and laws of Palermo, in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-one, published at Milan, in the Italian tongue, a book of three hundred and twenty pages in quarto, dedicated to all the guardian angels, to direct priests and physicians how to secure the eternal salvation of infants by baptizing them, when they could not be born (7). The surgical instrument and the process cannot be mentioned here, and the reader is come to a point in the history of infant sprinkling, where English modesty compels him to retreat and retire, so that it is impossible to say any thing more on lustrating infants by way of baptizing them.

THE OPINIONS OF FOUR LEARNED CATHOLICKS
ON BAPTISMAL ASPERSION.

Contrary to the declarations of many Protestants, a strict regard to truth compels a writer to declare, that honour is due to many eminent men of the Roman Catholick Church for that ingenuousness and fidelity, with which they discuss the doctrine of aspersion. Learned men of that community differ, as may naturally be supposed, concerning the time, when infant sprinkling was introduced : but none of their accurate writers pretend to say, the first Christians did not baptize by dipping. On the contrary, they laugh at such as affect either to render the word baptism sprinkling, or to give a high antiquity to the practice. It would be easy to adduce a great number of examples : but four shall suffice. These four will be exceedingly multiplied, if that fiery trial, through which books are obliged to pass before they can receive an imprimatur, be noticed, for it is understood, that the book is the voice of a whole order, the doctrine of the whole church, and therefore it is carefully read in manuscript by several officers appointed on purpose both by the orders in particular and the church in general, before it is put to press.

The first is that learned and elegant antiquary, Paul Maria Paciaudi. This great man published by authority at Rome in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-five, dedicated to Pope Benedict xiv. a beautiful volume of Christian antiquities. His holiness being fond of antiq-

(7) F. E. Cangiamile *Embriologia Sacra. Mediol.* 1751.

unities admitted him to his presence, and took pleasure in examining his compilations. In the fourth chapter of the second dissertation, he speaks of the two baptisteries at Ravenna, and finds fault with the artists for representing John the Baptist pouring water on the head of Jesus (8). “Nothing, exclaims he, can be more monstrous, than these emblems ! Was our Lord Christ baptized by aspersion ? This is so far from being true, that nothing can be more opposite to truth, and it is to be attributed to the ignorance and rashness of workmen.” The officers of the apostolical palace, and the other examiners of this work, speak of it in terms of the highest approbation.

The second is that excellent judge, mentioned a little while ago, Dr. Joseph De Vicecomes of Milan, whose book on the mass was examined and approved by the head of the college of St. Ambrose, by one officer of the inquisition, another of the Cardinal Archbishop, and a third of the senate of Milan. In the sixth chapter of the fourth book on the ceremonies of baptism, he says, “I will never cease to profess and teach that only immersion in water, except in cases of necessity, is lawful baptism in the church. I will refute that false notion, that baptism was administered in the primitive church by pouring or sprinkling (9).” He proceeds through the whole chapter to prove, and particularly refutes the objection taken from the baptism of three thousand in one day by the apostles, by observing—that it was a long summer day—that the words pronounced in baptism were as long in the mode of sprinkling as in that of dipping—that dipping might be performed as quick as sprinkling—that many ceremonies now in use were not practised then—and that even since several ceremonies had been added, many fathers at Easter and Whitsuntide had been known to baptize great num-

(8) Pag. 56. *Præcursor vasculo aquam in caput Christi effundit—At quæ monstra nuntiant ejusmodi emblemata ! Numquid Christus Dominus ad aspersionem baptizatus ? Tantum abest a vero, ut nihil magis vero possit esse contrarium : sed errori, et inscientiæ pictorum tribuendum, qui quum historiarum sæpe sint ignari, vel quia quidlibet audendi potestatem sibi factam credunt, res, quas effingunt, mirifice aliquando depravant—alter ex altero exemplum sumat, nec prioris errata posterior apta correctione devitet.*

(9) *Quare profiteri et docere non desinam, sola in aquam mersione, si necessitatis usum excipias, in ecclesia baptizari licuisse—falsam opinionem demam, olim in ecclesia receptam fuisse, ut baptismus aquæ infusione, vel aspersione conficeretur, &c.—Voyez ENCYCLOPÉDIE. Aspersion.*

bers in a day by dipping. He remarks, in another place, that some men were highly fitted for this service, as, for example, Ambrose bishop of Milan, who, Paulinus affirms, (and he knew him well) had such spirits and strength, that he baptized as many persons in a day by immersion as five ordinary men could do after his decease.

The third is Father Mabillon. He says, that although there is mention made in the life of S. Liudger of baptizing a little infant by pouring on holy water, yet it was contrary to an express canon of the ninth century: contrary to the canon given by Stephen, which allowed pouring only in cases of necessity: contrary to the general practice in France, where trine immersion was used: contrary to the practice of the Spaniards, who used single immersion: contrary to the opinion of Alwin, who contended for trine immersion: and contrary to the practice of many, who continued to dip till the fifteenth century (1). For all this he quotes his authorities.

The fourth is the celebrated Lewis Anthony Muratori, a man to be had in everlasting remembrance for the extent of his knowledge, the indefatigableness of his application, the refinement of his understanding, and the accuracy of his taste; the ornament of his country, and an honour to humanity itself. This perfect master of the subject, in the fourth volume of his *Antiquities of the middle ages of Italy*, in the fifty-seventh dissertation, treats of the rites of the church of Milan, called the Ambrosian from Saint Ambrose, the first compiler of the ritual of that church. As usual, he confirms every word by original authentick papers. Speaking of baptism by trine immersion, which was the Ambrosian method, he says: "Observe the Ambrosian manner of baptizing. Now-a-days the priests preserve a shadow of the *ancient* Ambrosian form of baptizing, for they do not baptize by pouring as Romans do: but, taking the infant in their hands, they dip the hinder part of his head three times in the baptismal water in the form of a cross: which is a vestige yet remaining of the most an-

(1) Johan. Mabillon *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* Par. ii. Præf. Cap. vii. S. 186. Liudgeri *vita* ---- Concil. *Celichitense* Cap. ii. Stephani Can. xii. Stephani *Tornacensis*. Epist. v. ---- Cypriani Epist. *ad magnum*. ---- Allatii *opera*. ---- Alcuini Epist. 39. ---- Jacobi a Vitriaco *Hist. Occident.* Cap. xxxvi. -- Erasmi *Ιχλοπαγας*, &c.

cient and universal practice of immersion (2).” For the present these may suffice, as human authorities, for it would be difficult to find among all the circle of the literati, any one who would think of contradicting the joint testimony of these four, who are of the first reputation for knowledge of Christian antiquities. Great as these authorities are, they are not given here as decisive, and they are mentioned more to gratify the taste of some for human authorities than for any other reason. These, however, are extremely respectable, as they are not the opinions of mere grammarians, formed on vague etymologies, but they are reports of a fact examined in real and authentick monuments on the spot : they are the attestations of men whose ability and fidelity never have been questioned, and never can be.

The introduction of sprinkling instead of dipping in ordinary cases, into this island, seems to have been effected by such English, or more strictly speaking, Scotch exiles, as were disciples of Calvin at Geneva, during the Marian persecution. In the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary, the year fifteen hundred and fifty-six, they published at Geneva a book entitled “*The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c. used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva : and approved, by the famous and Godly learned Man, John Calvyn. Imprinted at Geneva by John Crespin.*” In the order of baptism are the following words : “N. I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghoste. And as he speaketh these woords, he taketh water in his hand and layeth it upon the childes forehead, which done he giveth thanckes, as followeth.”

Three years after, John Knox arrived in Scotland, filled with calvinistical fury, called godly zeal, and soon after the Genevan book was approved and received by the church of Scotland (3) : that is, as their confession of faith expresseth it, by “godly rulers, who, as Moses, Ezechias, Josias, and others, purged the church [*that is, the kingdom*] from all idolaters and hereticks, as Papists, Anabaptists, with such like limmes of antechrist---- who are afterward to be damned to inquenchable fyre.

(2) *Antiq. Ital.* Tom. iv. Diss. lxxvii. *De ritibus Ambrosianæ ecclesiæ.*

(3) *The forme of prayers and administration of the sacraments, used in the Eng. Church at Geneva, approved and received by the Church of Scotland.*

While we which have forsaken all manns wisdom to cleave unto Christ, shall heare that joyfull voice, Come ye blessed of my Father (4)." It was the opinion of Knox, that "if kings and princes refuse to reform religion, inferior magistrates and the people, *being directed and instructed in the truth by their preachers*, may lawfully reform within their own bounds themselves." In order, therefore, to reduce the faith to practice, the godly, inspired with fury by Knox, raised a civil war, in which they were assisted by Queen Elizabeth, who sent twelve thousand horse, and seven thousand foot into Scotland. This was in the year sixty, and after they had committed all sorts of outrages, in the name of the Lord. At the end of the five succeeding years, they obtained the establishment of the book by law (5).

The Scotch Calvinists, it should seem, who first introduced sprinkling in ordinary baptism into the northern parts of the island, were the importers of it into the southern. In the reign of King Edward three sorts of people deserve attention. The established church practised in ordinary cases trine immersion, and pouring or sprinkling were allowed only in cases of danger in private. The foreign Protestants, who were protected in England; baptized by immersion, then, and long after. Sixteen years after the establishment of the Dutch church in Austin-Friars, London, the congregation published a catechism, either composed, or recommended by John a Lasco, the pastor, in which are the following questions and answers. Q. What are the sacraments of the church of Christ? A. Baptism and the supper of the Lord. Q. What is baptism? A. It is a holy institution of Christ, in which the church is dipped in water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (6)." The third class were at first generally called Pelagians, next Free-will men,

(4) *The confession of faith*, page 40. Edit. Genev. 1556. --- *Confession of faith used in the English congregation at Geneva: receyued and approued by the church of Scotland.* iii. 72. 1571. Edit. 1584.

(5) Neal's *Hist. of the puritans*, An. 1560. 1566.

(6) *Den kleyenen catechismus, oft kinder leere der Duytscher Gheemeynte van Londen. Ghemaecht door MAERTEN MIKRON — Ghedruckt tot Londen by GHERARDT DUVVES.* An. 1566. pag. 19. Welck zün de Sacramenten dor Ghemeynten Christi? Den *Doopt*: end het Nachtmael des Heeren. Wat is den *Doopt*? Het is een heylighe instellinghe Christi: door die welke zün Gemeynte metten water *ghedoopt* wert, in den name des vaders, ende des soons, ende des heylighen Gheests, &c.

and lastly Anabaptists. These people affirmed, that "*childer have no original sin: and that they oughte not to be baptised.*" They found no fault with the ordinary mode of baptizing, for that was dipping, but their objections lay against the *subject*, a child. Against these Pelagians some of the first English reformers wrote, but they did not persecute them, although they had long been a trouble to them, and were numerous in many parts of the kingdom. Dr. William Turner, one of the first writers against them, practised physick at Cambridge in the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. and was afterwards ordained and beneficed in Yorkshire. In a preface addressed to his intimate friend, Bishop Latimer, and prefixed to a treatise against *the Poyson of Pelagius lately renewed by the furious sect of the Anabaptistes*, he says: "I deuised a lecture in Thistleworth, against two of the opinions of Pelagius: namely, against that childe haue no original sin, and that they oughte not to be baptised. But within a few wekes after, one of Pelagius disciples, in the defence of his master's doctrine, wrote against my lecture, with all the cunynge and learning, that he had. But lest he should glorye and crake amonge his disciples, that I could not answer him—I haue set out this boke—some would thincke that it were the best way, to use the same weapones agaynst thys manyfolde monstre, that the Papistes used agaynst us: that is, material fyre and faggot. But me thynk: seyng it is no material thyng, that we must fyght withal, but gostly that is a woode (*mad or furious*) spirit: that it were most mete, that we should fyght with the sworde of goddes worde, and with a spiritual fyre against it: or elles we are lyke to profit but a little in our besyness (7)."

This was printed at London in the fifth year of Edward VI. five years after the Scotch service book was printed at Geneva, and three years after an officious English Calvinist had translated a bloody book written by Bullinger, the immediate successor of Zuinglius at Zurich against the Anabaptists, and addressed by the translator "to the most Redoubted prynce Edward, by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset, Lord protector of all the kynges maiestes realms subiectes, and dominions

(7) A preservative, or triacle, against the poyson of Pelagius—by WYLLIAM TURNER, Doctor of Physick. London. 1551.

and gouvernor of his roial person (8).” The good English reformers, therefore, received the doctrines of sprinkling and bloodshedding for the faith out of the barbarous schools of Zurich and Geneva. It is said the schools, because it was not the magistrates, but the clergy who invented both. That most excellent Florentine, Machiavel, had foreseen this; for, said he, if Calvin “leave the least fibre of this plant (*clerical legislation*) in his model of reformation, it will over-run again the whole vineyard of the Lord, and turn to a diffusive papacy, in every diocese, perhaps in every parish (9).

INFANT SPRINKLING IS A SORT OF CHRISTIAN LUSTRATION.

It remains only to be examined, whether they who affirm, infant sprinkling is not Christian baptism, but lustration christianized, have any reason on their side. This position is the result of what two classes affirm: the first are learned antiquaries in both Catholick and Protestant churches, who avow the likeness of the two ceremonies of lustration and infant sprinkling: and the other are the Greek and Eastern churches, and the Protestants called Baptists, who all affirm that to baptize is to immerse, and that to wet a part cannot be called an immersion of the whole, without an extravagant figure of rhetorick, which ought not to be allowed in a case of literal description (1). Leaving every one to form his own opinion, and to call the ceremony baptism, sprinkling, lustration, or what he pleases, it shall suffice at present to observe, what conformities between Pagan lustration and infant sprinkling have been remarked by learned men.

First. Both are of human appointment. There is not in the New Testament the most distant hint of such a practice. There is no such ceremony mentioned in the ritual of Moses. There was the circumcision of male children; but there is no order to sprinkle them; and of females nothing at all is said.

(8) An holesome antidotus agaynst the pestylent heresye and sect of the Anabaptistes newly translated out of lati into Englysh by JOHN VERON S nonoys.

(9) Machiavel's *Vindication of himself and his writings* ---- translated by Mr. Neville.

(1) Marsilius de fonte lastral, seu de aq. benedictæ præstantia. Romæ. 1603.

In both, the ceremony, not having any scripture law to regulate it, is performed at a time left to the discretion of the parents : at five days, seven days, eight days, thirty days, as it may happen, only it must be in infancy.

In both, a name is given, a festival is held, and an initiation is effected : the young Pagan was carried to the temples of the gods : the young Christian is made a member of the visible church of Jesus Christ, or where that is not allowed, he is ingrafted into an invisible society, the benefits of which are secured to him by a covenant, which no body ever saw.

In both, there is supposed to be an expiation. What Pagans meant, it is difficult to say : but Christians speak clearly, and some of them very emphatically. Some say, infants by this ceremony accede to a covenant of grace, and enter on the enjoyment of the benefits of it. Others affirm, grace is infused into the infant. Others believe a moral pollution received from Adam is washed away : but the fathers speak most emphatically, when they declare in express words, that water in baptism suffocates and drowns the devil (2).

Pagans and Christians all affirm, there are mysteries both great and little in this ceremony : and a truer proposition never fell from the mouth of man (3). Modest

(2) S. Chrysostomi *op. in verb. apost.* 1 Cor. x. Ibi aqua et hic aqua : lavacrum hic, et ibi pelagus. Omnes hic in aquam ingrediuntur : et ibi omnes. Ibi liberati sunt ab Ægypto per mare : hic autem ab idolatria. Ibi Pharo submersus est : hic autem diabolus ---- Beda in *Exod.* Cap. xiv. Diabolus in spirituali lavacro, id est baptismo suffocatur ---- Augustini *Ser. xix.* Vero ita fit, fratres, quando in salutari lavacro tertio Christiani merguntur. Tunc Ægypti, id est, originalia peccata vel actualia crimina quasi in rubro mari sepeliuntur ---- quomodo nullus remansit Ægyptiorum, sic nihil remanet peccatorum.

TRANSLATION.

Works of St. Chrysostom. His observations on the words of the Apostle, in 1 Cor. x. *And were all baptized unto Moses, in the cloud, and in the sea.* There was water, and here is water : here is the bath, there was the sea. Here all go into the water ; there all went in. There the Israelites were freed from Egypt by the sea ; here, the Gentiles from idolatry by baptism. There Pharaoh was immersed, and here the devil. *BEDE on Exod.* Chap. xiv. The devil in this spiritual bath, that is, baptism, is suffocated and drowned. *Augustine's 19th discourse.* So indeed, brethren, it comes to pass, when christians are three times immersed in the salutary bath ; then the Egyptians, that is, original sins, and actual transgressions, are buried, as it were, in the red sea ---- and as all the Egyptians were destroyed, so all our sins are washed away. [Ed.]

(3) *Lomeieri ut sup.* Cap. xxxv. *Adspersio.* Ad Lustrationis essentiam pertinuit aspersio ---- Magna mysteria Cereri sacra ---- parva mysteria in honorem Proserpinæ, &c. ---- Vide *Gorii Museum Etrusc. ut sup. De Mithra* ---- *Iside*, &c. &c. Mysterium baptismi passim apud scriptores ecclesiasticos. ---- *Borlase.* page 251.

men respect secrets and retire without presuming to draw the sacred curtain aside.

A BRIEF DETAIL OF THE REDUCTION OF BAPTISM FROM DIPPING TO SPRINKLING.

To baptize by *dipping* is to put the whole person into water : to baptize by *sprinkling* is to scatter water in drops on the face : and it is curious to observe by what means the change was effected in the Catholick church. The subject is divisible into three parts : dipping, pouring, and sprinkling ; three very distinct modes ; for to baptize by *pouring* is to let water fall out of some vessel, in a continued stream, upon the head, or the face of the person baptized. If zeal for the baptism of infants had not disused all pretensions to accuracy, it could not be imagined that modes so different as pouring and sprinkling were the same. If the mode of applying the water of baptism be indifferent, there is an end of the business : but if it be important, the necessity of one condemns the other two.

i. Immersion, single or trine, was the ordinary mode of baptizing in the Catholick church from the beginning till the reformation, and the Lutheran reformers continued it. In regard to the Catholics, the evidence is beyond all contradiction. Canons, manuals, legends, histories and homilies, describe it in words : and monuments, baptisteries, and pictures in missals, describe it in sculpture and painting. The latest Catholick writer on liturgies, was the learned Abbot of Saint Blase, Father Martin Gerbert, who in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-six published two elegant quarto volumes dedicated to Pope Pius vi. (4). In this beautiful work there are several picturesque descriptions of baptism, which very properly illustrate the mode of immersion. On an antique silver cup the baptism of Jesus is represented : Jesus naked, except a covering round his middle, standing in the river Jordan ; on his right hand a person clothed in waiting ; and John, half-clad, on his left, putting his right hand on the head of Jesus (5). In one ancient liturgical illumination, Jesus is represented as

(4) *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica Disquisitionibus præviis, notis, et observationibus illustrata. Typis San-Blasianis.*

(5) Tom. i. Tab. iii. pag. 219 *Iconismus calicis Weingartensis.*

standing stark naked in the water, which rises above his hips, nearly as Naaman is represented in the same missal, bathing himself stark naked in the river by the direction of the prophet Elisha (6). In another, Jesus is described as standing in the river naked to the waist, and having a light loose covering downward, while two angels on the bank hold a cloth ready to throw over him at his coming out of the water (7). In another, a large font is described, one priest withoutside is dipping an infant stark naked, while another waits to apply the chrism. Behind the baptizer stand several men and women, some presenting naked children to be baptized, and others holding habits to put on them immediately after the ceremony. Proofs of this kind are so many that they would fill volumes, and so decisive that the fact cannot be denied.

In this country ordinary baptism was always understood to mean Immersion, till after the reformation, and though the private pouring on infants in danger of death was called baptism, yet it was accounted so only by courtesy. Pope Stephen had said, if it were a case of necessity, and if it were performed in the name of the Trinity, pouring should be held valid. The same canons provide for four other classes of children. There was a priest, who had said mass, and baptized children, and who some time after had pretended he did not know who ordained him, and laid down his office and married: there was another, who in cases of extreme danger, had baptized with wine, not being able to procure any water: there was a third, who had baptized, although he could neither say the creed, nor the Lord's prayer, nor repeat the psalms, and who did not know whether the bishop had pronounced the benediction over him: and there was a fourth, a rustick priest, who had baptized without knowing the baptismal words, and had said at the administration, "In the name of the Father I dip you, and of the Son I dip you, and the Holy Ghost I dip you (8)." Were these baptisms valid? Stephen replied, if they were per-

(6) Tom. i. Tab. vi. p. 247. et 266.

(7) Ibid. Tab. vii. p. 266. n. i. - - - - N. 3. p. 259. *Ex eodem rotulo bibliothecæ Casanatensis. Tom. ii. Disq. v. de sacram. baptismi. S. xxii. per immersionem vel affusionem.*

(8) Stephani Papæ ii. respons. - - De illo presbytero, qui baptizavit isto modo sic rustice: In nomine Patris mergo, et Filii mergo, et Spiritus Sanctus mergo, &c.

formed in the name of the Holy Trinity, the children should be held baptized, although some of the administrators were ordered to be punished, and the administration was declared informal. In the early days of monachism, such monks as these foraged for subsistence, and a small baptismal fee was an object: but after monks and friars had thoroughly investigated their science, and had obtained palaces and rich endowments, they were more eager to possess themselves of corpses to bury in their freeholds, than of children to be taught and baptized. In the first case they had legacies, and monuments and shrines to adorn their buildings, and foundations for chantry priests and masses, beside the chance of canonization, and all its beneficial concomitants.

The same kind of evidence of the same fact is equally clear in the case of the reformation by Luther. In his translation of the New Testament, he hath rendered the Greek word to baptize by the German *Taufen*, and in his works he hath expressly declared, that the baptismal verb *taufen* signifies to immerse, or plunge into water (9). Thus Matthew iii. 1. In those days came John the Baptist: *Zuder zeit kam Johannes der Tauffer*; in those days came John the dipper. So again, verse 16. And Jesus, when he was baptized, *getaufft*, immersed, went up straightway out of the water (1). How the English reformers understood the matter is clear by the first liturgy of King Edward vi. which required baptism to be administered by trine immersion: and by a catechism set forth in the same year by Archbishop Cranmer, in which there is a cut, prefixed to the *sermon of baptisme*, that fully expresses the meaning of the writer. Jesus is represented naked, except a kind of towel tied round his middle, standing in the river up to mid-leg in water. Behind him, at a distance, higher up the stream, are seen two persons stark naked as if coming to be baptized. John is on the bank by the side of Jesus: his right hand with two fingers stretched out is lifted up towards heaven: his left is behind the

(9) *Op. De baptismo.*

(1) Das Neve Testament - - London. 1751. Ludwig Dictionar. in verb. Tauchen. oder tuncken. . . Tauf .. Taufen .. Tauffer . . Tauf-bund, &c. Leipzig. 1716.

shoulders of Jesus as if just going to bow him forward into the water (2).

To this the style of the sermon agrees. "What greater shame can ther be, then a man to professe himself to be a christen man, because he is baptised, and yet he knoweth not what baptism is, nor what strength the same hath, nor what the *dyppynge* in the water doth betoken . . . when God is added and joyned to the water, then it is the *bathe* of regeneration . . . a *bathe* that washeth our soules by the holy ghost, as saynt Paule calleth it, saying, God hath saved us thorowe hys mercye by the *bathe* of regeneracion . . . for baptism and the *dyppynge* into the water doth betoken, that the olde Adam, with al his synne and evel lustes ought to be drowned and kylled by daily contrition and repentance (3) "

In like manner William Tyndale, otherwise called Hychins, speaks of baptism. "The *plungynge* into the water sygnifieth that we dye and are *buried* with Chryst as concernynge the olde lyfe of Synne which is Adam. And the *pullynge* out agayn sygnyfyeth that we *ryse agayne* with Chryste in a newe lyfe (4)."

To the same purpose speaks K. Edward's Catechism. "*Master.* Tell me (my sonne) how these two sacraments be ministred : baptisme : and that whyche Paule calleth the supper of the Lord. *Scholer.* Hym that beleueth in Christ : professeth the articles of Christian religion : and myndeth to be baptised (I speak now of thē that be growē to ripe yeres of discretion : sith for the yōg babes, theyr parentes or the churches professiā sufficeth) the minister *dyppeth* in, or washeth with pure & cleane water onelye, in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the holy ghost : & thē commendeth him by praier to God, in to whose church he is now openly as it wear enrowled, that it mai please God to graunte hym hys grace, whearby he may answer in belefe and life agreablye to his profession (5)." All such descriptions are unequivocal evidence.

It was an observation of Pope Pius v. that the reformers did not separate from the Catholick church on ac-

(2) Catechismus, &c. Gualterus Lynne *excudebat*. 1548.

(3) The same. Fol. ccxv -- cccxii.

(4) The obedience of a Chrysten man, &c. -- Fo. lxxvi. Baptyſm.

(5) The Catechisme. Imprinted at London by John Day.

count of baptism, and it was for this reason that the council of Trent pronounced the baptism of these hereticks valid, though imperfect through the omission of some ceremonies (6). To say nothing of the doctrine of original sin, which as the true foundation of infant baptism the reformers believed, or of the baptism of infants, which they practised, it is certain Catholicks and Lutherans allowed the validity of baptism by immersion. The celebrated James Sadolet, who was, first, secretary to Leo x. and, afterward, created a cardinal by Paul iii. in the year fifteen hundred thirty-six, says : " Our trine immersion in water at baptism, and our trine emersion, denote, that we are buried with Christ in the faith of the true Trinity, and that we rise again with Christ in the same belief (7)." The confession of faith of the churches of Saxony was subscribed at Witemberg, on the tenth of July, in the year fifteen hundred fifty-one, by superintendants, pastors, and professors, in all thirty one, in order to be presented to the council of Trent (8). Melancthon published this with a preface, and soon after several more acceded (9). The article of baptism is express for dipping ; and the sense of the administrator is given in these words : " I baptize thee, that is, I testify by this immersion, that thou art washed from sin, and now received [into covenant] by the true God, who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemed thee by Jesus Christ his Son, and sanctifieth thee by the Holy Ghost : " and so on (1). Hence came the name of their baptisteries, *Taufstein*, or *dipping-stone* (2) In brief, it may with great truth be affirmed, that during the whole establishment of the Catholick religion in England, that is,

(6) Concil. Trident. Sessio. vii. De baptismo. Declarat. in Can. iv. Lugdun. 1630.

(7) Anton. Florebelli de vita Jacob Sadoleti S. R. E. presbyteri cardinalis comment. Jacobi Sadoleti in Pauli Epist. ad Romanos commentar. Cap. vi. ver 4. 8. Francofurti. 1771. In baptismo quidem *trina* illa nostri in aqua *immersio*, rursusque *ter* facta ex aqua *emersio*, et cum Christo nos sepeliri in fide veræ Trinitatis, et cum Christo item resurgere in eadem fide, denotat.

(8) Confessio doctrinæ Saxonicarum ecclesiarum, scripta anno Domini 1551. ut Synodo Tridentinæ exhiberetur ad finem.

(9) Aliarum ecclesiarum et regionum approbatoria scripta.

(1) *De baptismo*. Baptismus est integra actio, videlicet *mersio* et verborum pronuntiatio : Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. In his verbis summum doctrinæ evangelii comprehensam : sæpe enarramus. Ego baptizo te, id est, ego testificor hac *mersione*, te ablui a peccatis, &c.

(2) Ludwig Lexicon. Der Taufstein in Romisch-catholischen, und Lutherischen kirchen.

from the close of the sixth to the middle of the sixteenth century, a period of nearly a thousand years, baptism was administered by immersion except in cases of necessity : the first converts were catechized in person, and baptized in rivers ; the last were infants, catechized by proxy, and dipped in fonts (3).

ii. The administration of baptism by *pouring* is a very intricate affair, and three distinct observations are necessary to elucidate the subject.

1. Some representations of baptism are evidently emblematical, either of the sign, or of the thing signified. In one ancient monument at Rome Jesus is represented in his baptism as standing in the river Jordan enwrapped in a winding-sheet, exactly as in other monuments the dead lying along are depicted. In this therefore, the artist meant to represent the thing signified by baptism, the *burial* of Christ, and probably he took his emblem from the words of Paul, *baptized into his death: buried with him in baptism*: and so on (4). Some emblems described a supposed fact: as when a dove is painted over the head of a bishop, it signifies that in the opinion of the artist, the prelate was elected by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Some are awkward representations of a true fact: as those which describe persons standing and holding their heads cut off in their hands. The meaning is: they had been martyred. The baptism of immersion was sometimes represented by one person clothed pouring water out of a pitcher on the head of another person kneeling naked in a font: the artist intending to signify not that baptism was ever literally so performed, but that baptism was administered by wetting all over (5). Such emblems are allusive pictures or occult representations, and at present one example may suffice.

The learned John Ciampini, master of the briefs in the Roman chancery, under Innocent XII. was an antiquary of accurate and extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquities. Under the patronage of the Pope, and

(3) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. Cap. xiv.

Joannis Lelandi antiquarii De rebus Britan. Collectanea, cum Thomæ Hearnii Præfat. not. &c. Londini. 1770. Vol. ii. p. 663. Baptizatio Regina Elizabethæ apud Greenwich.

(4) Jo. Ciampini. De Sacris Ædificiis a constant. Magno construct. Synopsis Historica. Rom. 1693. Vet. monument.-Gerbert. ut sup. Tab. vi. vii. &c.

(5) Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. Tom. ii. Præfat. in spicileg. Ravennatis Hist.—See Chap. xvii. Mabillon. Iter. Ital.

his eminence, cardinal Charles Barberini, he published several works to elucidate the ecclesiastical history of sacred habits and utensils, edifices and Mosaick ornaments (6). After the example of Procopius, who had compiled an history of the buildings erected by the Emperor Justinian, he published an history of the sacred edifices built by Constantine the Great, illustrated by plates (7). In this, as well as in his ancient monuments, he observes, that the first Catholicks took the patterns of innumerable emblems from the book of Revelation, and adorned their publick edifices with them. The Jews were accustomed daily to sacrifice two lambs in their temple. The paschal sacrifice was a lamb, the blood sprinkled, and the flesh eaten. John the baptist had called Jesus a lamb. Jesus was put to death by crucifixion, and received in his execution five principal wounds. Jesus had said to Peter, Feed my sheep, my lambs. Paul had called Christ the Christian's passover: and John had described Jesus as a lamb standing in the midst of a throne. The designer of an ancient piece of Mosaick work in a chapel of the old Vatican church had crowded together into one emblematical ornament all these ideas, and others appending. It would take too much room to describe all the emblems of this curious antique, and one shall serve (8).

In the middle of the lower compartment appears a throne, set with precious stones. In the midst of that stands a cross studded also with jewels, the foot resting on a cushion. Under the cross stands a lamb on a mount, with a diadem on his head, and five rivulets of blood running from his breast and his feet, and falling into one stream at the foot of the hill (9). In the first ages of superstition, this was the usual mode of representing the crucifixion of Christ, and it was nearly seven hundred years after the event, when a council held at Trulla, a part of the imperial palace at Constantinople, issued a canon to prohibit the custom, and which ordered that in future, instead of a lamb, a hu-

(6) *Conjecturæ de perpetuo azymorum usu in ecclesia Latina*. Romæ 1688.

(7) *De Sacris Ædificiis. &c. Cap. iv. De Vaticana basillica. Sect. ii. De magnis operibus in apside, sive tribuna Vaticanæ basilicæ.*

(8) Tab xiii.

(9) *Ad crucis pedem stat agnus sanguinem e pectore effundens in calicem, &c.*

man figure should represent Jesus on the cross (1). This was turning an emblematical picture into an history painting. The direct contrary took place in descriptions of baptism; and although it is certain the Emperor Constantine was baptized at Nicomedia by immersion, yet his baptism is described at Rome by pouring. The Emperor is kneeling stark naked in a laver; Sylvester is pouring water upon his head, and a verse declares he was at the same time both baptized and cured of the leprosy (2).

Rex baptizatur, et lepræ sorde lavatur.

Whether the Emperor were baptized at Rome or at Nicomedia, or at both, is said to be uncertain; but there is no doubt of his being immersed, for all parties baptized by immersion then (3).

Nothing is more common than such emblems. In the year fifteen hundred and eight, a quarto book was published at Cologne, written, as it was pretended, by a converted Jew, formerly called Joseph, then John Pefferkorn, entitled *Speculum adhortationis Judaice ad Christū*. This is the second edition. To this book a plate is prefixed, intended to describe the abolition of circumcision and the administration of baptism. Blood from the five wounds of Jesus is flowing into a font, over which a boy standing on his feet is leaning, the Pope having on his triple crown, is laying his right hand on his head, to bow it into the water, and holding up in his left hand a key, while the demon of avarice is endeavouring to decoy him away. The whole is emblematical of the nature and benefits of baptism, but not descriptive of the ordinary manner of administering it (4).

2. In the primitive church there is no mention of baptizing by pouring. In the middle ages, there was a real, literal pouring, which, although it was annexed to a preparation for baptism, was not baptism, but a very distinct ceremony, called capitulavium, or washing of the head: and, some think, this is that pouring, which

(1) Can. 82 decretum fuit, loco agni, ut Christus in cruce, in hominis figura pingeretur.

(2) Ciampini *ut sup.* Cap. ii. *De Basilica Lateranensi.* Tab. ii. Fig. 4.

(3) Hospinian (*de origine templorum.* Lib. ii. Cap. xiv.) hath collected and weighed the evidences on both sides.

(4) *Specul. adhort. judaice. ad Christ.* Colonie p. Joan. Pefferkorn olim *Judeu nūc Christianu.* Anno dni M. d. viii. in *Pfesto Epiphaniæ dni.*

is described in monuments, where persons are depicted as standing naked in a river, while the water is poured on their heads (5). This ceremony was performed on Palm-Sunday upon the competents, in order to wash off any soil contracted in Lent, (for during that period dress was neglected) and to cleanse them in order to receive unction preparatory to baptism, which was administered a few days after (6). Pouring water on the head, therefore, was not baptism, but, like exorcism, a preparation for baptism : and the proof that the Catholicks understood baptism to be neither sprinkling, nor pouring, but dipping, is demonstrative by the whole economy of baptism ; for as they were then extremely cautious never to repeat baptism, and never to do any thing that looked like a repetition of it, and as they sprinkled in exorcism, and poured at the delivery of the creed on Palm-Sunday, so it is clear they considered baptism itself as immersion, and nothing else.

3. The first appearance of baptizing by pouring was in the eighth century, when Pope Stephen allowed the validity of such a baptism of infants in danger of death (7). Protestants confound this with sprinkling : but the words are express for pouring. The question, which the monks put to Stephen was : “Whether in case of necessity, when an infant was sickly, it were lawful to administer baptism by pouring water upon the head out of a vessel or the hands : *Si licet per necessitatem cum concha, aut cum manibus, infanti in infirmitate posito, aquam super caput FUNDERE, et sic baptizare ?* In the ninth century Walafrid Strabo supposed, adults might be baptized by pouring in case of necessity, *si necessitas sit* (8). He grounded his opinion on an error, as hath been observed in another place : but he, imagining it had been done, supposed it might be done again in case of necessity. This pouring upon the head, *fundens super caput*, or as Strabo hath it, *superfusion*, *desuper fundens*, was not pouring water upon the face of a child lying along in the arm, or upon the forehead of a

(5) Chap. xii. *Baptisteries* ---- *The baptistery at Ravenna*. Chap. xv.

(6) Gerberti *vet. Liturg.* Tom. ii. Disq. v. S. xii. *Traditio, redditioque symboli, Capitularium, dominica palmarum.*

(7) See before in this Chap. page 428.

(8) *De rebus ecclesiasticis*. Cap. xxvi.

man standing or kneeling, so that it ran down the face, and off the chin : but it was a pouring of water upon the top of the head upon persons naked, as undoubted literal pictures of the times prove, and hence in the thirteenth century came this canon : "The administrator of baptism, while he immerses the person to be baptized in water, shall say these words without addition, subtraction, or alteration, naming the child, Peter or John : I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : and, to avoid all danger, let not the priest dip the head of the child in water, but let him hold the child discreetly with one hand, and let him three times pour water upon the crown of his head out of a bason, or a clean and decent vase (9)." This is the baptism of a child, who could stand alone : and this serves to prove, that in the Netherlands in the close of the thirteenth century, baptism was administered in ordinary to such children.

iii. The administration of baptism by *sprinkling* was first invented in Africa in the third century, in favour of clinicks or bed-ridden people : but even African Catholics, the least enlightened and most depraved of all Catholics, derided it, and reputed it no baptism (1). It was the doctrine of original sin that first brought together lustral water to expel Satan, baptism for the remission of sin, and infants. In the case of adults, lustral water sprinkled in exorcism was at a considerable distance from the act of baptizing : in cases of necessity they were brought near, as at the baptism of sick, consumptive, or dying Catechumens, and hence came the services in ancient rituals, which are entitled for the succour of sick Catechumens, and for the baptism of sick Catechumens (2). In the case of expiring babes, the pressing necessity of dispatch compelled the priests to omit most of the previous ceremonies ; and some administrators, to make sure by one dexterous effort of both expelling Satan and remitting sin, baptized with lustral or holy water, and as they had only small quantities of this, they were obliged to be sparing and only sprinkle. An express statute to prohibit this practice fully proves the being of it. By this, and by confounding sprinkling

(9) Joan. Episc. Leodiensis *Statut. Synod.* An. 1287.

(1) Jo. Andreæ Bosii de clinicis exercit. *Hist. Jenæ.*

(2) Gerberti *Vet. Liturg. Diss.* v. Cap. i. S. xix.

with pouring, the custom of baptizing by sprinkling stole into the church in cases of necessity.

The Calvinist reformers rejected exorcism; and they allowed the validity of dipping; but they adopted a mode of pouring which they confounded with sprinkling, and which at length they actually exchanged for sprinkling. The French church at Frankfort in their liturgy ordered baptism to be performed by the minister, who, having a table and a bason of clean water before him, was directed to *cast water* with his hand upon the head of the child (3). In the liturgy of the English church at Frankfort, King Edward's service book was used, and baptism was administered by *trine immersion*. In the Scotch church at Geneva, the minister was directed to take water in his hand, and *lay it upon the child's forehead*. The same book calls this *pouring* (4). An hundred years after, in the assembly of divines, Dr. Lightfoot was the man who caused dipping to be excluded, and sprinkling declared sufficient (5). When the assembly came to the vote, whether the directory should run thus, "The minister shall take water, and *sprinkle* or *pour* it with his hand upon the face or forehead of the child," some were unwilling to have *dipping* excluded, so that the vote came to an equality within one; for the one side there being twenty-four, and for the other twenty-five. Next day the affair was resumed, when the Doctor insisted on hearing the reasons of those, who were for dipping. At length it was proposed that it should be expressed thus: "That pouring on of water, or sprinkling in the administration of baptism is lawful and sufficient." Lightfoot excepted against the word lawful, it being the same as if it should be determined to be lawful to use bread and wine in the Lord's supper; and he moved, that it might be expressed thus: "It is not only lawful but also sufficient;" and it was put down so accordingly. In some other parts of the same directory, the minister is left "*to use his own liberty and godly wisdom*" (6): but no man in the assembly knew where wisdom and god-

(3) Liturgia sacra, seu ritus ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordiæ ad Moenum. Edit. secunda. Francofordiæ. 1555. pag. 54. Liturg. baptismi.

(4) The form of prayers and administration of the sacraments, used in the English church at Geneva.—Geneva. 1556. The order of baptisme.

(5) See his life in Bayle's Rem. F.

(6) *The administration of the sacraments of Baptism.*

liness were not to be trusted better than Dr. Lightfoot : and he informed the house of commons in a sermon at St. Margaret's, Westminster, that, though he " would not go about to determine whether conscience might be bound or not, yet certainly the devil in the conscience might be, yea, must be bound by the civil magistrate." This was by way of expounding his text, which was taken from the twentieth of Revelation, where *the angel, who had the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand, laid hold of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years*(7). The learned Doctor exhausted all his Rabbinical stores in endeavouring to prove that sprinkling was an apostolical practice : yet, says the equally learned and better informed Father Gerbert, others think sprinkling was used only in cases of necessity (8). This is not the only instance in which Catholicks have observed the innovations introduced into baptism by Protestants. The pontiff of Rome never presumed to stand on the verge of a baptistery, and pronounce the baptismal words, while his official below immersed a child in water, but Protestant ministers have done more : one in the pulpit hath uttered the words, I baptize thee, and so on, while another below hath sprinkled the child. Cardinal Sfondrati persuaded them to lay aside this abuse (9).

Protestants, whose churches are not established by law, and whose discipline is not regulated by human articles of faith, but by the holy scriptures alone, have taken infinite pains to obtain scripture-evidence of baptizing *infants*, and of baptizing by *sprinkling*. The first English reformers foresaw the business would come to this, and on this ground they foretold the utter annihilation of the mass. Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, and physician to Edward vi. published a sort of Drama to represent the absurdity of the mass. The *personæ* of the drama are, "Maistres Missa ; Master Knowledge ; Master Fremouthe ; Master Justice of Peace ; Peter

(7) Dr. Lightfoot's *Sermon before the house of commons, Aug. 26th, 1645* London. 1645.

(8) *Vet. Liturg. Disq.* v. Cap. i. S. xxii.

(9) *Ibid.* xx. Baptizabant diaconi coram pontifice adjuvantibus subdiaconis et acolythis. At id inauditum ac perversissimum, quod alicubi a Protestantibus fit, ut uno ministro aquam affundente, alius e suggestu formulam pronuntiet. Quem abusum ministri urbis San-Gallensis persuadente Cardinali Sfondrati sustulerunt.

Preco, the Cryer; Palemon, the Judge; Doctor Proph-yri; Syr Phyllyp Philargyry." In the end of the trial, Palemon the Judge gives sentence that Mistress Missa, daughter of the Pope, should depart the realm within eight days, with orders never to return, under penalty of being "served even as thy Father hath served our brethren in tyme past." Mistress Missa quits the court with these words :

Helpe and defende my good brethren all,
 Whych love doctrine cathedrall,
 And do beleve unwryten veritie
 To be as good as scriptures sincerite.
 Because in the bible I cannot be founde
 The heretikes woulde burye me under the grounde.
 I praye you hartily yf it be possible
 To get my a place in the great bible :
 Or else as I do understande
 I shal be banished out of thys lande,
 And shall be compelled with sorow and payn
 To returne to Rome to my Father agayne (1).

The author of this little tract was a man of eminent worth, and Bath owes him a statue, for as he was the first Englishman who compiled an herbal, so he was the first who published a physical examination of Bath waters (2). A firm Protestant, and an enemy on principle to persecution, he very consistently observes, that whatever was not found in scripture was no part of Protestantism, and must revert to the Catholicks from whence it came. Hence he puts into the mouth of the mass the facetious proposal of *getting a place in the great bible*. The worthy dean himself, in his book against the Anabaptists, found a place in the gospel for children : but he did not attempt to get one for sprinkling, and all such attempts by later divines have failed of success (3). The late Dr. Guyse, a man who ought always to be mentioned with respect for his pious and practical labours in the church, gives a singular opinion on the manner of John's baptizing. He says : "It seems to me, that the people stood in ranks, near to, or just with-

(1) A new Dialogue wherein is conteyned the examination of the Messe, and of that kynde of Priesthode, whych is ordeined to say messe: and to offer up for remyssyon of synne, the bodye and bloude of Christe agayne.
 -----N. Neither printer, place, nor date.

(2) Gough's *Topography*. Vol. i. *Natural History*. p. 132. 142. Vol. ii. Somersetshire. pag. 193.

(3) *Triacle*. See page 434.

in the edge of the river ; and John, passing along before them, cast water upon their heads or faces with his hands, or some proper *instrument* (4).” The Doctor doth not say what instrument he imagined, but it must be either ordinary or extraordinary. There were at that time only two instruments in ordinary use for the purpose of religious aspersion, the one Jewish, the other Pagan. That of the Jews consisted of three things : a cedar handle, a bunch of hyssop for the brush-part, and a scarlet binding, with which the hyssop was confined round the end of the handle in the fashion of a brush. The ancient Greeks had made use of a natural branch of laurel or olive, but in the time of John, the Aspergil, or sprinkler, at Rome, was an artificial instrument, pictures of which yet remain to be seen. It doth not appear that John, or Jesus, or the apostles, or any primitive Christians, ever made use of any religious aspersions, or of either of these aspergils ; on the contrary, a great number of censures of every kind of lustration appear in the writings of the primitive fathers (5). Jewish purifications they disclaimed, and they considered aspersion with horror as a Pagan rite.

The reduction of the Christian religion to the size of children hath been the ruin of the credit of Christianity ; and the institutes have shared the fate of the doctrine, they have been dismantled from their original pedestals, frittered into puerile playthings, and at length despised, broken, and thrown away. Thus in emblems, the river became a bath, the bath a font, the font a bason, the bason a cup, the cup a cruet, a sponge, and a syringe, instruments not yet imported into England. It hath happened the same with the Lord’s supper. *Remembrance* of Christ was essential to this, as *belief* was to baptism : but when the sacrament was administered to infants, the doctrine being lost, the utensils were reduced. Infant-communion began with a cup given to boys at Alexandria ; it went on with a spoon in which a few crumbs of bread were soaked in wine, and put into the mouths of the little ones. When natural infants became communicants, the spoon fell into disuse in communicating them, and the bread, for they sometimes would

(4) Dr. John Guyse’s *Practical Expositor*. 4d Edit. Edinburgh. 1775. Mat. iii. 6. notes.

(5) Hospiniani e *Templis*. Lib. ii. Cap. xxv. *De origine aque lustralis*.

not swallow it : then the priest dipped his finger in the wine, and moistened the lips of the babe (6). At length it was wholly omitted. It was a wise caution, which Moses gave the Jews : *In all things that I have said unto you, be circumspect* : it was a repetition of what the Lord had said to him ; *See thou make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the mount* (7).

Whether Dr. Guyse imagined standing in *ranks* at baptism as a convenient method, or whether he took it from the history of the Jesuit Lobo's voyage to Abyssinia, is uncertain, and not very material ; but that Lobo baptized in this form is beyond a doubt. It was about the beginning of the seventeenth century that Father Jerome Lobo, a Portuguese Jesuit, with proper assistants, under favour of the Emperor of Abyssinia, who for political reasons pretended to be converted to the church of Rome, managed a mission in that country, and thus he describes the baptism of his converts. " We erected our tent, and placed our altar under some great trees, for the benefit of the shade ; and every day before sun-rising, my companion and I began to catechise and instruct these new Catholicks, and used our utmost endeavours to make them abjure their errors. When we were weary with speaking, we placed in *ranks* those who were sufficiently instructed, and passing through them with great vessels of water, baptized them according to the form prescribed by the church. As their number was very great, we cried aloud—*those of this rank are named Anthony—those of that rank, Peter*—and did the same among the women, whom we separated from among the men. We then confessed them, and admitted them to the communion." This book was published in Portuguese, and in French before the time of Dr. Guyse, and Mr. afterward Dr. Johnson, translated it, as Sir John Hawkins supposes, for a bookseller, at Birmingham, who published it in an octavo volume, in February, seventeen hundred and thirty-three (8).

(6) Renaudot. *ut sup.* *Cochlear liturgicum*. Tom. ii.

Syrorum Jacobitar. *Liturg. com.* ii. pag. 13. Spongiam et cochlear in latere australi supra tabulam consecratam deponit sacerdos -- *Observat.* p. 112 -- 121.

(7) Exod. xxiii. 13. — Heb. viii. 5.

(8) *The Life of Samuel Johnson, L. L. D.* by Sir John Hawkins, *Knt.* London. 1787.

In the year seventeen hundred and three, John de Saint Valier, Bishop of Quebec, published a ritual for the use of his diocese, to which are subjoined answers to several queries proposed by his clergy, and the said answers are subscribed by thirteen Doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris (9). The ritual directs the priest to baptize either by immersion, plunging the whole body into the water, or by ablution, pouring a little water upon the head (1). The latter is to be performed by taking a little cruet of baptismal water, and pouring it three times in form of a cross upon the head of the infant. An adult is to uncover his head and neck, and to lean his head over the baptismal font, and the priest is to make three pourings upon it out of a small vessel. One of the queries was whether affusion were necessary to the validity of baptism. The querist informs the bishop, that as children were apt to be afraid of the priest, it had been a custom to baptize by moistening the hand with baptismal water, and rubbing it on the forehead, and sometimes to baptize with a sponge. Were such baptisms valid? The casuists reply; Affusion is not essential, and baptism, administered by a moist hand, or a sponge, is valid.

Dr. Wall observes, that all national churches practise infant baptism. Very true, infant baptism as it was intended, created national churches and gives them continuance, as it gave them being. Let what will be said in praise of such churches, it can never be affirmed that they were either formed or continued by the free consent of their members. It was for this reason the learned Dr. Gill called infant baptism the main ground and pillar of popery, and a great number of Baptists are of the same opinion (2). If all people were put into a condition of perfect religious freedom, as they ought to be, it is a great question whether they would all choose to profess themselves of the religion of their parents, and the chance is very great indeed against the church of Rome.

Time only can discover what the fate of this singular ceremony will be. If a judgment of the future may be formed by the past, infant baptism, like infant monach-

(9) *Rituel du Diocese de Quebec, publie par L'ordre de Monseigneur De Saint Valier eveque de Quebec.* A Paris. 1703.

(1) Chap. ii. Du Baptisme. Art. 2. De la matiere.

(2) *Infant Baptism a part and pillar of popery.* London. 1776.

ism will fall into total disuse, and for the same reasons. It was formerly a practice both in France and England, but most in England, to make monks and nuns of infants of seven, five, two, and even one year old: but this is now every where disused (3). The dipping of little infants was found to be a very troublesome and inconvenient ceremony, sometimes extremely offensive, and at all times depending upon a hazard which must give the fair sex a great deal of pain, and as it hath fairly worn itself down to a few drops, the importance of these few drops may in time appear so little, that they also will be laid aside. Let any man of common understanding lift his mind to the dignity and majesty of the infinitely wise and good God, and then imagine whether it be possible that the moral government of his empire can depend on the application of a wet sponge, a moist hand, a few drops of water applied by one frail mortal to the forehead of another. If any thing good in the world depends on a ceremony so trifling and so capricious, the supreme wisdom, justice, and goodness, is not what pious men have been used to take it for. The inconveniences of the ceremony of baptizing infants in every form, hath been in all churches where it hath been practised, recorded at large. In the Roman church, and in the Greek, children have been drowned. Baronius mentions one who lost his life in the Vatican baptistery on a holy Saturday. A disagreeable accident happened in the East to the Emperor Copronymus at his baptism, in Bohemia to the Emperor Wenceslaus at his, and the canonical provisions for such cases fully imply that they were very common (4). There is one in the British history of the tenth century reported by ancient chroniclers. King Edward, the martyr, had a younger brother who succeeded him, and whose long reign of eight and thirty years, all unprosperous to his country, owing they say to his indolence, obtained him the name of Ethelred, the unready. They say, his reign in the beginning, was ungracious, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the latter-end. It was

(3) Concil. Tolet. iv. Can. 6. De his qui in parva ætate coram parentibus religionis habitum tenuerunt—J. Mabillon. Vet. Analect. de oblat. pueror. in monast.

(4) Hist. Literar. 1730-1. page 187. Review of L'Enfant's Hist. of the Hussite war.

the custom at this time to dip infants in publick ; and at the birth of this prince the administrator of baptism to the royal family was the most stately man alive, Dunstan, formerly abbot of Glastonbury, then archbishop of Canterbury, and since his death, by due process of canonization, a saint. This prelate during the administration of baptism sometimes felt himself inspired, and then he uttered predictions. While he was baptizing a child named Elnoth, he observed him to come up from the water lifting up his little right hand, and spreading out his two fore-fingers exactly as a bishop did when he pronounced benedictions on the people. Dunstan foretold that Elnoth would be a bishop, and the prediction came to pass, for Elnoth was preferred to the archbishoprick of Canterbury (5). In this spirit, at the baptism of Ethelred, his grace, agitated with a thousand hopes and fears for the future state of his country, during the whole service looked wistly at the royal child, and watched every movement till he should feel the holy spirit of prophecy. All on a sudden the sacred shock quick as electrical fire was felt, both by himself, and by all the lords and ladies in waiting, and his grace fell a swearing, By God and the Virgin Mary this boy will prove a sluggard ! For as he held him naked over the font, he did in the water what he ought not to have done (6).

CHAP. XXXIV.

OF ANABAPTISM.

IT is not a little diverting to see with what perfect self-complacence many authors have given the world histories of the Anabaptists. Indiscriminately, without

(5) Dugdal. *Monasticon*. Vol. i. De archiep. de conventu Glastoniæ.

(6) John Fox's *Acts and Monuments*. An. 979. King Egelred or Elred - - Milton's *Hist. of Brit. Ethelred* - - Ordinances by Margaret countesse of Richmond and Derby. Leland. *Collect* Vol. iv. p. 180. How the church shall be arraied againste the christeninge Neere unto the font there must be hanged a traves, with carpets and quishins to the same, a faire panne of coles welle burnte before they come there for *smellinge*, and sweet perfumes to caste therin, chafrons of water, with basons of silver, and gilte, to washe the childe, *if neade be*.

Leland's *Itinerary*. Vol. ix. Comment. in Cygneam cansionem. Ethelredus rex Angliæ, filius clarissimi Eadgari, et Ealfrithæ. Hic in baptis-mate fontem ventris profluvio sædavit, teste Gul. a Maildolph curia libro de vita Dunstani Cant. archiep. secundo. Unde divinabant multi, futurum illum recordem, sorditum, et parum reipub. utilem.

any definition of terms, or any distinction of times, places, persons, or circumstances, without suspecting any thing to be false, or proving any thing to be true, they roll the narration rapidly along, and conclude without giving the reader any information. There is not a plainer tale in the world than that of the Anabaptists, yet there is not a tale more confused in the telling. According to some, who have done the Anabaptists the honour of writing their history, without knowing any thing certain of the matter, it ought to be reported at the end of a doleful tale about heresy, and sedition, and Nicholas Stork, and the German Anabaptists, that the first lady in Europe, her imperial majesty Catherine iii. the present Empress of all the Russias, is an Anabaptist. For it is strictly true, as an accurate and elegant historian observes, that "in the year seventeen hundred and forty five Peter, afterward the Czar Peter iii. espoused Sophia Augusta, princess of Anhalt Zerbst, who, upon being rebaptized according to the rites of the Greek church, was called Catherine Alexiefna," and who now reigns with so much glory over that vast empire (1). One page of criticism is of more worth than a whole volume of declamation, and the critical accuracy of the history of Anabaptists is nothing in the world but a fair narration of distinct facts. To mix all these facts into one general history is to create a chaos.

An Anabaptist is one, who is re-baptized: but if it be granted that baptism may be administered wrong, what possible reason can be given why it should not be re-administered right? Something certainly is essential to baptism; if that something be omitted in an administration, the act is not a baptism but a fiction, and consequently reason requires that the fiction be superseded by conferring the essence, otherwise it is as if gold were left out of a guinea. The little boy Athanasius, when he was twelve years of age, at play dipped his play-fellows in the sea, and it was adjudged by the bishop and his consistory a valid baptism, because it appeared on inquiry, he had previously asked the usual questions, the boys had made the proper answers, and he had pronounced as he dipped them the same words,

(1) William Coxe's travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. London 1784. Vol. ii. Book v.

which he had heard the bishop pronounce when he baptized Catechumens (2). Had any of these parts been omitted, the baptism would have been thought invalid, and the children must have been rebaptized, or rather they must have been baptized, for the first would have been adjudged no baptism, but the mere sport of boys, who knew not what they were about. The bishop of the church did not hold a consistory on the question of Anabaptism, but on the fact before them, whether the boys had been baptized, or not, and when it was determined they had, nobody thought of rebaptizing them. If it had been determined they had not, would any accurate writer have called them Anabaptists for being afterward regularly baptized by the bishop? Here then lies the whole mystery of Anabaptism. Nobody holds, or ever did hold, at least in this part of the world, a repetition of baptism: but different Christians in the same ages have thought differently of what makes the *essence* of baptism, as a narration of facts will prove.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF PERSONS CALLED ANABAPTISTS.

There are in general six sorts of Christians, who have been called Anabaptists, as different from one another as can well be imagined. The first placed the essence of baptism in the virtue of the person baptized: the second placed it in the form of words pronounced in the administration: the third in the virtue of the administrator: the fourth in the consent of the person baptized: the fifth in dipping: and the sixth in both a profession of faith and an immersion.

i. The first class is very large and extremely respectable. It was about the close of the second, or the beginning of the third century, that Tertullian began to complain of the corruption of baptism, and he wrote a book in the Greek language, against the administering of it to immoral persons (3). After his death, Agrippinus, bishop of the church at Carthage, and many neighbouring bishops, agreed to reject the vague baptisms administered, they knew not how or by whom, on account of the immorality of the people, who had been baptized,

(2) Ruffini Lib. i. Cap. 14. (3) Tertulliani *de baptismo*. Cap. xv.

and to re-baptize all such as should come over from those communities to join their churches (4). A few years after, Cyprian and seventy-one neighbouring bishops renewed this agreement. Then Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and a great many bishops of Galatia, Cilicia, Phrygia, and other parts of Asia, determined for the same reason to re-baptize. Dionysius and his followers in Egypt, the Acephali, Novatus of Rome, Novatian of Carthage, all the Novatian churches, Donatus and his numberless followers, called after him Donatists, all rejected the baptism administered by those, who have since been called Catholics, whom they reputed hereticks, and whose churches they called habitations of impurity, and all such as came from those churches to them they rebaptized (5). All these, and they were very numerous, considered the probity and good faith of the person baptized, the very essence of baptism, and if a professor of Christianity were an unholy man, they adjudged his baptism like his profession, vain and invalid, and himself not a weak believer of Christianity, but a mere unprincipled Pagan. These rigid moralists, however, did not count themselves Anabaptists; for they thought there was but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and that their own (6).

ii. The second class consists of such as place the essence of baptism in the form of words pronounced by the administrator, or, to speak more correctly, in a belief of that concerning the nature of God, which the form of words was supposed to express. In the year three-hundred and twenty-five, the council of Nice was held under the direction of the Emperor Constantine the Great. In this council the Trinitarian Judaizing Christians got themselves established, and it was decreed that such as should come over to the established church from the congregations of the Novatians or Puritans, should be admitted by the laying on of hands (7): but that such as should come from the Paulianists, both

(4) Cypriani *Epistolæ* ad Januarium—ad Quintum—ad Stephanum—ad Jubaianum—ad Pompeium—ad Magnum—Firmiliani ad Cyprianum.

(5) Optati *op.* Lib. ii.—Baronii *Annales* An. 321. Fuit et illa peculiaris Donatistarum hæresis, qua assererent, ecclesiam ibi esse non posse, ubi peccatum est.

(6) Albaspinæi *Observat. in* Optat. i.

(7) Labbei *Concil.* Tom. ii. Can. viii.

men and women, should be re-baptized (8). Commentators assign a very true reason for this distinction (9). The Nicene council held the doctrine of the Trinity, so did the Puritans, and both expressed their faith in the Trinity by administering baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : but the Paulianists, who denied the Trinity, and affirmed that Jesus was a mere man, omitted this form. Their baptism, therefore, the Catholicks rejected as nugatory, and of no value. The Arians for the same reason rejected the baptism of the Catholicks, and they also re-baptized such as came from them to join their societies (1). Anabaptism, as it is called, at that time, was thought by all parties necessary to the purity of their churches : yet in their own opinions they did not re-baptize : but supposing what was essential to baptism to have been omitted, they administered it rightly, as they thought, for the first and only time.

iii. The third division comprehends all such as placed the essence of baptism in the virtue or competency of the administrator. If this be an error, as it should seem, it is one of the most specious, and therefore one of the most popular and pardonable mistakes in the Christian world. To see a bad man perform the most solemn rites of religion, to see him perform them with carelessness, or it may be with contempt, is to behold a spectacle shocking to the most vulgar eye, the cause, naturally, of prejudice and infidelity in the people. It was on this account, that many of the ancient Bohemian Brethren rebaptized, and were denominated by the priests, whose services they disowned, Anabaptists (2). The truth is, the brethren estimated baptizing as they did praying, and as they thought a vicious priest did not pray because he chanted, so they supposed he did not baptize because he administered the form rightly. They complained, that their parish priest administered baptism laughing, and in a manner so profane, that it had more the air of a ludicrous comedy than of a religious institute. Bishop Bossuet properly enough observes, this rebaptizing was an open declaration, that in the

(8) Ibid. Can. xix.

(9) Bini *Note in Conc. Nicen.* Can. xix.

(1) Concil Arelatensi. i. viii.

(2) Lydii *Waldensia Confess.* Tom. ii.

opinion of the Brethren the Catholick church had lost Baptism. This was precisely their meaning (3). They did not pretend to rebaptize: but supposing what was done in the church to be no baptism, they baptized, as they thought, properly.

iv. The fourth class consists of such as think a personal profession of the Christian religion essential to baptism. This was the opinion of Socinus (4), as it is of the Baptist churches in Holland and Germany (5). In what light soever Christianity be represented, whether as a law to be obeyed, a declaration to be believed, or a covenant to be acceded to, it should seem, there is no such thing as reconciling either with allowed ideas of justice and propriety without admitting, that the consent of both parties is of the very essence of the transaction. The forcing of a Jew or Pagan to be baptized without his consent is now-a-days considered as an unwarrantable and unprofitable act of violence: but the baptism of a babe, who may when he grows up to manhood be an idiot or a madman, or what is worse, an infidel and a persecutor, doth not shock any body. So wonderful is the tyranny of custom! Christians of this class consider the baptism of an infant as they would consider his signature of a deed, if, while sucking at the breast his guardian had guided a pen in his little hand, and had made him set his name. Such a deed, and such a baptism, for the very same reasons, they hold null and void, and consequently baptize people on their own profession of faith. They do not imagine they rebaptize, though others call them Anabaptists (6).

v. The fifth class place the essence of baptism in dipping in water, and had a person been sprinkled ever so decently in any period of life, they would not therefore think him baptized, because, in their opinion, to baptize is to dip, and nothing else. The Greek church doth not hold sprinkling to be baptism, yet the Greeks

(3) Jacq. Benigne Bossuet, *Evesque de Meaux. Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes.* A Paris. 1688. Liv. vi.

(4) Socini *Opera.* Tom. i. p. 702.

(5) Hermann Schyn. *M. D. Historia Christianorum, Qui in Belgio federato inter protestantes Mennonitæ appellantur.* Amstelodami 1723. Cap. i. pag. 11.

(6) *Ibid. prefat.*

ought not to be called Anabaptists (7). A man, who holds every part of baptism indifferent is, if he repeats it in any way, on his own principles, an Anabaptist : but he, who holds any thing essential to baptism, must necessarily determine that there is no baptism where that essential is omitted. Dipping is that essential with the Greeks (8).

vi. In the last class are included the churches of the British Baptists, and those of Poland, Lithuania, Transylvania, America, and many more, which, however diversified in speculation and the practice of positive rites, all hold that dipping in water and a personal profession of faith and repentance are essential to baptism (9). On the first of these principles they disallow sprinkling : on the last they reject infants. Not one of these churches holds two baptisms : not one of them ever repeats baptism. If it be said, they dip in mature age, those who had been sprinkled or dipped in infancy, they reply, sprinkling is not baptizing, and dipping a rational being without his consent is not baptism. They strenuously decry a repetition of baptism, and when any one calls them Anabaptists, they always understand it as the language either of ignorance or malice (1).

Dr. Wall, the champion of infant-baptism, was aware of the impropriety of this name, Anabaptist, and he wrote against these people under the name of Antipedobaptists, that is, opposers of the baptism of children : but, as many have observed, the term is defective and improper, for these people are Antipedobaptists in common with many other classes of men, and particularly with the people called Quakers, many Socinians, and others, who administer no baptism at all (2). Moreover they are anti-sprinklers, and think the

(7) Hieremix Constantinop. Patriarchæ at Wittenberg. Theol. Responsio ii. 4. Baptizabant enim veteres, non manibus suis aquam baptizando adspergentes : sed trina immersione hoc evangelii sequentes : ascendit ex aqua. Ergo descenderat. Ecce immersio : non adpersio. --- Vide Euchologion -- Menologia -- Rit. Græc.

(8) Morini De ordinationibus. Par. iii. Exerc. v.

(9) Catechesis Ecclesiarum Polonicarum, Sect. vi. Cap. iii. De baptismo aque. Numquid ad eum ritum infantes pertinent ? --- Ad infantes non pertinet. --- Quid vero de iis sentiendum est, qui infantes baptizant ? Non recte dicis eos infantes baptizare. Non enim baptizant, quod sine totius corporis in aquam immersione et ablutione fieri nequit. --- Thomas Crosby's History of the Baptists, Vol. iii. Append. i. cxxix.

(1) Vindiciæ Unitariarum.

(2) Dr. Wall's History of Infant Baptism.—Defence of the History.—Gale's Reflections on Wall's History—Crosby's History. Preface to Vol. i.

baptism of adults by pouring or sprinkling invalid. The Doctor thought, to call them Baptists would imply a reproach on other Christians : but they reply, God forbid we should reproach any body of Christians ! But what ? If some men call themselves Christians, does that imply that other denominations are not Christians ? In France it is deemed unpolite to wish a person a happy new year, because such a wish implies a possibility of the year proving unhappy (3). There is no accounting for the habits and prejudices of mankind. Certain it is, many of these churches are so far from reproaching Christians, who are conscientiously satisfied with their infant baptism, that they admit such to become members of their community, on a principle of Christian liberty (4).

THE DIFFICULTY OF WRITING AN HISTORY OF A PEOPLE SO DIVERSIFIED.

There is, it should seem, something so very inoffensive in itself, and so perfectly indifferent to society, in a man's being rebaptized, that, if baptism were repeated every month, as the administration of the Lord's supper is, no serious consequences, except to the person himself, could follow. It must, therefore, at first sight, appear as a singular phenomenon, in the history of this people, that they should be described by many celebrated writers as a dangerous set of men, justly proscribed in one state, banished from another, burnt in a third, drowned in a fourth, and allowed to live in any only as a favour. There must be something more than baptism in this affair.

Many writers have given themselves the trouble to inform the world what this something more is : but there are three sorts, who have not succeeded, annalists, theorists, and disciplinarians. An annalist makes out a catalogue of those in all ages, who have rebaptized, and, if it be any thing like a fair one, it begins with Tertullian, St. Cyprian, the Novatians and Donatists of Africa ; it proceeds with Firmilian and the Asiaticks. and

(3) *Letters from Italy, by an English Woman.* London. 1776. Vol. ii. Letter xxx.

(4) *Vindiciæ Unitar.*

takes in the council of Nice; it goes on with Novatus and the Italians, and all others in Europe, Bohemians, Poles, Britons, French, German, Swiss, Dutch, and it ends with the Americans. Of all these he makes one regular body of rebaptizers, and to credit him would lead a reader to believe that St. Cyprian of Carthage, and the three hundred and eighteen bishops of the council of Nice, were exactly such men as John Bunyan, Tinker of Bedford, for all held rebaptization. A theorist, orthodox or heterodox, succeeds no better. He either begins with Arius, Socinus, or Servetus, and ends with Dr. James Foster : or with Menno, and ends with the Particular English Baptists. A disciplinarian always sets out with Nicholas Stork, or Thomas Munster, takes in some naked Anabaptists at Amsterdam, and concludes with a compliment to the modern Baptists for having seen into the errors of *their* ancestors, and behaved with propriety for several years last past, like a very good sort of men.

It is not an easy thing to write the history of a body of people, especially of such a body as this. Natives of all ages, and all countries, with education and without it, rude and refined, living in different habits and customs, subjects of different governments, here protected, and there plundered and driven to madness, having for ages no local legal settlement, entertaining different notions of government, learning, and religion itself, divided in opinion about every speculation of theology, as all other denominations are, of different languages, and without any common standard of belief, agreeing in nothing, except three or four articles necessarily connected with adult baptism : How is it possible to give a true account of all these people under one general name of Anabaptists ? Their history must be divided and subdivided, and it must be shewn wherein they differ, and in what they agree. Two or three such confused writers, as were just now mentioned, have misled many other writers, much wiser and better than themselves (5). Some were in other respects men of learning and

. (5) Jo. Henrici Ottii *Annales. Anabapt.* Basil. 1682.—Fred. Spanhemii *Diatriben de origine, progressu, &c. Anabaptistarum*—Ezechiel. Spanhemii *Elenchus*—M. Lutheri *advers. caelestes prophetas*, Tom iii.—Jo. Cloppenburgii *Gangrena Theologiæ Anabaptisticæ*.—Phil. Melancthonis *refutat. erroris Serveti et Anabaptistarum. cum multis aliis*.

merit : but utter strangers to the general history, which they pretended to give. Mr. Arnoldi (6), and Dr. Schyn (7), have proved by irrefragable evidence from state papers, public confessions of faith, and authentick books, that Ezechiel and Frederick Spanheim, Heidegger, Hoffman, and others, have given a fabulous account of the history of the Dutch Baptists, and that the younger Spanheim had taxed them with holding thirteen heresies, of all which not a single society of them believed one word ; yet later historians quote these writers as devoutly as if all they had affirmed were undisputed and allowed to be true. That learned critick, Father Simon, passed a most severe, but a very just censure on the same Spanheim, for the many false tales which in the same book he had told of the Eastern Christians (8). It is diverting to see historians on the continent quote an obscure scribbler in England in evidence of what was done an hundred and fifty years before, within a few miles of the places where these foreign historians themselves lived. They have done this honour, in the most pompous manner, to one Ephraim Pagitt (9). Ephraim Pagitt ! Who was this Ephraim Pagitt, a name never heard of among learned men ? This old man was minister of a parish in London, in the reign of Charles i. Not having so much prudence as the late Mr. Quin, (to use Quin's words) the old man kept whistling Falstaff in publick after he had lost his teeth. His parishioners were tired and left him, and went to hear the Seetaries, as he calls them. This made him go mad. He taxed his people with heresy and schism, and he had not the prudence to avail himself of the wise advice, which Bishop Bancroft gave one of his neighbouring ministers in a like case. This minister had been to consult his lordship what to do in a very difficult case in his parish. One of his parishioners, named Jacob, would sit at receiving the sacrament. He had preached to him, and prayed for him, and cried for grief, and had threatened him, but all would not do, Jacob would not kneel. What would become of the church, what

(6) Engel Arentzoon van Dooregeest *Scnd Schreiben an den Herm. Friß Spanhemius*, &c. 1694.

(7) Hermanni Schyn *ut sup. præfat.*

(8) Richardi Simonis *Bibliot. Crit.* Tom. i. Cap. xxii. pag. 326.

(9) Ephraimi Pagitti *Hæresiographia*, Londini. 1645.

should he do? *Go home*, said his lordship, *and be quiet, and leave the matter to the church-warden.* Pagitt knew this, but he did not relish it, so he drew up a volume of all the false and filthy tales about town, and added a list of heresies, and half heresies, and presented it to the Lord-Mayor, humbly hoping that the parliament would suppress the blasphemous Anabaptists, for in other countries "Christian princes and magistrates had never left burning, drowning, and destroying them till their remainder was contemptible. Pontanus said, they abroad had destroyed one hundred and fifty thousand persons, and he hoped the house would suppress them here." This is the heresiography, which German writers quote in proof of what was done at Munster in Germany, though of all the contemptible authors of those times, Ephraim Pagitt is undoubtedly the first in ignorance, intolerance, and falsehood (1).

ALL BAPTISTS, HOWEVER DIVERSIFIED, AGREE IN HOLDING WHAT ARE CALLED ANABAPTISTICAL ERRORS.

Leaving all such writers to suffer or to enjoy their own reveries, and private piques, at their own discretion, it is proper to go on to opponents worth answering, for it must be allowed, English Anabaptism is connected with what are called anabaptistical errors; and it would be a vain undertaking to attempt to deny or disprove facts, which no less than five respectable classes of men have always objected against them. Every writer, who knew what he was about, from the days of the Donatists and the Acephali (2), to the present time (3), hath directed his main force against these anabaptistical errors, in comparison with which rebaptizing is not worth a moment's attention. The baptism of an adult is of no consequence at all but as it is connected with these er-

(1) Heresiography, or a description of the hereticks and sectaries of these latter times. By E. P. London. 1645. 4to. page 131.

(2) Mennæ patriarchæ Constantinop. Sententia contra Severum, Petrum et Zoaram. concil. Constantinop. Actio. v. An. 536.

(3) Heylin's Hist. Presbyt. p. 242. *Form of recantation prescribed to certain Anabaptists*, an. 1575. Whereas I, N. N. being seduced by the spirit of error, and by false teachers his ministers, have fallen into many damnable and detestable heresies—now by the grace of God—I submit myself, utterly abandoning and forsaking *all* and *every* anabaptical error.

rors: and if these errors be disproved, adult baptism falls of itself. It is therefore absolutely necessary to give a sketch of this heart of the history of the Baptists.

History is a monument erected for posterity, and sacred to truth, and a reverential awe for what appears to be true ought to be considered as a sufficient apology for any man's stating a case differently from what it may appear to others. Several respectable bodies of men have taxed the Baptists with holding many dangerous errors. These errors are properly reducible to five heads, and from these as from so many springs, all other small articles like rivulets proceed. Some Baptists, too hastily it should seem, have disowned these errors in the gross but it is impossible to disprove the existence of them; on the contrary, they are the bases and bonds of their societies. Here it is that their history becomes of consequence; for if the practice of rebaptizing naturally and necessarily includes these errors, the baptism of an adult is not such a futile unconnected thing as some have imagined, and there is great reason to expect objections against it.

A few outlines shall suffice, and two previous remarks are necessary to them. It was said, some time ago, that the established church in the council of Nice ordered some to be rebaptized: but they soon after discovered that the baptism of adults was connected with some other articles dangerous to their system: they therefore forbade rebaptizing, and have held it in abhorrence ever since. So extremely cautious hath the Catholick church been in this affair, that *infant* baptism, performed by any body, was allowed valid, and cain the se of an infant deserted by its parents, and found in the street, the priest was directed to dip the child with these words (4). Peter, I do not intend to rebaptize thee: but if thou hast not been baptized, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

It is to be observed, 2dly, that it is not the *mode* of baptism, dipping or sprinkling, that hath excited the resentment of the opponents of the Baptists, for such as baptized adults by sprinkling have been as much involved in the scandal of holding anabaptistical errors as others, who practise

(4) Wilkin. Concilia. Vol. ii. An. 1287. Synod. Exoniens. Cap. ii. De Baptismo.

dipping. It is the baptism of an adult precisely, that forms the grand objection, and this it is, which is connected with the errors charged upon Anabaptism. As these errors cannot be denied in regard to such Baptists, let five opponents state their objections themselves.

MAGISTRACY.

The first is a statesman, who, in behalf of emperors, kings, princes, barons, burgomasters, and civil rulers of every description, objects, That the Anabaptists affirm "a Christian ought not to execute the offices of magistrates, an error teeming with sedition (5)." It would be trifling to reply, *Adult* baptism hath no connection with the subject of government. It hath a close connection with it. An infant is baptized by ORDER of authority: but if when he grows up he be rebaptized, he practically rejects the order, and the power from which it proceeded, and consequently the baptism of an adult is connected with government, and the baptized, disowns all government in this matter of conscience, except his own. This man will not baptize his son, and a person brought up without baptism, is left in a condition of *freedom* to dispose of himself as he thinks right. Such a state implies liberty to examine religion, to reason about it, to reject or to embrace it by being baptized into what belief and profession a man judges proper. There is, therefore, an inseparable union between adult baptism and civil liberty, and in this great principle all Baptists every where agree. The old Donatists used to say, "What have we to do with the Emperor? What business hath the Emperor with our religion? What have bishops to do at court (6)?" When in any age Baptists appear in despotical governments, they are seen struggling for liberty, and the end of the struggle is burning, banishment, or freedom. They cannot live in tyrannical states, and free countries are the only places to seek for them, for their whole publick religion is imprac-

(5) Heylin *as above*.

(6) Fr. Balduini *Annotat. in optatum.* p. 171. Quid christianis cum regibus? Quid episcopis cum palatio? Quid est imperatori cum ecclesia? Quid mihi est imperatori? Quid nobis cum regibus sæculi, quos nunquam christianitas nisi invidos sensit.

licable without freedom. They differ as other denominations do, about the best means of obtaining and preserving liberty. The English Baptists approve of a limited monarchy, the Dutch of a republick, the Poles of a government nearly aristocratical. The English Baptists think, it is lawful for the members of their churches to execute the office of a magistrate, provided it be not clogged with religious tests (7). The Dutch, the Swiss, and the Moravian Baptists, execute no offices, take no oaths, bear no arms, shed no human blood, and in civil cases resist not government (8). The old German Baptists fought for liberty, so did many in Oliver's army here in England, and the only principle, in which they all agree, is, that the civil magistrate hath no right to give or enforce law in matters of religion and conscience. Whether this be an anabaptistical error, or a first principle of good government, must be left with the Miltons, and the Lockes, and Montesquies, and Beccarias to determine.

LEARNING.

The second opponent appears in behalf of the literati, and he affirms, It is an anabaptistical error to prefer illiteracy before learning, and set aside the latter as destructive of religion. Various are the sentiments, which Baptists entertain on this subject : but it must be granted, there is one general principle, in which they all agree, and which is necessarily connected with a personal profession of believing the truth of the Christian religion. An infant asks no questions, he may therefore be baptized into a profession of believing any thing, even mysteries : but mystical theology will meet with a very cold reception among sensible inquisitive candidates for baptism. They will require proof of every article, and consequently both they and their teachers will be led to consider what converts revealed religion into a secret ; what was the original character of Christianity, simplicity or obscurity ; what keeps a religion intended for every body a secret from any body ? The Baptists are compelled by the very constitution of their

(7) Crosby. Vol. iii. Append N. ii. Art. xxiv. It is lawful for Christians to accept, and execute the offices of magistrates, &c.

(8) H. Schyn. ut sup. Art. xxxvii. De officio Magistratus politici.

churches to simplify the gospel, to strip it of false ornaments, and to render it intelligible to youth and poor plain men and women, by proving it the most easy, the most evident, the most artless, and therefore the only popular and practicable religion in the world. In a course of experiments they found, that Pagan literature had perverted the gospel, that Christianity was not a learned science, that the world had been imposed on by an unprofitable polymathy, and ought to be disabused. They differ very much in their application of this doctrine: but the general principle runs through all their history, and is most remarkable in their schools and colleges, where literature is best understood, as their university at Racow in Poland hath proved. The Baptists are not alone in refusing Plato and other Pagans the honour of expounding the inspired writers. The Jews forbade the tutors of their children to instruct them in Pagan literature (9). The pretended apostolical canons, which, though not apostolical, are of some considerable antiquity, forbade Christians the study of Pagan books (1). Jerom pretends, he was reprov'd by an angel for studying Cicero (2). The fathers guarded and qualified the reading of pagan writers (3); and Erasmus, and many moderns complain of the Paganism, which some admirers of Gentile literature have mixed with Christianity (4). Rollin, and many Catholicks lament it, and Protestants do so much more (5). All this is to be understood of Pagan literature only as it affects religion; for in other respects the Baptists, as their history proves, hold all branches of science in a just and proper esteem. The works of the *Fratres Poloni* afford a case in point.

CLERICAL AUTHORITY.

The third is a deputy from the clergy, and he complains, That the one anabaptistical error of rejecting all clerical authority is the cause of a thousand heresies, schisms, divisions, and scandals. There is a great variety of opinions among the Baptists on this subject:

(9) *Misnah Sotah*. Cap. ix. Num. xiv.

(1) Joan. Bapt. Cotelarii. *Apost. Can.* Lib. i. Cap. vi.

(2) *Buddei Isagoge*. Lib. i. Cap. iv.

(3) Basil. *ad Adolescentes homilia* ---- Augustini *de Doctrin. Christiana*. Lib. ii. Cap. xl ---

(4) *Erasmi Epist.* Lib. xxix. Ep. 21.

(5) Rollin *Belles Lettres*.

but, as before, there is one general principle in which they all agree, from which their variety proceeds, and which, it cannot be denied, is a bottom of truth, on which the charge is founded. By requiring every individual to judge for himself, as a qualification for communion with them, by giving each the holy scripture as the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice, by holding themselves all competent to judge of the nature and evidences of the gospel, by affirming that they are accountable only to God for the use they make of their reason, and that every man, who hath a talent is obliged to make use of it, they reduce a priest to a mere tutor, and so effectually subvert all clerical authority. Various as they are, they all unite here. The Moravian Baptists had no regularly ordained ministers, the order was not known among them, they met as the people called Quakers meet, and any who could, even women gave instruction (6). The American Baptists elect teachers of their own, and regularly instal them in office, as they call it (7): but they refuse to pay taxes to support other ministers, and they urge the great principle of the American struggle, they are not represented. The Polish Baptists ordained in their synods (8). The English and Dutch Baptists elect their own teachers, and when they please dismiss them. In some congregations the people ordain, in others the people elect, and neighbouring ministers ordain by laying on hands and prayer. Some support their teachers by a free and plentiful subscription; others are too poor to do so, and their teachers support themselves by agriculture or trade: but all reduce the minister to a mere teacher, and allow him no authority over any man's conscience, either alone or in connection with other ministers. It is true, having no masters, and no notion of a power lodged any where to compel uniformity, they part into innumerable societies of different faith and practice (9). Some are Socinians, others Arians, some Trinitarians, others Arminians, others

(6) Boheslai Balbini *Miscel. Regn. Bohem.* Tom. v. p. 225.

(7) *Rev. Isaac Backus's History of New-England Baptists.*

(8) *Rev. Mr. Toulmin's Life of Socinus.*

(9) *Buddei Isagoge. Lib. poster. Cap. vii. p. 1362. De theologia polemica - - Lud. a Paramo. De origine Sanct. inquisitionis. Lib. ii. Tit. iii. Cap. vii.*

Calvinists : and others, as the Moravians, and most of the ancient Baptists, place religion in virtue more than in faith. All of them reject canon law, and place councils, synods, convocations, kirk sessions, and all such tribunals, along with a history of the inquisition. To this article therefore they plead guilty ; and having persevered for ages in this error, repentance is hid from their eyes.

ENTHUSIASM.

The fourth is a philosopher, a close connected reasoner, embellished with all the lore of the schools, and adorned with the benevolence of a primitive christian. He says, The anabaptistical error of the influence of the Spirit is a source of enthusiasm. Be it for a moment admitted, that the Baptists are enthusiasts, but that they are willing to be taught the reason and fitness of things, and for this purpose to attend that very philosophical experiment, the baptism of a new born infant. Is it the conveyance of holiness into water ? Is it the exsufflation of Satan driving him out of the child ? Is it the washing away of original sin ? Is it the tender of a contract ? Is it a wise man putting questions to a baby at the breast, who can neither hear, see, speak, or think ? Is it the conveyance of spirit, and grace, and new birth ? Is this a school for the cure of an enthusiast ? The baptism of a believer, embracing Christianity because he hath examined and approved of it, is the first step of the Baptist churches, and a perfectly philosophical one it is. However, this objection deserves a direct answer, and there are four observations worth making.

i. The first is, that enthusiasm is a vague term, and every degree of zeal in religion above common experience is not enthusiasm. Some times, some places, some circumstances require extraordinary efforts, and the first enterprizers in every thing were a daring sort of men. To claim the birthrights of men, and the benefits of Christians in some dark periods, required uncommon animation ; and to such efforts the present age owes its liberty to philosophize. Wickliff and Knox have been reputed enthusiasts, so have the first Baptists, and for the same reasons. Let all stand acquitted. All procured great good for posterity.

ii. Secondly, let it be observed, that if any Baptists be enthusiasts, they derive it not from baptism, which proceeds on a cool, rational, deliberate exercise of thought, and is regulated by an express command of scripture, the authenticity of which all Christians allow: but from some other notions, which they were taught in the Pædobaptist school, and which produce more enthusiasts in other communities than in theirs, and particularly in the church of Rome.

iii. Thirdly, the Baptists publicly disavow enthusiasm by making the written word of God the sole rule of their faith and practice, and most think, the doctrine of divine influence without the written word was the parent, and is the nurse of Popery (1).

iv. Lastly, modern philosophers will not venture to tax the Polish brethren, both theirs and the Baptists, with enthusiasm. Were Castellio and Servetus, Socinus and Crellius, enthusiasts (2)? On the contrary, they are taxed with attributing too much to reason, and the sufficiency of reason is the soul of their system.

PURITY OF CHURCHES.

The last, but not the least respectable complainant is a representative of the people, who affirms, That the great anabaptistical error, on which their whole economy is built, is chimerical and cruel, that is, that the Christian church ought to consist of only wise and virtuous persons. It is truly said, this is the article, from which all their other principles and practices proceed. It is for the sake of this that adult baptism is practised, and it is to preserve this that infants, who at best are doubtful characters, are excluded.

This charge is of considerable magnitude, for it includes many articles: it is objected by many writers of great and deserved character, and it is confessed by the modern Baptists, to be what their opponents affirm, the true source of all the peculiarities that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the Waldenses, the Wickliffites, the Hussites, the Baptists, and many more, who, before the dawn of the reformation, held

(1) H. Schyn *Hist. ut sup.* Cap. xi.

(2) Joan. Crellii *Ethic.* Christian.

the same principle, and were remarkable for the same peculiarities. These are nearly the words of Dr. Mosheim (3). It would not be fair to pass over this article lightly. It ought to be bottomed, and with this view the subject must be parted and subdivided as far as it regards history. A superficial reader of history resembles a traveller, who rides post, ten miles an hour, shut up in a carriage, through the glasses of which he glances at landscapes, and forms ideas of men and manners. A reader, who thinks it worth while to investigate a subject thoroughly, is a very different character. He resembles the grave disinterested judge in a court, who sits, deaf to the tumult of the crowd, who buzz and know nothing; blind to the glare and the leer of office, which is all of course; insensible to the holiday dress of eloquence; and attentive to nothing but facts and evidence, and the law of the case. The present question ought to be investigated in this manner: and lest any one should suppose himself despised, it may not be amiss to take a cursory view of the three orders just now mentioned, the crowd, the officialty, and the orators.

i. The populace, who drink healths, and swear and fight for the truth, as it is in fashion, with a good grace no doubt, have sometimes taken up the cause of infants against the Baptists. Whether they invented it over their cups, or whether they were taught by their guides, is not a very difficult question. There were, about the year sixteen hundred and ninety, two neighbouring dissenting teachers of congregations in Wapping: Hercules Collins, who taught a Baptist congregation (4); and Francis Mence, who taught a congregation of Independents (5). Collins published a book of reasons for believer's-baptism, in which he observed, among other things, that there was no reason to baptize an infant under pretence of saving him, for that original sin was not washed off by baptismal water, but by the blood of Christ, and the imputation of his righteousness.

(3) Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. iv. Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Part ii

(4) Hercules Collins. *Sandy foundation of infant-baptism shaken*, prefaced by Richard Claridge—*Truth and innocence vindicated*, by the same. London. 1695.

(5) Francis Mence. *Vindiciæ faderis—Deceit and falsehood detected*, by the same.

Mence thought it his duty to guard his congregation against this error, and he both preached and printed that this was "*infant-damning doctrine*. The principle, he said, evidently excluded dear infants from the kingdom of God, which was an audacious cruelty, sending them by swarms into hell, and striking darts into the hearts of both parents and children." In vain Collins explained himself and justified his doctrine in a cheap pamphlet, "intended for the information and satisfaction of the godly about Wapping and elsewhere." The godly about Wapping were not so easily satisfied; and he went a great while in danger of his life, the streets resounding with the cries of tender mothers, who shrieked while they sold fish, *there goes Collins who holds the damnation of infants*. The lower sort of people in all Christian countries since the establishment of infant baptism, have always discovered a violent attachment to it, for they thought it was doing something, and their passions have been ungenerously roused into rage against such as denied it: but a little party in Denmark acted most consistently, for they first prepared their infants for heaven by washing away all their original sin in baptism, and then put them to death, lest they should lose by any future misconduct the precious privilege of being saved in this easy way (6). People of this order never look into a book: but is it for wise men to be governed by their vulgar prejudices, and to feed their fury by cherishing an error so gross? Is it conceivable, that in a world inhabited by nine hundred millions of rational creatures, who are all children of the same beneficent Parent, the eternal destiny of any should depend on the precarious application of a few drops of water to their faces as soon as they are born? How would this accord with just ideas of the perfections of God? But, passing many reflections of this kind, the history of the case is this. Against all outcries of this sort, the Baptists oppose four things. First, they deny the fact, that infants do derive any religious benefit from baptism. Next, they affirm, on the contrary, that a great injury is done them by it, because they grow up in a prejudice that they are Christians, and therefore never examine what Christianity is. They add, thirdly,

(6) Voltaire *Traite sur la tolerance*. Cap. xviii.

that the ordinances of Christianity are not theirs, but they are intrusted by the divine Legislator with the use of them, and they ought not to dispose of them without a direction from him, and they say he hath not given them any order in Scripture to administer the ordinances of his religion to infants. Moreover they observe, that, though this sort of people are eager to profess to believe both for themselves and their children, yet there is great reason from their lives to doubt their sincerity.

ii. A second class which ought to be heard on the same side, consists of all such as officiate in this lucrative business, and the number is greater than it appears at first. In many families midwives and nurses perform their offices for little or no wages, but are well paid with the gifts of the guests at the christenings: a custom that induces some humane gentry to attend christenings in families of slender circumstances, for it is a genteel method of paying the chief expenses of the lying-in. In Venice "the meanest plebeian hath at least three Godfathers, the wealthy have twenty, and sometimes above a hundred (7). The gossips all crowd to church together, among whom the father chooses one to name the child. No entertainment is made after the ceremony as in most other countries, but four sugar-loaves are generally sent to each gossip. The gossips range themselves in a semi-circular form from the church door to the font, and at the christening of a tradesman's child, they give the child from one to another, till it is gone quite round." In all Catholick countries a great number, beside the clergy, have an interest direct in the baptism of infants, as venders of wax tapers, oil, salt, and all other articles of daily use in this ceremony. All these complain of the Baptists for attempting to set aside a practice which they say does the children no harm, and does them a deal of good: to which the Baptists reply, religion ought not to be made a trade; such parents, whatever they may pretend about Jesus Christ and the creed, and faith, and regeneration, only mean to train up their children to trade in religion as they do: but argument would be ill directed here, for prejudice in favour of gainful offices is a thing of course.

(7) Picart's Ceremonies and customs of all countries. Vol. ii. p. 70. note.

iii. The eloquence of the pulpit, like that of the bar, is sometimes the chaste ornament of truth, at other times the mere enamelling of error, inlaying fiction with glowing colours, to give that a gloss, which would otherwise be beheld with disgust. Masters of this art divide it into four parts: invention, disposition, elocution, and pronounciation. Invention finds proper arguments. Disposition arranges them so as to give each its due force. Elocution adorns them with tropes, figures, and fine turns. Pronounciation supplies utterance and action. The three last are absurd without the first, and the ground of all eloquence is argument, proper, substantial, true argument. Arguments in favour of infant baptism are taken by different Christians from different topicks. Such Roman Catholicks as understand reasoning argue for the baptism of infants from the authority of the church, which is good logick, though bad divinity (8). A man who holds himself bound by canon law, reasons consequentially when he says, I baptize infants because such a canon orders me to do so. This man's business is to defend not infant-baptism, but canon law. It is not he, it is the Protestant, who denies human authority over conscience, and who affirms the sufficiency of scripture, who is driven to the necessity of inventing scripture arguments, for in vain he affects to be eloquent among Protestants without them. It is to be presumed, if there were any one chapter professedly on this subject, that chapter would be quoted: but as there is no such chapter, arguments must be taken from detached sentences, and figures of speech, and allusions. Protestants have discovered great genius in inventing arguments, and to some Baptists they seem to reason in this manner (9). It is written, God made a covenant with Abraham and his family: therefore though it is not written, we ought to believe he makes a covenant with every Christian and his family. God settled on Abraham and his family a large landed estate: therefore he gives every Christian and his family the benefits of

(8) Petavii *Opera*. Tom. iii. *De Eccles. Hierarchie*. Lib. i. Cap. i. 6.

(9) Bullengeri *advers.* Anabapt. Lib. vi.—Zuinglii *de baptismo* Lib. contra hubmeyerum.—Joan. Calvini *Institut.* Lib. iv. Cap. xvi.—Theod. Bezzæ *Confess.* Cap. iv.—Zachariæ Ursini *Bezzæ Defensio*—Musculi *loc. com.*—Melancthonis *loc. com.*—Dan. Chamieri *Panstratiæ* Tom. iv. *De Baptismo*.

the Christian religion. God commanded Abraham and his family to circumcise their children : therefore all professors of Christianity ought without a command not to circumcise, but to baptize their children. Jesus said, Suffer little children to come unto me : therefore infants who cannot come, ought to be carried, not to Jesus, but to a minister, not to be healed, but to be baptized. Paul advised married believers at Corinth not to divorce their unbelieving yoke-fellows, lest they should stain the reputation of their children with the scandal of illegitimacy : therefore infants, legitimate and illegitimate, ought to be baptized. Adam offended God, but was never baptized ; therefore infants who have not offended God ought to be baptized. A man of 30 years of age says, he believes the gospel : therefore his neighbour's infant of eight days ought to be baptized, as if he believed the gospel. Really the Baptists ought to be forgiven for not having a taste for this sort of eloquence : yea, they ought to be applauded for preferring argument before elocution.

Strictly speaking, the argument of a syllogism lies in what logicians call the middle term ; and some writers of distinguished accuracy call the middle term itself the argument (1). The remark is just, and may serve to explain an apparent inconsistency. The Catholick church and the Baptists seem to be at the greatest variance in religion. No. It is not so in regard to baptism. The dispute is short, and soon over, for both sides reason justly. The Catholick produces a written order, called a canon law, as a reason to baptize infants. The Baptist denies the competence of every human tribunal to make religious law : and the dispute is at an end. Protestants who seem to agree with the Baptists in many things urge scripture for infant baptism : but the Baptists do not allow that scripture so much as mentions the subject. Hence their disputes are frivolous and perpetual : for while one side produces a variety of texts, the other is obliged to shew by fair exposition that they do not speak of the subject, but of something else, from which nothing to regulate the case in hand can be inferred. Should any modern monarch take David for a model of governing : should any general take Joshua's method of besieging Jericho for a perpet-

(1) Watts's *Logick*. Part. iii. Chap. i.

ual maxim of investing a city : should any prelate imitate Aaron, and pray with a bason of warm blood in his hand as he did : objectors would agree with them, that such and such inspired authors did speak of those persons and their practices with approbation ; but at the same time they would shew other inspired writers, who had declared that the polity and the civil and religious rites of the Jews had answered their end, and were now abolished. This would be the case with an order given the Jews to baptize infants, if any such order could be produced : but how a book that doth not mention the practice should settle a dispute about it, is not easy to determine.

A GENERAL NOTION OF A BAPTIST CHURCH.

The fact is this. Let the impartial judge. The Baptists form precisely such an idea of a Christian Church as that ornament of this country, the late Mr. Locke did (2). His words are these : “ A church I take to be a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the publick worshipping of God, in such a manner as they judge acceptable to him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls. I say, it is a free and voluntary society. No body is born a member of any church ; otherwise the religion of parents would descend unto children, by the same right of inheritance as their temporal estates, and every one would hold his faith by the same tenure he does his lands ; than which nothing can be imagined more absurd. Thus, therefore, that matter stands. No man by nature is bound unto any particular church or sect, but every one joins himself voluntarily to that society in which he believes he has found that profession and worship which is truly acceptable to God. The hope of salvation, as it was the only cause of his entrance into that communion, so it can be the only reason of his stay there. For if afterwards he discover any thing either erroneous in the doctrine, or incongruous in the worship of that society to which he has joined himself, why should it not be as free for him to go out as it was to enter ? No member of a religious society can be tied

(2) *Letters concerning toleration.* London, 1765. Let. i. Pag. 37, 38, 49.

with any other bonds but what proceed from the certain expectation of eternal life. A church then is a society of members voluntarily uniting to this end."

"Things never so indifferent in their own nature, when they are brought into the church and worship of God, are removed out of the magistrates' jurisdiction; because in that use they have no connection at all with civil affairs. The only business of the church is the salvation of souls: and it no ways concerns the commonwealth, or any member of it, that this, or the other ceremony be there made use of. Neither the use, nor the omission of any ceremonies, in those religious assemblies, does either advantage or prejudice the life, liberty, or estate of any man. For example: Let it be granted, that the washing of an infant with water is in itself an indifferent thing. Let it be granted also, that if the magistrate understand such washing to be profitable to the curing or preventing of any disease that children are subject unto, and esteem the matter weighty enough to be taken care of by a law, in that case he may order it to be done. But will any one therefore say, that the magistrate has the same right to ordain, by law, that all children shall be baptized by priests, in the sacred font, in order to the purification of their souls? The extreme difference of these two cases is visible to every one at first sight. Or let us apply the last case to the child of a Jew, and the thing will speak for itself. For what hinders but a Christian magistrate may have subjects that are Jews? Now if we acknowledge that such an injury may not be done unto a Jew, as to compel him, against his own opinion, to practise in his religion a thing that is in its nature indifferent; how can we maintain that any thing of this kind may be done to a Christian?"

The leading idea of this great man in his description of a church is the maxim, from which Mosheim truly says all peculiarities of the Baptists proceed (3): but that it deserves to be considered, as he hath been pleased to call it, a visionary illusion of enthusiasm, an erroneous, and chimerical notion, productive of seditious, tumultuous, and desperate attempts, equally pernicious to the cause of religion and the civil interests of man-

(3) Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. iv. Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Part. ii. *History of the Anabaptists.*

kind, are positions, which a Briton who understands liberty will not suffer a German ecclesiastick to affirm without contradiction. There is no hazard in saying Mr. Locke understood liberty, and a British Baptist day-labourer understands it better than the learned Dr. Mosheim. This one principle, which includes the four mentioned before, is so far from deserving to be called an enthusiastical anabaptistical error, that it is a sober first truth of civil and religious liberty, and as such hath been supported by the ablest of politicians and the best of Christians, and by many of both, who never had any knowledge of the Baptists. The freedom of religion from the control of the magistrate : the simplicity and perfection of revelation without the aid of scholastical theology : the absolute exemption of all mankind from the dominion of their clergy : the sufficiency of reason to judge of revelation : are all included in the voluntary baptism of an adult, and in the maxim, "that the visible church, which Christ hath established upon earth, is an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked, and exempt from all institutions of human authority." It is this maxim with its contents, and not re-baptizing, that hath occasioned most of the persecutions of this party of Christians. Such re-baptizers as did not hold these sentiments, as the council of Nice for example, have been caressed and not persecuted : and such as practised no baptism at all, as the people called Quakers, or infant-baptism, as the English Independents, but have held these sentiments, have drunk deep for the same reasons of the same bitter cup (4).

It is, however, to be observed, that not these but Anabaptism hath generally been the ostensible cause of the odium cast on this party : but that these are at bottom is pretty clear from the knack of quoting the history of the Munster Baptists in this controversy. If authors think rebaptizing hath no connection with government, why quote the Munster Baptists ? Some very amiable men, who have not done so, have yet in their zeal for infant baptism described a rejection of it as a crime of deep die, including in it disorder, turbulence, and re-

(4) Neal's *History of the Puritans*. Vol. ii. Chap. vi. *Committee of Accommodation*, &c.

sistance of authority, and though they colour too strongly, yet there is, as hath been said before, a bottom of truth; for to be rebaptized, as it is called, is a practical renunciation both of infant baptism, and the authority by which it had been administered. The late pious Dr. Daniel Williams asks this question (5): What if a child will not agree, but refuse to agree to the covenant to which his infant baptism engaged him? To which he gives this answer. "1. It is a rejecting Christ our Saviour, and a renouncing the blessings of the gospel. 2. It is the damning sin. 3. It is the heart of all sin. 4. It is a rebellion continued against my Maker. 5. It is ingratitude and perjury to my Redeemer. 6. It is gross injustice to my parents. 7. It is an affront to all the godly. 8. It is a self-killing cruelty to my own soul." The Baptists honour the memory of this very good man, and only say in reply: "to refuse to agree to a covenant made in infant baptism is no sin, because where there is no law there is no transgression (6)." The danger of such descriptions as this, sometimes doth not lie among the describers, for Dr. Williams was a zealous admirer of liberty: but in the shocking ideas which they excite in the minds of intolerant persons, who consider these as sanctions of a cruel discipline, which the writers either never thought of, or most heartily abhorred. After all, it is very doubtful whether the Doctor thought of the Baptists when he wrote this, and it is highly probable he meant to censure only such youths as rejected Christianity in every form, and not merely such as embraced the whole except the one single ceremony of infant-sprinkling.

From what has been said, it appears, that an history of the Baptists is an history of the five important articles, in which they always have constitutionally differed from all established churches of every form. These are, as hath been observed: a love of civil liberty in opposition to magistratical dominion: an affirmation of the sufficiency and simplicity of revelation in opposition to scholastical theology: a zeal for self government in opposition to clerical authority: a requisition of the reasonable service of a personal profession of Christiani-

(5) *Vanity of Childhood and Youth.*

(6) Hercules Collins. *Believers'-Baptism from Heaven. Answer to Mr. Williams*, London. 1691.

ty rising out of a man's own convictions, in opposition to the practice of force on babes, the whole of which they deem enthusiasm : and the indispensable necessity of virtue in every individual member of a Christian church in distinction from all speculative creeds, all rights and ceremonies, and all parochial divisions. A mere statement of these five points is sufficient to excite a presumption that in all countries, where Catholick Christianity was established by law, the Baptists must have had a great number of enemies, who had an interest, an inclination, and a power to render them odious. The theory is too well confirmed by historical facts.

This is the clue that ought to guide the history of Baptists, and this leads to the churches, which ever since the Reformation have been improperly denominat-ed Anabaptist. As any history that exhibits these just principles of religion and good government is worth investigating, so without these, Anabaptism is an insipid subject, not worth the pains of pursuing. Anabaptism in the Catholick church, which was ordered by the council of Nice, and practised a little while wherever the priest found Paulianists weak enough to submit to it, is a futile subject of no benefit to society. The furious Anabaptism of Cyprian, and his party, was a wicked exertion of unrighteous dominion, for which the miserable Carthaginians were always notorious. They are not these, but another kind of people, whom they oppressed and persecuted, that are the proper subjects of the history of Baptists, and between whom and the Carthaginian, Roman and Asiatick Catholicks, the practice of Anabaptism by the latter formed only a transient, momentary, accidental likeness. That it was not Anabaptism, which these ancient Catholicks persecuted, is clear, for they practised it themselves : and it is equally clear that it was not Anabaptism, but the maxims above mentioned, which all established churches since the Reformation have persecuted with so much cruelty. The Dutch Baptists have published creeds, which for the fundamental points, as the orthodox call them, even Luther and Calvin might have subscribed ; creeds which even the stately Mosheim condescended to commend : and yet it hath happened to them as it happened to the Socinian Baptists of Poland and Transylvania,

who published creeds directly contrary, creeds which the orthodox call blasphemy (7). To the gentle Moravian and Prussian Baptists, always, except in cases of conscience, submissive and supple, and when persecuted harmless as doves, it hath happened exactly as it happened to the swordsmen of Munster : for the fact was, differ how they would, they all practically rebuked the exorbitant pride and tyranny of ecclesiasticks, and denied their dominion both in person and in the civil magistrate their deputy : and this, this was the sin, and the only sin for which there was no absolution (8). Thus that mighty mass, the horrid heresy of Anabaptism, melts down into five points ; and these five points are only one virtue in different views, for to resist tyranny over conscience ought in all ages to be accounted a virtue.

The celebrated Mr. Voltaire, who thought as the Anabaptists “made no figure in the world, it was not worth while to inquire” into their modern history, and who took his ideas of their state at the Reformation from a superficial view of pictures drawn by their executioners, who “shewed them about in cages, as wild beasts are shown, and caused their flesh to be torn off with red hot pincers,” was so struck with what his good sense obliged him to see, that he passed unsuspected encomiums on such as he supposed the very worst of them. The Anabaptists, said he, “laid open that dangerous *truth* which is implanted in every breast, that mankind are all born equal, saying, that if popes had treated princes like their subjects, princes had treated the common people like beasts. It must be acknowledged, adds he, that the demands made by the Anabaptists, and delivered in writing, were extremely *just*. The manifesto published by these savages in the name of the men who till the earth might have been signed by *Lycurgus* (9).” Mr. Voltaire was a well-bred man, and a lover of liberty, and he could not pass by a little shrine erected to it, without bowing as he went along : but the savage wor-

(7) Koecheri *Bibliot. Theol. Symbol. Catechet. et Liturgica. Guelpherbyti.* 1751—Pars Altera. Jenæ. 1769. Cap. viii. De Anabaptistar. Libris. cclxxv.

(8) Wigand. *De Anabaptismo*——Catrou *Hist. des Anabaptistes.*

(9) Works. London. 1770. &c. General History. Vol. iv. Chap. cx. Of the Anabaptists——Additions to General History. Vol. xxii. Of the Anabaptists.

shippers made *no figure in the world* ! Is not this also laying open a secret dangerous to the glory of some panegyrist, who write more for wealth and fame, than disinterestedly for the good of all mankind ?

CHAP. XXXV.

THE STATE OF BAPTISM IN THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

THE innumerable Christians of the East, who were not in communion with either the Greek or Roman churches may be divided into two classes. The first consists of such as in ages past dissented from the Greek church, and formed similar hierarchies which yet subsist independent of one another as well as of the Greek and Roman communities. The second consists of those, who never were of any hierarchy, and who have always retained their original freedom. The number of such orientals is very great, for they live dispersed all over Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Nubia, Ethiopia, India, Tartary, and other Eastern countries. It is remarkable, that although they differ as Europeans do on speculative points of divinity, yet they all administer baptism by immersion, and there is no instance of the contrary.

NESTORIANS.

The Nestorians, so called from Nestor, patriarch of Constantinople, were separated from the Greek church in the fifth century, and they have continued an independent hierarchy to this day. In theory they hold the doctrine of the Trinity, but they consider Jesus as a mere man, who is called God only on account of the inhabitation of the second person in him (1). In worship they have preserved themselves from superstition more than any other eastern hierarchies have (2). Their

(1) Jos. Simon. *Assemani Bibliot. Oriental. Clem. Vaticana*. Tom. iii. p. ii. Romæ. 1728. Cap. vii. Nestorianor. vet. et. recent. errores. Sect. iv. De Christo Dom. Petavii. *De theolog. dogmat.* Tom. v. Antwerpæ. 1700. De incarnat. Lib. i. Cap. ix. S. 2. Quamobrem incarnationis mysterium nihil esse aliud existimabat [Nestorius] quam, *ενοικησις*, id est habitationem Dei in homine, velut in domicilio suo, vel in templo: quæ madmodum in Mose, ac prophetis reliquis habitasse dicitur.

(2) Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles. Gent. xvi. Sect. iii. p. i.*

church government is sacerdotal; and the patriarch, who usually resides at Mosul, a large city in Mesopotamia, near the Tigris, and not far from the ruins of the ancient Nineveh, hath under his jurisdiction more than four hundred and thirty metropolitan and episcopal churches, and he usually writes himself patriarch of the East, or patriarch of the Chaldeans, or Assyrians (3).

The oriental liturgies were evidently taken from those of the ancient Greeks, and baptism seems to continue among the Nestorians nearly in that state in which it was when they seceded from the church (4). The ceremony begins by making a Catechumen, which was originally done by instruction, but is now performed by imposition of the hand, and signing with the sign of the cross, for the church supposes parents have educated their children. Then the candidate goes into the baptistery, which they call Jordan, where the priest reads lessons and prayers, after which the auditors are dismissed, the gates shut, and the Catechumen repeats the Nicene creed. Next, the Catechumen-oil, and the baptismal water are blessed, after which a deacon anoints the Catechumen all over, and then leads him to the priest, who, standing on the west side of Jordan, turns the face of the Catechumen to the East, and laying his hand upon his head, bows him forward into the water, a first time, saying, such an one, *the servant of God is baptized in the name of the Father*, to which the company answer, *Amen*: then bowing him a second time he says, *and of the Son*, answer as before, *Amen*: then a third time, saying, *and of the Holy Ghost*, *Amen*. The baptized is then clothed, and the deacon leads him out of the baptistery, and delivers him to his friends in waiting. The priest soon after goes in procession from the baptistery into the church, anoints the forehead of the newly baptized with chrism, puts on him a white garment, administers to him the eucharist, and then dismisses the assembly with benedictions (5). Such rituals it is clear were composed for adult baptism.

(3) Asseman. ut. sup. Tom. iii. p. ii. Cap. xii. S. v.

(4) Euseb. Renaudot. Liturg. Orient. Collectio. Parisiis 1716. Tom. ii. p. 49.

(5) Assemani ut sup. Tom. iii. P. ii. Cap. vii S. 9. De Baptismo. Catechumeni recitant symbolum Nicænum - - - Sacerdos, stans ad partem occidentalem Jordanis, faciem pueri vertit ad orientem, eumque in aquam immergit imponens manum suam super caput ejus et dicens, baptizatur talis, &c.

The Nestorians do not practise exorcism, for they do not admit, nor did they ever admit the doctrine of original sin (6). They now omit the renunciation of Satan, or more properly of demonology, which was formerly a part of the baptismal service, but which, when they accommodated their rituals to children, who being born of Christian parents had never lived in a profession of Paganism, they very consistently laid aside (7). They are well aware of the difficulty of answering the question: If baptism be a remission of sin, why do you baptize children, who, you say, are perfectly innocent? and their answers are very obscure (8). They believe the salvation of infants dying unbaptized, and the office for the burial of such directs the priest to attend the corpse to the grave, to say three canticles by the way, or more according to the *age* of the deceased, and *if he were grown up* more, put earth upon him, and sign him with the sign of the cross.

The rubrick for baptism directs the officiating deacon to lead by the hand into Jordan (the water) such as can walk, as men and boys, and to carry in his arms such as cannot: but at what time the baptism of little children began to be tolerated in the Nestorian church is uncertain: the most likely opinion is, that it was introduced in the seventh century by the Patriarch Jesujabus iii. who was a monk of great address, and who raised himself to the patriarchate by a singular effort. After the decease of the patriarch Marema, the bishops, of whom Jesujabus was one, assembled to elect a successor. The electors, knowing Jesujabus was a learned man, referred the choice to him, and subscribed their names to a deed by which they bound themselves to obey whomsoever he should elect. Jesujabus then informed them, that in his opinion no man was so worthy of the dignity, or could execute the office with so much honour as himself, and of course he became patriarch (9). Being

(6) Ibid. p. 256. *Negant peccatum originale, &c.*

(7) P. 258. *Exorcismos in baptismo, et Satanæ abrenunciationem omitunt.*

(8) Timoth. ii. Patriarchæ De Baptismo, Cap. iii. S. 20. ut sup. p. 256. *Si baptismus in remissionem peccatorum est quare infantes puerosque baptizamus, qui peccato carent? - Georgii Arbelensis De Baptismo, Quæst. iii. p. 256.*

(9) Ebedjesu *Episc. Sobens. script. eccles. catalog.* Cap. lxxiv. *apud Asseman. Tom. iii. P. i.*

superior to his clergy in learning and address he introduced many innovations.

As it is well known that the oriental rituals, coming into the West through the hands of Roman Catholic missionaries, have been most unconscionably garbled and interpolated, so it may very fairly be doubted whether the baptism of natural infants be practised by any Nestorians except a few, whom the missionaries have latinized (1). The Nestorians uniformly deny original sin (2): they have an office for the burial of unbaptized children, with a provision for such as are full grown (3): they are constantly censured for delaying to baptize their children till they are three, four, six, eight, ten, or eighteen years of age (4): and they have continued the office of deaconess in their churches to this day.

CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS.

The Christians of St. Thomas, as they are called, and who reside in the East-Indies, on the coast of Malabar, and Coromandel, Cochin, and other parts, are a branch of the Nestorian church, and their religion resembles that of the Protestants of Europe, much more than that of the church of Rome (5). They baptize by immersion, and often defer the baptism of their children several years (6). Learned men have not been able to ascertain whether these Christians were denominated from Thomas, the apostle, who, it is said, preached the gospel in India, or from Thomas a Manichæan, or from an Armenian merchant, named Thomas, or from some Nesto-

(1) J. Aymon *Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs. Et de la fausseté de plusieurs confessions de foi des Chrétiens orientaux produites par les prelates de France.* A la Haye. 1708. pref.

(2) *Chronicon Edessenum apud* Asseman. Tom. i. p. 402. An. 739.

(3) Asseman. Tom. i. *Index codicum Mss. quos Clemens. xi. Pont. Max. Bibl. Vatic. addicit.* p. 581. *Codices Amidenses* iii. *Officium defunctorum juxta ritum Chaldæorum.*

(4) *Le Sr de moni* [P. Simon] *Hist. Critiq. de la creance et des coutumes des nations de Levant* Franckf. 1684. p. 5. Ils rebaptisent tous les latins, qui se rangent a leur communion. Ils different le baptesme des enfans jusq'a trois, quatre, cinq, six, dix et dixhuit ans.

(5) Asseman. *Bibliot.* Tom. iii. Par. ii. Cap. ix. De Christianis S. Thomæ in India: deque Nestorianis in Tartaria et vasto Sinarum imperio ---- Sect. iii. Christiani S. Thomæ in India ---- P. Simon. *Hist. Crit.* Chap. viii. Des. Indiens ou Chrétiens de St. Thomas.

(6) La Croze *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes.* ---- Dr. Geddes *Hist. of the Church of Malabar.* London. 1694. ---- J. Alb. Fabricii *Lux. Evang.* Cap. xxxvi. *De Orig. Christ* ---- in *India orientali.*

rian bishop of the same name. The two last seem the most probable opinions, and Mr. Voltaire prefers the first of the two (7).

ASIAN JACOBITES.

The Jacobites, another class of oriental Christians, seceded from the Greek church in the fifth century. They received their denomination in the sixth century from Jacob Baradæus, or Zanzalus, the most able and successful of their leaders. They chiefly inhabit Syria and Mesopotamia, and in the last century were said to consist of forty or fifty thousand families (8). Their theory of the nature of Christ differs from those of the Greeks and Nestorians, but some affirm the difference is only in words. Their polity is hierarchial, and the Asian Jacobites are subject to the patriarch of Antioch, who hath a colleague called the Maphrian, that is, the Catholick or primate of the East. The patriarch usually resides in some city of Syria, and the primate at a monastery at Mousul in Mesopotamia. Their baptism is that of nominal Catechumens by trine immersion; and the duration of the baptism of adults may be gathered from a canon of the patriarch Michael, which says, that there was no further need of deaconesses, because now the church baptizes children of tender age, and not women as formerly: however, if it should be necessary in future, a deaconess of such and such qualifications might be ordained. This patriarch died in the year eleven hundred and ninety-nine.

AFRICAN JACOBITES AND COPTS.

Another large class of oriental Christians is that of the African Monophysites or Jacobites, whose faith, worship, and government are precisely the same as those of the Asian Jacobites with whom they are in strict communion. The patriarch of Alexandria is the spiritual ruler of this church, and he hath a colleague called Abbuna, or father, who presides over one division, for they are divided into Copts who inhabit Egypt and Nubia, and Abyssinians, or Ethiopians. The Copts are very numerous.

(7) *Gen. Hist. Cap. iii. Of the Indies.*

(8) Simon. *ut sup.* Chap. ix. Ils ne sont tout au plus que 40 ou 50 mille families.

The Greek patriarch Cyril Lucar said in the last century, they were ten times more numerous than the Greeks. The Abyssinians, or inhabitants of Upper Ethiopia, are incomparably more numerous than the Copts, and as they live under a Christian king, their condition is less restrained than that of the Copts. All these Christians administer baptism to children by trine immersion, and immediately after they give them the Lord's supper; for their offices for baptism were evidently composed for adults, as all other eastern rituals were (9). That which is attributed to Severus, patriarch of Alexandria, was composed by Severus, patriarch of Antioch. The Alexandrian Jacobites never had a patriarch of the name of Severus.

ARMENIANS.

The Armenians form another large eastern hierarchy. The ancient and extensive kingdom of Armenia in Asia, after various revolutions fell under the dominion of the Turks and the Persians, between whom the country was divided. The inhabitants received Christianity in the Catholick form early. In the fourth century Tiridates, the king, established an hierarchy, and at the beginning of the sixth, under the patriarch Nierses, the Armenian church seceded from other establishments, became independent, and embraced the theory of the Jacobites, differing from them, however, in a few articles of discipline.

The learned Schroeder, after Moses Chorenensis, who flourished in the fifth century, describes Armenia, divides it into fifteen provinces, and subdivides them into one hundred and ninety-one dioceses. He observes the obscurity with which Greek and Latin writers through ignorance and false zeal have covered the history, the language, the writings, and the ceremonies of this ancient nation. The Armenians celebrate an annual festival, called Cachachouran, a word half Armenian and half Persian, which travellers say, signifies the baptism of the cross. It is generally supposed, this is a reli-

(9) *Ordo Baptismi Sec. usum Æthiop.* Sacerdos descendit in fontem—*et ter mergit*, dicens, ego baptizo te, &c.—*Ordo Baptismi Severi Patriarchæ Alexandr.* Et dimittit eum in baptisterium, respiciens ad orientem, dextramque suam capiti ejus qui baptizatur imponit, et sinistra sua *ter* attollit ex aquis—Tunc educit eum e medio aquarum.

gious ceremony, the same as the Theophany of the Greeks, and the Epiphany or twelfth day of the Roman Catholics. It is celebrated on the sixth of January, and the terms signify *manifestation*: but ecclesiasticks have not agreed whether it is in commemoration of the birth of Christ, by which God was manifested in the *flesh*; or of the visit of the wise men, in which Christ was manifested to the *Gentiles*; or of the baptism of Jesus, at which the voice from heaven manifested him as the Messiah to the *Jews*. Perhaps, after all, this festival is nothing but a civil institute, the same as the Roman lustrum, when the army was reviewed, or a tax paid, and when, of course, soldiers and citizens were manifested or made known. The Persians mark this Armenian festival in their almanacks, their Mohammedan kings attend it, and some of their criticks say, it is an imitation of the Abhirkan of the Guebres or Gauris, that is, the festival of lustral water, which was in use among the ancient Persians. In proof of the obscurity of the history of the Armenians, of which Schroeder complains, it may be observed that one of the best authors says, "The Armenians think it sufficient to celebrate the festival of the Theophany by only plunging a cross into water, and they do so without either praying, or singing an hymn, or reading the gospel, or any other writings." Another author, of good account, and who by invitation of some Armenians was present at the ceremony, says, the service took up four hours, which were chiefly employed in reading, singing, and praying, and which was concluded by plunging a silver cross into the water. It is a prejudice to call this baptism, for plunging alone is not baptism, but some baptismal words are essential to a baptism, and it doth not appear that any such words were ever used by the Armenians at the immersion of a cross. The Orientals and the Greeks thought Jesus was born on the sixth of January, and baptized on the same day of the same month when he became thirty years of age.

In the sixteenth century, Shah Abbas, king of Persia, having taken Armenia from the Turks, in order to prevent any future incursions, depopulated the country, and removed the inhabitants into Persia. At one time he transported about thirty thousand families into

the province of Ghilan. He removed the inhabitants of Zulfa, a large city of Armenia, to a suburb of Ispahan, which is now called Zulfa, and which is become an extensive city, having fifteen or sixteen churches and chapels, and abounding in population and wealth. Silk is the staple commodity of Persia, and Shah Abbas pitched on the Armenians as the only persons in his dominions capable of conducting the merchandise of it. Under his auspicious patronage they became the first merchants in the world. They are masters of the whole trade of the Levant ; they have factors in Leghorn, Venice, England, and Holland ; they travel into the dominions of the Great Mogul, Siam, Java, the Philippine Islands, and over all the East, except China ; and acquire immense fortunes, being equally in reputation for mercantile skill, and for application, industry, and prosperity in the commercial world.

The chief patriarch of the Armenian church is elected by bishops. His election is confirmed by the King of Persia, and he presides over forty-four archbishops. He usually resides in a monastery at Echmiazin, and, although his revenue is princely, yet he lives in a plain, frugal style, without pomp and parade. A second patriarch subject to the first, resides at Cis in Cilicia, and hath twelve archbishops under him, who govern the churches in Cilicia, Cappadocia, Cyprus, and Syria. A third patriarch lives in the island of Aghtamar, another at Constantinople, another at Jerusalem, another at Caminieć in Poland, but all are inferior to the patriarch at Echmiazin. The Armenian church baptizes children by trine immersion⁽¹⁾, but their rituals are compiled for adults, and one of their church officers is denominated an exorcist, the same as a catechist, who is directed at his ordination to prepare Catechumens for baptism by teaching them to renounce Satan, that is, demonology. The Roman missionaries accuse them, as they do all the Eastern churches, of frequently deferring the baptism of their children.

Severus, patriarch of Antioch, composed an hymn-book, which is in high estimation among the Armenians. The Emperor Justinian ordered all the books of

(1) Tavernier. B. iv. Chap. xi. *Of the Baptism of the Armenians.* The archbishop or the minister *plunges* the infant in the river or pond *three times*, saying the usual words, I baptize thee, and so on.

Severus to be committed to the flames, and the hands of future copyists to be cut off, but this, probably, as in most similar cases, contributed to the sale of them. In the sixth century, Paul, bishop of Callinicus, a city of Mesopotamia on the banks of the Euphrates, since called Leontopolis, translated the hymn-book out of Greek into Syriac, and added to the two hundred and ninety-five hymns, which had been composed by Severus, several others written by himself, and by John Bar-Aphton, Abbot of Cansara, and by another John, Abbot of the same monastery, and others who are anonymous. In the present century an Armenian edition of this work was printed, ornamented with cuts, and that which describes the baptism of Jesus, represents John on the bank of Jordan extending his right hand toward the head of Jesus, who is kneeling in the river, naked, except a loose covering negligently wrapped round his waist. There are several spectators, naked or loosely clothed, some sitting on the bank, and one as if just come out of the water. Chardin, who was present at Zulfa, at the Armenian festival called Cachachouran, that is, the baptism of the cross, observes, that the Mohammedans call Christian baptism Sebgah, dying, because they always see it performed by immersion or plunging : by which, adds he, it may be judged, that they know nothing of the western practice of baptizing by aspersion.

GEORGIANS, MINGRELLIANS, AND OTHERS.

Between the Caspian and the Euxine Seas, lie the kingdom of Georgia, the ancient Iberia, Mingrelia, formerly called Colchis, the kingdom of Immaretta, the principality of Guriel, Circassia, Comania, Sherwan, Daghestan, Mount Caucasus, and other regions, inhabited by Greeks, Indians, Tartars, Muscovites, Persians, Turks, and Armenians, some tributaries to the Persians, others to the Turks, and others independent states. The prevailing religion is the Christian, and the doctrine and discipline of the churches are nearly the same as those of the Greek church, on which, however, they have no dependence. The patriarch, the bishops, and the clergy of Georgia, have no civil authority, but the king is supreme in the church as well as in the state.

They do not baptize new born babes, and they call baptism *Nathlizema*, illumination. In general they are not very eager to baptize, and Father Avitabolis mentions one who was not baptized till after he had been ordained a bishop. They rebaptize such as are reconverted to the faith. They administer baptism sometimes to children of two, some say five years of age, by washing. The priest reads prayers, and the form of baptism, but does not stop at the baptismal words; and after he hath finished, another person undresses the candidate, and either, as Father Zampi says, plunges him three times into a warm bath, or as Father Avitabolis reports, washes him all over from head to foot. It is said the Mingrelian gentry are sometimes baptized in wine instead of water: but, probably, the author of this was misinformed. It was for ages believed in the West that some Eastern Christians baptized in oil: but it hath been since proved that no such practice ever existed.

Besides these hierarchies, there are many Christians in the East, who have no communion with them, and who never had any. Of these it is allowed on all hands, nothing satisfactory is known. Only two, therefore, will be mentioned here.

DISCIPLES OF ST. JOHN.

The disciples of John, or, as the Europeans call them, the Christians of St. John Baptist, reside in Turkey, Persia, Arabia, India, and other parts of the East. They were computed by Ignatius, a Jesu in the last century, at twenty, or twenty-five thousand families; but Chardin says, fourscore thousand, and their principal place of residence was Bassora, and places adjacent to the gulf of Persia. It would be tedious to relate, and endless to attempt to confute the various, improbable, and contradictory accounts given of these people. What appears most credible is: that some Jews who inhabited the banks of Jordan, and who were baptized by John, embraced the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and transmitted it along with river-baptism to their descendants: that their descendants to avoid the miseries of their country migrated from Palestine to Chaldea and Mesopotamia: that there they were joined by some Persian Manichæans, and by the Sabæans of Haran: that they acquired the highest

reputation in the East for their skill in philosophy and astronomy, chiefly by means of Thabet Ben Corrah Ben Harun, a Sabæan Haranite, and an eminent mathematician and physician: that they were in early ages joined by Arians and Samosetanians, and afterward by the Sarigani who inhabited Beth-Tachonai and other places within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Seleucia, and who seceded from the Nestorian church, in the eighth century, because they believed Jesus was a mere man like the ancient prophets.

These people inhabit only towns watered by rivers, and in the June of every year they hold a festival of baptism, and, some travellers say, they are all annually rebaptized in a river. It is far more credible, that they administer baptism only once a year, and that then they baptize only such as had not been baptized before: but the contradictions of writers are so great, that it is difficult to determine with precision any thing, except that they worship one Supreme Being, know nothing of a Trinity, consider Jesus only as an eminent prophet, and baptize by immersion in rivers: for in these articles all agree. A festival indeed in commemoration of the baptism of Christ, is celebrated in the Greek and Armenian churches by plunging a cross in a river, and by the Ethiopians by immersing themselves: and in the West, the priests formerly aspersed the people during the paschal procession, to remind them that they had been baptized by trine immersion.

MANICHÆANS.

One class of oriental Christians unconnected with all hierarchies consists of the innumerable churches in different countries, which proceeded from the celebrated Manes, a Persian physician of the third century, from whom they were called Manichæans, although they have been often concealed under other names. Torribio, a Spanish bishop, pretended they baptized in oil, but the learned Beausobre hath ably refuted the calumny. Doctor Mosheim hath investigated their doctrine of baptism, and with the utmost evidence of just criticism hath proved to a demonstration, that the Manichæans did administer baptism: that they did not attribute any

saving benefit to it, and therefore did not administer it to any, except with their own consent: that they did not baptize infants: that hearers were not baptized: and that only such members of their churches as desired it were baptized. This is precisely the state of baptism in those English Baptist churches which admit free communion. The Manichæans baptized by immersion, and, it is highly probable, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

They who consider Popery as meridian brightness censure all oriental Christians for ignorance, and say, they are enveloped in midnight darkness, not considering that the people of the East, comparing little western kingdoms with their own vast empires, regard the West as the English do the Otaheitans, for they have no taste for scholastical literature, and no knowledge of the intricate quibbles which have rent the western world. In arts and sciences they excel, and in mechanicks, mathematicks, and astronomy, they have been tutors of Europe. Even the Georgians and Mingrelians, whom the Catholicks represent as most deplorably ignorant, exhibit a just and noble sense of the sacred rights of conscience. There were at Teflis, the capital of Georgia, when Roman missionaries arrived, 14 churches, of which only six were occupied by Georgians, the other eight belonged to Armenians. The king gave the missionaries habitations, a church for publick worship, and every thing necessary to their accommodation, although he chose to continue in his own profession of religion. Had Georgian bishops gone to Rome to convert the inhabitants, as the missionaries went to Teflis to convert the Georgians, would the supreme pontiff have done likewise? The Georgians think themselves the purest Christians upon earth; they deny the Catholick miracles; they consider the missionaries as extremely erroneous; but they never call them hereticks, and like the Mohammedans they never persecute. The notion of the ignorance of eastern Christians seems a mere popular error. Even in the Catholick way the monastical schools of Edessa, Nisibis, and other places, have produced many writers eminent in various branches of literature.

CHINESE CHRISTIANS.

It would be hazardous to affirm any thing of the Christians who live dispersed in China, the Mogul's empire, and Eastern Tartary, except that they are reputed chiefly Nestorians. It is pleasant to reflect, that in all the kingdoms within this prodigious extent of territory, such Christians as practised virtue and did not disturb society always found protection, although they were not in general employed in civil offices. It was said by the celebrated Confucius, "True wisdom consists in improving the mind and purifying the heart, in loving mankind and engaging them to love virtue, in removing every obstacle to an union with the sovereign good, and in attaching one's-self only to him." Had the Roman missionaries incorporated this sublime maxim into their practice, they would not have been banished from any of these countries. Christians have resided here in perfect peace more than a thousand years. The Arabians and Persians name Jesus *Isa*, and Christians are called in Persia and India *Isai*, that is, *Jesu-ites*, or disciples of Jesus. The Chinese call them *Terzai*. As Marcionite and Manichæan Christians have always flourished in those countries, probably it is of them, and not of Nestorians, that some writers speak, when they say, The people of Cathay are Pagans: but they have the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the lives of the fathers: they have houses like churches in which they worship: they adore one God, venerate the Lord Jesus Christ, and believe eternal life: they love Christians, they are humane and benevolent, and do many alms: but they are not baptized. The Catholicks always affirmed of such Christians that they disused baptism; but it is an error, as may be seen in the foregoing account of the Manichæans.

It is remarkable, that the Roman Catholick missionaries conceal from their proselytes in the East the scripture history of the baptism of John. In the year sixteen hundred fifty-one Alexander de Rhodes, a Jesuit missionary, printed at Rome at the expense of the congregation *de propaganda fide* a catechism, as he entitled it, for the use of such as were about to be baptized in Tonquin. It consists of eight catechetical lectures in the

language of the country, with a Latin version. These the missionary is directed to deliver to the Catechumens on eight several days previous to the administration of baptism. They narrate the New Testament story, not in general in the words of the Evangelists, but in those of the missionary, and paraphrastically, with the addition of many ecclesiastical fables. The whole history of the baptism of John is omitted, the baptism of Jesus is not mentioned, and the words of the true gospel are used only as far as they do not clash with the views of the narrator. Thus the history of baptism tells. Jesus, after his resurrection and ascension, constituted Peter, and his successor, who is called Pope, his vicar upon earth to the end of the world. He instructed his apostles how to govern the church, and how to administer the sacraments; then he added, *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them*, and so on. This is a gospel according to Father de Rhodes.

CHAP. XXXVI.

OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM IN THE ESTABLISHED GREEK AND ROMAN CHURCHES.

OF BAPTISM IN THE ESTABLISHED GREEK CHURCH.

THE Greek church professes to take the Holy Scripture for the law of religious rites as it is expounded by some ancient councils, and regulated by rituals approved by human authority. It is their opinion that Jesus was baptized on the Epiphany, which is the sixth of January, new style (1). It hath been a very ancient custom with them on that day to perform the ceremony of blessing the waters by prayer, and plunging a cross into the water. This is done in the baptismal fonts at the churches as well as in the rivers. Their ancient calendars are illuminated, and by way of title to the prayers for the day, there is a picture of the history on which the service is founded: a very ancient practice, and very proper to convey just notions of what they who officiate on those days ought to be about. The learned antiquary Locatelli furnished Paciaudi, while he

(1) Goarii *Eucholog. sive Rituale Græcor.* Paris. 1647.—Tzanphurnari *Menologia. Venet.* 1639.

was printing his antiquities, with one of the most ancient of these calendars, and he published plates of some of the illuminations. In that for the sixth of January, John is represented as baptizing Jesus, he on the left hand bank, Jesus naked in the river, and three angels on the opposite bank : the whole very much resembling that Mosaick work at Venice, which is described under the article Venetian Baptistery. That for the seventh of January is a curious picture very much like the former ; John is on the left hand bank stooping down over the river, and reaching out his right hand as if going to baptize : in the river are several men up to the calf of the leg in water, all naked except a sort of short petticoat like the Highland fillebeg, not reaching quite so low as the knees. The very ancient characters at the top have given occasion to various conjectures. It is entitled *the association* or fellowship. Hence some Catholick antiquaries question whether the artist did not intend to represent John preaching to the patriarchs in purgatory. Others think he is associating the Jews by baptism. A Baptist would suppose it was a representation of John in the act of forming a Christian church, and uniting them in fellowship by baptism. The crosses with which the water is blessed are made of box, and carved in a curious manner by the monks of Mount Athos, or by their procurement. In that of the ingenious antiquary, Ignatius Orti, published by Paciaudi, the angels, as usual, are in waiting on the bank, John is on the left hand bank, Jesus is in the river naked, and John with his right hand is bowing the head of Jesus forward into the water to baptize him. In the first of these pictures there is the mode of baptism, dipping : in the second, the subjects, adults : and in the third, that manner of dipping, bowing forward, which was mentioned a little while ago.

In this ceremony of blessing the waters at Petersburg, the octagon form of the ancient baptisteries is yet preserved. A modern traveller, whose fidelity is equal to his elegance and taste, was present at this ceremony, and he describes it in this manner (2). "Upon the frozen surface of a small canal between the admiralty and

(2) W. Coxe's Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. London, 1784. Vol. ii. Chap. viii.

the palace, was erected an octagon pavilion of wood, painted green, and ornamented with boughs of fir : it was open at the sides, and crowned by a dome, supported by 8 pillars. On the top was the figure of St. John with the cross, and 4 paintings representing some of the miracles of our Saviour : in the inside a carved image of the Holy Spirit, under the emblem of a dove, was suspended, as is usual in the sanctuaries of the Greek churches. The floor of this edifice was carpeted, excepting a square vacancy in the middle, in which an opening was cut in the ice, and a ladder let down into the water. The pavilion was enclosed by palisadoes adorned with boughs of fir, and the intermediate space also covered with carpets. From one of the windows of the palace a scaffolding was erected, ornamented with red cloth which reached to the extremity of the canal ; at the time appointed, the Empress appeared at the window of the palace ; and the archbishop, who was to perform the benediction, passed at the head of a numerous procession along the scaffolding into the octagon, round which were drawn up a few soldiers of each regiment quartered at Petersburg : after having pronounced a few prayers, he descended the ladder, plunged a cross into the water, and then sprinkled the colours of each regiment. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the archbishop retired, and the people rushed in crowds into the octagon, drank with eagerness the water, sprinkled it upon their clothes, and carried some of it away for the purpose of purifying their houses. I was informed that some of the populace plunged into the water ; and that others dipped their children into it ; but as I was not myself witness to these circumstances, I cannot vouch for the truth."

Another historian adds (3) : "all infants who are baptized with the water of the sacred orifice, are supposed to derive from it the most peculiar advantages. Parents therefore are very eager, even at the hazard of their children's lives, to embrace the blessed occasion. I have heard that a priest, in immersing a child, for baptism is performed by the immersion of the whole body, let it slip, through inattention, into the water. The child was

(3) W. Richardson's *Anecdotes of the Russian Empire*. London. 1784. pag. 335.

drowned ; but the holy man suffered no consternation." "Give me another," said he, with the utmost composure, "for the Lord hath taken this to himself." "The Empress, however, having other uses for her subjects, and not desiring that the Lord should have any more in that way at least, gave orders, that all children to be baptized in the hole in the river, should henceforth be let down in a basket."

It is in this ceremony, if any where, that real modern Anabaptists are to be found (4). According to some travellers, the Ethiopians perform such a benediction on the same day in commemoration of the baptism of Christ. After the blessing of the water by the priests, the Emperor and his consort, covered only about the middle, go down into the water, the people follow naked, the priest standing in the water up to his shoulders puts his hand upon their heads, and three times bends them into the water, pronouncing the usual words. The account is confused, and the fact seems to be, that some rush in and dip themselves only in commemoration of the baptism of Jesus : but that others, who had been baptized before, and had deserted to the Mohammedans, but had lately returned to their first profession, and declared their repentance, were really rebaptized. It is not easy to determine what degree of credit is due to the reports of some travellers.

There is no fixed time in the Greek church for the administration of baptism to infants, but it is generally performed on the eighth or tenth day. The ceremony requires beside baptism a godfather, a profession of faith, a renunciation of Satan, and an exorcism ; in case of imminent danger of death, the laity may baptize, but the regular administrator is a priest. The baptismal water is consecrated, and in winter warmed, and perfumed with sweet herbs.

Some scrupulous Christians question the propriety, if not the validity, of a baptism administered in warm water : but there are many instances in history of baptizing in waters naturally hot, or in others artificially warmed, and although some are evidently cases of caprice, yet others are as clearly cases of necessity, as one example of each will shew.

(4) *Johannis Ulrici Wildtii Eccles. Æthiopica. Argentorati 1672.*

In the twelfth century a Swedish Catholick bishop, named Otho, travelled into the country of the Ulmerugians, now Pomerania, and taught a great number of the natives, whom he caused his assistants to baptize in bathing-tubs let into the ground, and surrounded with curtains : and, as the weather was excessive cold, he ordered large fires to be made, it should seem, for the purpose of dissolving ice to supply the tubs with water. In such a rigorous season it was a case of necessity.

In the history of the conversions of barbarous nations to Catholicism, there are innumerable instances of the caprice of the converts, and of the ingenuity of Catholick missionaries to accommodate baptism to their versatility. The island of Iceland, which is situated between sixty-four and sixty-seven degrees of north latitude, and which now belongs to the crown of Denmark, was in the tenth century in a condition similar to that in which the late Captain Cook describes the Sandwich and other islands of the South Sea. At the close of the tenth century, Christianity, such as it was, was introduced among the Icelanders, and some of their chiefs were at the same time pirates, law-givers, homicides, and missionaries in holy orders. Some they decoyed. So Thangbrand allured Hallr, and he and all his family were baptized in a part of a river since called Thvatta. One would not be baptized, unless he were allowed rank in Norway. Another complied only on condition Olafr, king of Norway, would stand godfather for him. When the chiefs in a publick assembly had agreed to submit to such laws as Thorgeir should prescribe, and when Thorgeir had proposed that they should all be baptized, they refused to comply except on condition they should be baptized in hot baths, for they unanimously declared "they would not be baptized *i kalt vatn*, in cold water." There is in this frozen island a burning mountain, named Hecla, a volcano more furious than Vesuvius, and exceeded in Europe only by Etna. There are also many hot baths, and in these, by the advice of Snorro, a chief and a priest, they were baptized. This was mere caprice.

To return. When the ceremony of baptism is performed at church, the priest takes the naked child, puts

oil into the palm of his hand, and anoints him all over ; then holding him upright with both his hands, his face being turned toward the east, he says, *Be thou, servant of God, Peter, baptized in the name of the Father*, and dips him once, the godfather saying, *Amen*, and *of the Son*, and dips him again, the godfather repeating a second time, *Amen*, and *of the Holy Ghost now and forever, Amen*, and dips him a third time, the godfather bowing again, and repeating *Amen*. After a few prayers, during which the child is wrapped in his mantle, the priest anoints him on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, hands, and feet, repeating at each application of the unguent, *the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit, Amen*. This unguent is a composition of storax, balsam, cassia, myrrh, and the decoction of twenty different drugs, seeds, and plants, mixed up with wine and oil, and consecrated by a bishop. Many writers render the baptismal words, the servant of God is baptized : but others observe, they ought to be rendered imperatively, *be* the servant of God baptized, or *let* the servant of God be baptized, or *be thou*, servant of God, baptized. Many disputes have been occasioned by this form, for the Roman casuists doubted of the validity of such baptisms on account of the apparent ungrammatical use of the word. In the pontificate of Urban viii. the question was by his order referred to a committee of learned divines. They held five congregations on the business, and concluded it by six resolutions, which may be seen in the learned Asseman (5).

Several new objects rise to view in this sort of baptism, and a moment's attention ought to be paid to consecration, renunciation of Satan, exorcism, and unction. It is not improbable, that all the fine things said by the fathers on these subjects are to be considered as apologies for customs in being rather than as reasons for the institution of them. It is very credible that unction both before and after baptism (for here are two, an anointing all over with olive oil before dipping, and an application of unguent to particular parts after it) it is credible that these came in originally from the customary

(5) Jos. Simon. Assemani. Bibliotheca Oriental. Tom. iii. Par. ii. Romæ. 1728. p. cexlviii.

manner of bathing and perfuming. To be baptized was to go into a bath: nothing could be more natural and inoffensive than the doing of that in baptism which was every where done in common bathing. The fathers, undesignedly, called oiling on this occasion a receiving *the oil of gladness*; this unction, they said, was a being *anointed with the oil of gladness above their fellows* (6). Their successors thought there was something charming in the sounds, and at length they found great mysteries in the ceremonies; and when this idea had been affixed to them, it became heresy to gainsay, for to omit the ceremony was interpreted a contempt of the mystery, and consequently a rejection of that God, whose sacred revelation was a repository of the names. Jesus was called the Christ, and Christ signified anointed: the spirit was likened to oil; grace was an unction: the Jewish kings were anointed: the woman in the gospel anointed Jesus before his burying: and it was only Judas who would have had ointment sold. Beside, the wrestlers used to anoint before they entered for the prize at the publick games. O it was wonderful to behold the conformities! Divines give three and twenty senses to the word, and eight mystical reasons for the practice (7); but there is a ninth which they have not given; but which bids fair to outweigh them all, that is, some of the first Christians bathed at baptism as all Jews and all their Pagan neighbours, who had never heard of Christian reasons, bathed at other times, for all made use of liniments (8).

Consecration evidently came from the primitive pious custom of praying at the water-side before the administration of baptism, as it would be easy to prove (9). A custom in itself so simple, so natural and proper, that nothing but a mind teeming with allegory could pervert it: but an eloquent allegorist can give "to airy nothings a local habitation and a name," and from the simple cir-

(6) Severi *Alexandrin. De bapt.* Lib. Tunc signat oleo olivæ sacerdos eum qui baptizatur --- atque in hunc modum dicit, signetur talis N. oleo lætitiæ --- Cyrilli *Alex. Esai.* Cap. Iv *serm.* Illud oleum propheta significat, quo in baptismo inungimur, quod est signum spiritus sancti, &c. !

(7) Joan. Botsacci *Moral. Gedanens Uinctia.* J. Vicecomitis *De bapt.* Lib. ii. Cap. xxxvi. Cur baptizandi oleo inungerentur.

(8) Ruth iii. 3 --- 2 Sam. xii. 20. --- xiv. 2. --- Esther ii. 12. --- Clem. *Alex. Pedagog.* ii. --- Georgii Fabricii *Roma.* Cap. xviii. *De Balneis.*

(9) Constitut. Apostol. Lib. vii. Cap. 43.

circumstance of a man's fetching his breath during baptism, infer the necessity of a bishop's breathing into water to give purity to that, and validity to the administration. A priest was a representative of Jesus, and Jesus had *breathed on his disciples, and said, receive ye the Holy Ghost*. What a subject of inexhaustible eloquence for an ancient Greek father!

Laying aside allegory the fact was this. It was a true saying of the apostle John, *We are of God, and the whole world lieth in the wicked one*; for Paganism had polluted every thing with idolatry. Cities were disgraced with the odious names of profligate demons. The woods were inhabited by Dryads, and the waters by Naiads. Neptune ruled the ocean, and every fountain had its deity and its worshippers. A safe voyage procured an altar and an offering to one demon; and a pleasant bathing a temple to another: monuments of these superstitions are yet remaining. When Christians went down to rivers to pray and to dip, when they bowed down and laved themselves in the waves, the whole to Pagan spectators would have the air of acknowledging and worshipping the god of the stream. How natural and proper was it for the primitive Christians on these occasions to renounce the demon of the water! This, it should seem, is the true origin of exorcising water. A learned Catholick hath rendered it very probable that idolatry originated in hieroglyphicks, which in Egypt were at first proper signals of events well understood by the people, but which in other countries, where the Phœnician merchants carried them, were mysterious, and were mistaken for representations of heroes, to whom poets affixed fabulous histories, and so at length they became gods (1). Perhaps there is not a single superstition among Christians, which may not be traced to some very just and proper action as its origin.

Renunciation of Satan, exorcism, which is an adjuration that drives away malignant spirits, and exsufflation, which is a blast of breath expelling evil, and communicating moral good, ought all to go together; for they all belong to one subject. An history of the baptismal devil would be curious, and would abundantly display, in this one instance at least, the amazing power

(1) Pluche's History of the Heavens.

of metaphysical terms to excite fancy, and to annihilate reason in religion. Such an historian, before he proceeds to cast the devil out of an infant, ought to inquire how he got in, and before that, who and what this same devil is, for unless he be described, and distinguished so as to be perfectly known from every other being, a fatal mistake may be made, and something better than himself may be cast out in his name and stead. The fact seems to be this. When a converted Jew embraced the Christian religion by being baptized, he professed to the person who baptized him, either by words or by actions, and generally by both, to lay aside the body of sin, that is, all the sins committed by the body; stealing, an action of the hand; swearing, an exercise of the tongue, and so on: but when a converted Pagan applied for baptism, something more was required of him, for his condition rendered it necessary for him to renounce demonology, or the whole ritual of the Pagan religion (2). Both renounced the *pomps* of the world, understanding by this word theatrical amusements, publick shows, races, games, and so on, all which primitive Christians thought inconsistent with the spirit and practice of the pure religion of Jesus (3). When Christians began to baptize their little infants, they found these forms in use at the administration of the ordinance, and they heard them explained according to the metaphysicks of the times, not of Pagan demons, as Mars and Apollo, nor of a scripture demon which was a disease, as lunacy or an epilepsy, or a defect, as dumbness or deafness: but of a real literal eastern intelligent evil being, whom the Persians called Akermam; the Egyptians, Typhon; the Greeks and Romans, Pluto; the philosophers, matter, darkness, night, death; hereticks, the God of the old economy; Cabalists, Samael; and Christians, the devil (4).

There were in the Pagan world two sorts of demons, to whom divine honours were paid, the souls of men deified or canonized after death, and separate spirits. A late learned prelate hath proved, beyond all reasonable contradiction, that the Apostle of the Gentiles

(2) Bedæ Lib. ii. Cap. xix.

(3) Tertulliani *de Spectaculis*. Cap. vii. *De Apparatibus*.

(4) Herbelot *Bibliot. Orient.*

guarded Christians against the doctrines of demons, that is, doctrines of which demons were the subjects, and that he foretold, the grand apostacy would consist in this doctrine, reduced to practice (5). It is natural to suppose, the primitive Christians would guard this pass, and require their converts at baptism wholly to renounce the worship of demons, because Jesus was not what the Athenians thought, one new demon to be added to the former list: but he taught the worship of one infinite God, a worship that could not coalesce with that of demons, but was subversive and destructive of it (6). Renouncing pomps, too, in the sense just now mentioned, was a renunciation of all such professions and trades as had any connection with idolatry or vice (7). They rejected statuaries, founders, and others who made idols: comedians, gladiators, musicians, and others who lived by performing at the publick amusements: people concerned in the stews, and even such as went into the army for pay to shed blood. This, it should seem, is the true origin of the baptismal renunciation; and if it be, it affords a probable argument in favour of adult baptism. That people of mature age should renounce the Pagan deities, and criminal trades, is very credible; but that the primitive Christians should imagine every infant born full of devil, in the English popular sense of the word, and that water could wash him away, is not quite so likely.

The exorcisms used in the western church, though not so gross, are evidently copied from the Greek rituals (8). That at baptism is a sort of conversation between the priest and Satan, whom the man of God is directed, looking at the infant, to address in this manner. "I commaunde the uncleane spirite, in the name of the

(5) *Bishop Newton on the Prophecies*. Vol. ii. Diss. xxiii. *St. Paul's Prophecy of the Apostacy of the Latter Times*, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3—The spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to erroneous spirits, and doctrines concerning demons—1 Cor. x. 21. Ye cannot drink of the cup of the Lord, and the cup of demons: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of demons—ST. JOHN—Rev. ix. 20—they should not worship demons.

(6) Acts xvii. 18.

(7) *Encyclopedie. Baptême*.

(8) *Eucholog. ubi sup.* pag. 336. Adjuro ergo te nequam, et immunde, et fetide, et abominande, et aliene spiritus—Discede, et vanam fortitudinem tuam, neque in pueros prævalescentem agnosce. Recordare ejus, qui ad petitionem tuam ut in porcorum gregem ingredereris permisit, &c.

Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghoste, that thou come out and depart from these infantes, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsaved to cal to his holye baptisme to be made membres of his body and of his holye congregation. Therefore thou cursed spiryte, remembre thy sentence, remembre thy iudgemente, remembre the daie to be at hande, wherin thou shalt burne in fyre everlastinge. prepared for the and thy aungels, and presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny toward these infantes, whome Christ hath bought with hys precious blood, and by this his holy baptisme calleth to be of his flocke." There is no instance of Satan's presuming to reply to this unanswerable adjuration, though it hath been reported he pinched the children at his exit, and set them a shrieking.

It hath been affirmed that the Greeks are Anabaptists : but this is not fair, for they do not repeat baptism. Indeed, there is one officer in the church, called the Baptist or Dipper, and there is another called the Catechist, whose business it is to prepare people for baptism by instruction : but this only regards either such as have never been baptized before in any way, or such as have not had what the Greeks call the essence of baptism (9). The reason is plain : dipping includes sprinkling, but sprinkling doth not include dipping. This explains many anecdotes of the Russian history, and particularly what General Gordon says on the baptism of the Empress Catharine, consort of Peter the Great (1). "She was called Catherina Vasilowna : but as she became of the Greek church, her name was changed to Alexowna, the Czarowich Alexis standing godfather to her at the font : the Greek church admitting none into her communion of the reformed religion, but who must be baptized anew." If this be Anabap-

(9) Morini *De sacr. ordinat.* p. 170. *Explic. officior. sanct. et magn. Ecclesie.* Catechista catechizat et docet populum, et omnes qui ex heterodoxis ad orthodoxos veniunt, et baptizandi sunt——Immersor infantem apprehendit, et illum immergit et baptizat.

TRANSLATION.

Morin on the established sacraments. p. 170. *Illustration of the holy offices of the Great Church.* The catechist catechises and teaches the people, and all who come over from the heterodox to orthodox are to be baptized. The Immerser or Dipper takes the child, and immerses and baptizes it. [Editor.

(1) Alex. Gordon's *Hist. of Peter the Great.* Aberdeen. 1775. Vol. ii. p. 258. Book xvi.

tism, the Greek is an Anabaptist church : but so are all churches, for all baptize when they think the essence hath been omitted. The church of Rome doth so when the proper words have been omitted (2).

OF BAPTISM IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

In the sixteenth century the Baptists and the Roman Catholicks were at the two extremes of the history of baptism ; the Lutherans and Calvinists like arbitrators came in and settled the difference, but not to the satisfaction of either party. The Baptists held that nothing but baptism was essential to baptism (3) : but the Catholicks, beside baptism, held the necessity of no less than two and twenty ceremonies, which they had affixed to it : twelve preparatory to baptism, five at the administration of it, and five after it. So Cardinal Bellarmine states the business (4). Others make many more, and as each ceremony included several rites, the whole ought to be multiplied certainly by five, or probably by ten, so that a valid baptism included more than one, and perhaps more than two hundred ceremonies. A single article will shew the truth of this obser-

(2) *Encyclopedie. Baptême.*

(3) Johan. Wigandi. *Episc. Pomezaniens. De Anabaptismo.* p. 129. Lipsiæ. 1582. *Argumenta Anabaptistarum.* Conatur Menno Dux et fax Anabaptistarum, in suo libro cui fundamenti titulum præfixit, etiam refutare argumenta orthodoxorum. Menno affirmat. Absque mandato *Dei* in ecclesia Christi nihil est faciendum—Quicquid non est expresso *Dei verbo* institutum, id non est observandum—Signa non sunt *aliter* usurpanda, quam ut *Christus* mandavit.—Christi ordinatio in usurpatione baptismi *retinenda* est—*Sicut* Christus instituit, ita et apostoli administrarunt baptismum, &c.

TRANSLATION.

John Wigandus, *Bishop of Pomezaniens, on Anabaptism.* p. 129. Printed at Lipsic. 1582. *Arguments of the Anabaptists.* Menno, the leader and torch of the Anabaptists, in his book entitled the Foundation of Christianity, even endeavours to refute the arguments of the orthodox. Menno affirms that nothing ought to be done in the Church of Christ without a divine command. Whatever is not established by an express command of God ought not to be observed.—The ordinances are to be used in no other way than as Christ has commanded.—The appointment of Christ in the use of baptism is to be *retained*—As it was instituted by Christ, so it was administered by the Apostles, &c.

[Truly these are not the words of an heretical madman, however bishop Wigandus may have esteemed them. *Editor.*]

(4) *De sacram. baptismi.* Cap. xxv.

vation ; for it is not worth while accurately to investigate a 'subject so frivolous. One ceremony was the consecration of the baptismal water. Prior to the consecration of any thing, a *prelate* must be created. The consecration of water required a procession, which procession was all made up of consecrated *persons*, as priests, deacons, acolothysts, and so on : consecrated *things*, as tapers, crosses, flags, and so forth : consecrated *habits*, as dalmaticks, copes, girdles, and so on : consecrated *utensils*, as the chrismatory, censers, and the rest. The consecration of baptismal water presupposed a consecrated *place*, as a baptistery, a chapel, a bath, a cistern, a font, or some fixture of the kind. The consecration of water required, *prayers*, *benedictions*, the pouring in of *chrism*, which had been before made by many ceremonies, the melting and extinguishing of a *wax taper*, the *crossing* of the water, and the rest ; so that the consecration of water for baptism, which is called only one of the twenty-two ceremonies, included a great number of ceremonies ; and there is no exaggeration in affirming, that the two and twenty ceremonies of baptism ought to be multiplied by five or ten, or perhaps by a greater number. When the reformers took up the subject they acted differently, but all according to their own principles. The Catholicks retained all, for precedent was their law (5). The Baptists rejected the whole, because they limited positive rites to positive scriptural institution, and of course the reason for rejecting one was on their principles a reason for rejecting all (6). On this ground they rejected infants. The Lutherans and Calvinists distinguished between what they called the *substance* of baptism, and the *accidents* of it, and they retained the first, which was the baptism of infants and adults in the name of the Trinity, and of the last they dismissed some, and reserved others, calling them indifferent. They acted on the old Papal principle of *church* authority : and assuming the second position,

(5) Bell. Omnes enim ritus, quibus nunc utimur, antiquissimi sunt, et vel ex apostolorum traditione manarunt, vel a sanctissimis patribus instituti sunt, quorum auctoritas, præsertim tot sæculis jam confirmata, plus apud nos valere debet quam novatorum clamores.

(6) Wigandi *Progressio Anabaptismi*. p. 448. anno 1529. Alia disputatio Basileæ — Sed Anabaptistæ manent atri Æthiopes, quantumvis aqua pura laventur.

that they themselves were *THE church*, a position which each party assumed, they compiled rituals and creeds; and, what was very reprehensible, in cities where they were as exiles, and lived only by the toleration of the magistrates, they printed standards of faith and practice, exacted subscription, and resolved to tolerate nobody, particularly naming Papists and Anabaptists. Let it not seem strange that they united parties so very different in one class as objects of horror. In this case they acted consistently. Their design was to frame a religion and enforce it by law. The Catholics opposed the project as an invasion of their rights: for although they allowed the principle, yet they vindicated their own exclusive right to the practice. The Baptists denied the principle, itself, and of consequence opposed the practice as a tyranny every where. This is a vague general notion of the affair.

To return. The twenty-two ceremonies, divided into three classes, are thus arranged by his Eminence. The twelve that precede baptism are these: i. Giving in a name and a request to be baptized, anciently called, becoming a Competent. ii. The scrutiny: asking and answering questions. iii. Renouncing Satan. iv. The profession of faith. v. Giving and receiving the sign of the cross in the forehead and the breast. vi. Exorcism. vii. Exsufflation, by which devils are expelled: and insufflation, by which the Spirit of God is communicated. viii. Giving and taking salt. ix. The Ephatha, or the opening by the application of spittle to the nostrils and the ears. x. The imposition of hands, and the benediction. xi. Unction. xii. Abstinence from wine, flesh, and conjugal intercourse. The five at baptism are: i. The imposition of a name. ii. The assistance of sponsors. iii. Consecration of the water. iv. Trine immersion. v. The time of the passover or pentecost: except in cases of necessity. The third class, which follow baptism, are, i. The kiss of peace. ii. The chrismal unction. iii. The lighted taper. iv. The white garment. v. The milk and honey. The Cardinal undertakes to defend all these in theory, but, it is clear, they were not all in practice: some had become

obsolete, as the milk and honey, and the scrutiny : others were not ceremonies, strictly speaking, but necessary preparations, as the giving in of a name, the request to be baptized, and a profession of faith, although the church had rendered each ceremonious by affixing rites to it. It may suffice just to remark the date of each. The first and most ancient affix to baptism was the anointing with olive oil immediately before it. This came in about the close of the second century, when Greeks of family and fortune first began to embrace Christianity. They considered baptism as a bathing, and it was natural to them to use the same precautions as in common bathing. Perfumed unguents followed of course, and the refreshment of milk and honey in Africa was equally natural. Some very learned Protestants warmly contend, that no perfumed unguents were used during the first three centuries (7). If they mean, they were not used in common, it should seem they cannot be contradicted : but it is very credible, that oil before and perfumes after came in together, and an hundred years is not too long a time to allow for this expensive luxury of the gentry to creep down to the populace, and to become a general custom. The other ceremonies came pouring in like a tide along with the monks in the fourth, fifth, and following centuries, and the reduction of them to children was a work of time.

That most learned and perfect judge of ecclesiastical antiquities, Monsieur Daille, treating on this subject in answer to Cardinal Bellarmine, takes occasion to upbraid the church of Rome with insincerity in boasting of her conformity to antiquity. He proves by unquestionable authorities, that trine immersion, first mentioned in the close of the second, or at the beginning of the third century, was the invariable practice of the Catholick church, both Greek and Roman, till about the 6th century, when the Spanish Catholicks adopted single immersion : that although Gregory i. allowed the validity of immersion in the case of the Spaniards, yet he says the Romans practised trine immersion, that a synod of Constantinople censured the Eunomians for practising

(7) Joan. Dallæi *De cult. religios. Latin. Lib.ii. Cap. xii. Totis tribus primis seculis unam fuisse unctionem ex oleo, nullam ex chrismate sive ex balsamo.*

single immersion in the name of Christ, the apostolical canons expressly forbade it, and Alcuin, two hundred years after Gregory, censured the Spaniards for it, as acting contrary to universal practice, although they baptized in the three names: that notwithstanding the opinion of Gregory, and the practice of the Spanish Catholicks, trine immersion continued to be universally practised till the fifteenth century (he might have added till the Reformation): that Basil, Jerom, Gregory Nysen, and others, pretended at first it was an apostolical tradition: that their successors did the same: that there is no tradition so general: that the Cardinal allows and even proves all this: that the church boasts of her attachment to ancient tradition, and yet neither dips three times, nor in some cases once, but hath fallen into an habit of pouring or sprinkling. Where then is her boasted reverence for antiquity (8)?

It is certainly a curious phenomenon, that a set of men should be able to persuade the world, during at least ten successive ages, that trine immersion was an apostolical tradition, and then prove for several succeeding ages, that aspersion was equally valid. It seems to imply that the Catholick laity had no principles at all on the subject, and that the priests being in power said and did just what they pleased. The truth is, the first over-acted their part, and brought their successors into difficulties, which they were obliged to surmount as well as they could. A brief detail may serve to explain this mystery.

In the fourth century an union between original sin, and the efficacy of baptism to cleanse it away, began to discover itself. In the fifth, Austin employed all his influence to establish it. In the sixth and seventh, the monks found the doctrine of original sin so highly fitted to their purpose, that they sang the praise of the fall, as an event of the greatest consequence to their happiness.

(8) *De Cult. ut sup.* Cap. xv. Tertul.—*Nec semel, sed ter tingimus*.—Hieron. In lavacro *ter* caput mergitare.—Basil. *Ter* immergi hominem, unde est traditum?—Ambros. *Ter* mergendus aqua est.—Leo. Sepulturam triduanam imitatur *trina* demersio.—Chrysost. Dominus in *tribus* mersionibus aquæ unum baptisma discipulis suis tradidit.—Peleg. Papa. In nomine trinitatis *trina* etiam mersione.—Greg 1. Nos *tertio* mergimus, &c. Hoc exemplum, si vel unum esset, nos satis docerit istos generi humano nimium secure illudere, cum se summos antiquitatis veneratoris et cultores, suaque omnia antiqua, nihil apud se novum nihil recens inveniri gloriantur.

One abbot stands recorded for singularity, because he ordered some lines to be erased, and the practice of singing them in his monastery to be discontinued. The voice of the multitude, however, as usual, prevailed, and for many ages every year on holy Saturday, or thereabouts, at the benediction of the paschal taper, all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, except those of the Carthusians, resounded with the hymn *Exultet*, of which this line is a part :

O happy sin, that merited such and so great a Redeemer !

Every book was full of the subject ; and those of the common people, just before the Reformation, when printing began to put books into their hands, abound with frightful emblems of it. In the *prymer of Salisbury*, the compiler informs the reader there are contained many prayers and *goodly pycitures*. One of these represents the condition of man by nature, and under it are these words :

A childe that is into this worlde comynge
Is hardely beset with many a fo
Whiche ever is redy to his undoynge
The worlde, the fleshe, devill, and dethe also.

In the bed lies the mother with woful looks at the company and hands clasped. At her side lies the naked new born babe, out of whose mouth on a label proceeds this reproach : *Quare de vulva eduxisti me*, wherefore hast thou brought me forth out of the womb ? Job x. 18. In the room stands the world, a man well dressed in a lay habit : on the floor sits the flesh, a plump woman : next the bed stands the devil, as ugly as horns, and claws, and wide mouth, and long ears, and goat's beard, can make him (9). By every method the clergy tried to fill the minds of the people with horrible ideas of God, their neighbours, and themselves. But they often spoke so ludicrously of their most sacred institutes, that it is very doubtful whether they ever were (individuals excepted) under such sad and serious impressions as they pretended. It is not decent to give many and *full* proofs, but an example of one of the least offensive may be allowed. At the beginning of church books, calenders were naturally placed. It was

thought convenient to give in rhyme at the bottom of each month a memorandum of the principal festivals of the month, and of weather and ominous days. In the month of August there were six chief days: the first, the imprisonment and chaining of Saint Peter: the second, the transfiguration of Jesus on the mount: the third, the roasting of Saint Lawrence on a gridiron, for not discovering the money of the church: the fourth, the assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary: the fifth is the slaying of Saint Bartholomew: and the sixth, the beheading of Saint John Baptist. Four of these are sad events, but they are all described thus:

Pe. ter. cal. led. for. Je. su.
 And. bade. Lau. rence. for. to. say. true.
 Ma. ry. se. yng. all. their. debate.
 Made. Bar. thyll. mew. to. breke. Johns. pate.

That is, Peter called for Jesu,
 And bade Laurence for to say true:
 Mary seeing all their debate
 Made Bartholomew break John's pate.

However the case of piety might be, it is beyond all doubt, the whole Catholick church was in a state of such deplorable slavery, that it would be an insult on reason to hold up the religious practices of the times as proof of the real sentiments of the people at large. Submission to authority was an abridgment of all religion, it was the essence of education, of civil polity, of rites and ceremonies, and even of piety itself.

This absolute power was exercised over all institutes: and it is expressed at large in canon law, and in brief in rubricks. Thus the rubricks of baptism ordered that the priest should teach their parishioners to get by heart the form of baptizing, and use it in case of necessity: "I cristene the Uter in the name of the Father and of the Sone and of the Holy Ghost, Amen (1):" that they should charge only one of them to utter the words once clearly and distinctly word for word, without repeating any, and without adding, diminishing, transposing, corrupting, or altering any thing: that they should order them to dip three times, or once, or sprinkle in cases of extreme danger: that none should be baptized in private except the children of

(1) *Manuale ut sup. De Bapt. Fo. xxxv.*

kings and princes, but all should be carried to church, unless necessity obliged them to be baptized at home : that in case fear of sudden death did oblige them to baptize at home, if the child lived, it should be considered only as half-baptized ; water indeed must not be re-applied, lest it should seem to countenance Anabaptism, but the child must be carried to church, and the omitted ceremonies added : that in the case of foundlings, whether they were salted or not, they should be baptized conditionally : with many more such provisions, for which no authority from scripture was pretended, and all which demonstrate that the absolute power of binding and loosing, claimed in other cases, was exercised in this, and of course that baptism was at the Reformation in a state of extreme corruption in the Catholick Church. In case of danger of death the twenty-two ceremonies necessary to baptism were all dispensed with : and yet the baptism was valid, and the infant saved. What could two and twenty ceremonies do more ?

In exercises of piety, the stench of slavery ascended along with the sweet incense of devotion, and prayer to God borrowed the language of the court-rolls of a feudal baron. The following prayer to the most holy Trinity runs in this style. “O blyssed trinite, the Fader the Sonne and the Holye Goost, thre persons and one God, I blyeve with my herte and confesse with my mouth al thad holy chyrche byleved and *holded* of the, as much as a good Catholyek and Cristen man ought to do and byleve of the, and I proteste here before thy majeste that I weil *live and dye* in this faith and continu all my lyfe. And in knowledge of the my God, fader and maker of all world, I thy poore creature subjecte and servante do make to the *faith and homage of my body*, and of my soule, whiche I *hold of the nobly as my soverayne Lorde* and God, with all the *goddes* [goods] natural, spiritual, and temporal, that I have, and that ever I had, and also that I intend to have of the in this worlde here, and that with all my herte, I remercy and thanke the, and in *signe* of the cognoissance and knowledge I *pray* [pay] unto the this lytel *tribute* on mornynge and on evenyng, that is that I adoure and worshippe the with herte and mouthe in faith in hoppe and in charite

with this lytell orison and prayer, wiche allonely apperteineth to thy blyssed majeste, *signory* and divinite." In the next prayer are these words : " protestynge that I will *lyve and dye* in the faith of holye chyrche oure moder and thyne espouse, in withnesse of this confession and protestation and in despite of the fende of hell, I *offre* to the Credo, in whiche all verite, all trithe, is conteyned, and to the I commende my soule, my faith, my lyfe, and my dethe. Amen. Credo in Deum." These were not rhetorical flights, but sober declarations of real facts, as the clergy understood them, and as the people were made to profess to hold them. The world was a great fief conquered by Jesus Christ from the devil, and held of the conqueror as sovereign lord under the Pope as mesne lord between the lord paramount and his tenants. It was subject to feudal return, rent, or service, to the oath of fealty, and suit to the lord's court, and to reliefs and aids payable by the tenant to the lord. On this principle the whole system of ecclesiastical government was conducted, and out of it rose investitures, annates, wardships, marriages, obits, (a sort of ecclesiastical heriots) fines, escheats, the fifteen oos or orisons of Saint Bridget, and so on. In this system all Christians were vassals, baptism was the ceremony of corporal investiture, and the unbaptized part of the world were slaves in a state of rebellion, fighting against their sovereign lord, in defence of a counterclaim set up by the devil. To baptize was therefore called to *christen*.

The pictures in some manuals of visiting the sick and administering the last sacrament of extreme unction, represent an old vassal in bed expiring ; devils on the floor and at the bed's feet waiting to seize their prey in vengeance for his having sworn allegiance to another lord ; priests at the bedside with lighted tapers, crosses, and other ensigns of protection, and an angel flying up with a prayer of the poor man to the lord paramount, who shews himself at an opening in the ceiling, holding a globe to signify the world, surmounted with a cross to express his conquest, and spreading out two fingers and a thumb in token of safety to his man through episcopal

benediction (2). Religion before the reformation was a system of tyranny written in hieroglyphicks.

The publick baptism of infants by dipping or pouring in the Roman Catholick church is conducted in the following manner (3). The company with the child wait without the church door. The priest, having previously prepared, by due consecration, water, and all the other materials to be used in the ceremony, goes to the door and inquires who is there? The godfather answers in the name of the child, Stephen each an one. The priest asks what he wants? the godfather tells him, to be admitted into the church. The priest demands what end he proposes in coming into the church? He is answered, to obtain salvation. Then the priest exorcises the infant, and the devil is solemnly adjured to depart, and never to return, as before in the Greek Church. Next he puts salt into the mouth of the infant; signs him with the sign of the cross on several parts of his body; and with spittle on his finger touches his nostrils and his ears, pronouncing at each part sentences, prayers, and benedictions. All this is performed in the porch. Then the priest gives the godfather hold of the bottom of his surplice, and turning about introduces him in that manner into the church, saying as he walks, Enter into the church of God, that you may partake of eternal life with Christ. At the font, the godfather renounces Satan, professes his belief of the articles of the creed; and on being asked whether he desires to be baptized, answers he does desire it. Then the priest takes the child if he dips him, and immerses him once in the font pronouncing the baptismal words. If he pours water on his head, the godfather holds the babe bare-headed over the font, and the priest pours on the water. Rituals differ: but an old ritual of Venice seems to speak the general sense, when it says, "Let the priest baptize him in the name of the holy trinity by trine immersion; or, according to the custom of the country or place, let him pour water on the head." Then the priest anoints him with chrism, and in some places puts on him a white garment, and gives a lighted wax taper into the hand of the godfather, who all along is considered as the representative of the

(2) Ibid. *Vigilie mortuorum*.

(3) *Ordo Romanus*.

child. This with a few varieties is the general manner of Catholick baptism.

Here are two articles in this kind of baptism, which deserve attention, salt and spittle; both were taken from the Greeks, but miserably adulterated.

First in regard to *salt*. It is allowed, that commentators and ritualists say a great many fine things about it, as that Moses salted sacrifices, that salt was an emblem both of friendship and anger, that it was sown on ruins to express barrenness, that Jesus likened his disciples to salt, that unsavoury Christians were good for nothing, that Paul said, have salt in yourselves, that the prophet cleansed filthy water with salt, and so on: but all these imply what is not true, that is, that salt was first introduced in baptism for some of these reasons. There are allusions to salt in the discourses of the fathers, and salt in baptism is allegorized: but such allusions imply the being of the custom, and were only intended to improve it and give it a moral turn. The fathers discoursed of a custom in being; their discourses did not institute it. Adult baptism by dipping great multitudes in a baptistery at Easter unravels this mystery; and thus applied, the priest may be allowed to continue the old form of words made use of at the application of it, *Receive the salt of wisdom* (3): for prudence suggested the use of it to some people in some cases.

It hath been said before, bathing was a science in Italy. Physicians regulated the whole, and as they thought the bath in some seasons dangerous to some constitutions, and especially to people who bathed immediately after enjoying the luxuries of the table, they prescribed mineral salts for evacuations and other reasons of health. The most abstemious made use of such preparations before they went into the publick baths; and certainly to some constitutions, in some habits of body, at some seasons of the year, and before publick bathing too, nothing could be more proper. Moreover, it is certain, salt was provided by the church, and delivered to Catechumens some days before baptism (4). Indeed it was consecrated, that is, blessed: but a

(3) S. Gregorius *de ord. baptis.* Accipe sal sapientiæ in vitam æternam

—*Ordo Rom.* Accipe salem sapientiæ propitiatus in vitam æternam.

(4) Concil. Carthag. iii. An. 397. Cap. v.

primitive benediction was nothing but saying grace. The Emperor Charlemagne was very fond of cheese. He called one day to see a bishop unawares, and as it was a fast day, the bishop had nothing for him but bread and cheese : but to make his majesty amends, he taught him what he did not know before, the deliciousness of mouldy cheese. The prelate said grace. The Emperor was delighted with his treat, and ordered several hampers of mouldy cheese to be sent him annually, for which he paid like a prince. Soon after a benediction of cheese appeared among the blessings of the pious clergy (5). When princes and their households first embraced Christianity by being dipped thrice in a river, or a publick baptistery, would it have been very wonderful if the physician had rendered himself necessary by his prescriptions ? Is there any thing very incredible in supposing that the better sort of people imitated their betters, and the poor them ? And is it very unlikely that, when infant baptism came in, a spiritual sense should be given to the use of salt, and so mineral be exchanged for common salt ? There are passages in some writers, which seem to express a real literal cleansing of the body by medicine preparatory to baptism : but bold allegory was so much the fashion of the times, that it is hard to determine the precise meaning of such writers.

Spittle in baptism is easily traced to its origin. Every body knows spitting on any person hath always been accounted a mark of contempt. When Catechumens were examined before baptism, whether they renounced all the Pagan demons, they answered with vivacity by lifting up the hand, declaring aloud their abhorrence of Paganism ; and by spitting, expressed their detestation of Jupiter and Mars, and all the rest of the rabble (6). The modern Greek rituals require all adult Catechumens, when they renounce Satan, to spit on him : and it is credible it was so in the beginning (7). Tertullian refers to this custom (8). In time, when

(5) Sangallensis *De Gest Caroli M.* Lib. i. xvii.

(6) *Euchologion ubi sup.*

(7) *Ibid. orat. ad faciendum catechumenum.* p. 338. Sacerdos—ait Abrenuncias Satauræ ? Respondet Abrenuncio. Sacerdos. Abrenunciasti ? Resp. Abrenunciavi. Sacerd. Abrenunciasti ? Resp. Abrenunciavi. Sacerd. Insuffla igitur, et expue in illum, &c.

(8) Tertulliani *ad uxorem* Lib. ii. Cap. v. Cum aliquid immundum flatu expuis—*ad Scapul.* demones non modo respuimus, sed etiam revincimus.

parents brought children who could indeed say the Lord's prayer and the creed, but who could not well utter the renunciation, (for Catechumens used to draw in a good deal of breath, and utter it so as to speak and spit with vehemence) the parents performed this part for the children, and since infants were received to baptism, the priest performs this by touching the child's nostrils and ears : an obliquity that was occasioned by the application of texts, concerning the spittle, which Jesus applied to the eyes of the blind, and which made this simple custom a mystery by way of accounting for it(9).

To conclude. Immersion in the church of Rome stood by law established till the latter end of the eighth century. Then pouring was tolerated in cases of necessity : but many laws were made in future ages against pouring, except in such cases ; and the custom of dipping, having been so long established by law, had become so inveterate, that the practice did not fall wholly into disuse till the sixteenth century at least. Immersion hath never been abrogated by law in the Roman church, or ever deemed invalid ; and all that the law hath done amounts to no more than without repealing one, allowing the validity of both. The express law, as it now stands in modern practice, and by which rituals are examined, allowed, and published, is in these words : "Although baptism may be administered, either by dipping, pouring, or sprinkling : yet pouring is to be observed as the custom of the church of Rome, and it is done by pouring three times. It is not lawful to depart from this custom, except in cases of necessity." In foreign rituals of the sixteenth century, the priest is directed to take the child into his own hands, and, when he shall have baptized him, and raised him out of the font, to deliver him to the sponsors (1). In later rituals the sponsors are directed in the rubricks to hold the child, and pictured as standing backward with their feet, leaning the upper part of their bodies forward, and holding a naked child over the font, while the priest is

(9) Joannis Botsacci *Moral. Gedanens. Baptismus*. Abrenunciatio olim fiebat in baptismo : ut cum flatu expuerent baptizandi adulti. Pro infantibus ministri ecclesiæ et susceptores hoc faciebant.

(1) *Ordo Neapol.* Sacerdos accipiat puerum diligenter, et baptizet ; et cum resurrexerit de fonte compadres et commatres tangant puerum, &c.

pouring water over him (2). In rituals of the last century, the children are represented clothed except the head, and the sponsor holding only that over the font. In that, which was printed for the use of the English seminary at Douay in Flanders, in the year sixteen hundred and four, the priest is directed to take the infant into his hands, and baptize him by trine immersion, invoking the holy Trinity, in the following manner: "He shall dip him once with his face toward the West, and say, I baptize thee in the name of the Father; then he shall dip him again with his face toward the South, and shall say, and of the Son; and then he shall dip him a third time with his face toward the water, and shall say, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

In this country and in Ireland the practice of dipping hath always stood, and yet stands established by law. In the twelfth century a council in Ireland ordained that children should be baptized in pure water by trine immersion. But, as a proof that a history of facts cannot be collected from mere laws, it may be observed that the Irish baptized by plunging their children in milk, and were superstitious enough to imagine that every part so plunged became invulnerable (3). In the same century a council at York ordered that baptism should always be performed by trine immersion, and pouring was allowed only in case of necessity as at Rome. In succeeding centuries the same order was frequently repeated in different synods (4). In times nearer the Reformation, as the inferior clergy were extremely ignorant, and the people if possible more so than they, and all of them utterly incapable to determine what was law, learned canonists drew up small manuals, which contained extracts from the provincial constitutions of Archbishop Peckham, and others, and put them into the hands of both priests and people for a sort of

(2) *Ordo Venet.* 1612. *nunc ad meliorem formam redactus.* Tunc patris, sive matris admoveat manus baptizando, et sacerdos baptizans semel dicat. Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris X et Filii X et Spiritus Sancti X Amen. Ad singulas cruces fundens aquam baptismi super caput baptizandi.—Joan. Steph. Duranti. *De ritibus eccles. Cathol. Parisiis.* 1631. Lib. i. Cap. xix. Ritum Baptizandi sub trina immersione vel aspersione hactenus Romana servavit Ecclesia.

(3) Godolphin's *Repertorium.*

(4) Spelman. *Concilia.* —Cassil. 1172.—Ebor. 1195.—Londin. 1200.—Salisbur. 1217.—Dunelm. 1220.—Exon. 1287.—Wiaton. 1306.—Wigorn. 1240. Trina semper fiat immersio baptizandi.

pocket companions to direct them in all emergencies how to discharge their offices with safety.

At the Reformation in some of the first rituals published by authority, there is a short preface, which says, "Baptisme in the old time was not commonly ministred but at two tymes in the yeare, at Easter and at Whitsuntyde, at which times it was openly ministred in y^e presence of all the congregation (5). Which custome (now being growne out of use) although it cannot for many considerations be wel restored again, yet it is thought good to folow y^e same as nere as conveniently may be." Then it proceeds to direct that baptism be administered on a Sunday in a church, "when the most nombre of people may come together." "Then, says the rubrick, the prieste shall take the chyld in his handes and aske the name: and namyng the chyld, shall dyppe it in y^e water thryse. Fyrst dyppyng the ryght syde: seconde the lefte syde: the thyrde tyme dyppyng the face toward the fonte——And if the chyld be weake it shall suffice to pour water upon it." In later rituals the rubrick says, the priest shall take the child in his hands——and shall dip it in the water——and if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water (6). The modern rituals say the same, and require the font to be "filled with pure water." On the whole, law and practice were both alike for ages: but when practitioners found law inconvenient and troublesome in practice, experiment got the better of authority, and in time legislature thought it the wisest way to let both alone, as many evils would have attended an alteration of law, and many more, a direct prohibition of a very convenient custom.



CHAP. XXXVII.

REFORMED BAPTISM.

IN the deplorable state mentioned in the preceding chapter, the reformers found baptism in the Catholick church, when in that church they awoke to inquiry. In

(5) *The boke of the common praier, &c. Wigornie in officina Joannis Os- wani cum priv. Mai. 1549.*

(6) *The boke of common prayer, &c. Londini. inofficina Edovardi Whyt- church. cum priv. ad imprimendum solum. 1552.*

the first instance they determined their own right to inquire ; in the next, they adjusted their creed ; and in the last place, they regulated their polity ; but in all they retained the original error. Inquiry is the right of man, and to reason is to inquire : but *faith*, not reason, was made the ground-work of the Reformation ; and in the new church, as in the old, inquiry was monopolized by a sacred few ; and the rest, as incompetent to an exercise so sublime, were ordered to obey.

In regard to baptism, the founders of established reformed churches retained five principal articles. First, they imagined a fictitious being, which they called *the church*, that was themselves, not the people, but their kings, the clergy in synod, and as many fathers as they supposed had been of their sentiments, of whom Saint Augustine was always one. Secondly, they retained the chief or rather the only reason for infant baptism, *original sin* : some with all its frightful consequences ; and others with the same consequences qualified after a certain manner. Thirdly, they united certain *invisible benefits* with baptism : some supposed it a physical cleansing from sin ; others, a conveyance of moral qualities ; and others, a seal or sign of a contract between Almighty God and the faithful, and the children of the faithful ; or, as they by a Jewish figure expressed it, the *seed* of the godly, implying that godliness, and expressly declaring that sin, were both propagated by natural generation. Fourthly, they confined the administration of it to a *clergy*. Lastly, they gave the people *no liberty of refusal* : the alternative was submission or persecution. The whole reformation of baptism, then, lay in discarding a few of the least popular of the two and twenty exterior ceremonies. How much such a reformation contributed to the real improvement of society, or the advancement of virtue, is not a question of this place.

However various the objections of different reformers against the several parts of papal baptism were, none, except the Socinian and other Baptists, touched either the theological bottom of original sin, or the civil ground, absolute power of imposing religion on babes, which are the true and real bases of infant baptism.

Some English reformers objected against the ceremonies. Thus in a book printed abroad in the reign

of Mary : “ For besydes that they [the sacraments] are ministred in an unknown tunge, howe be they defyled with mens tradicions, and beggarly ceremonies? unto the sacrament of baptisme, they putte Heathenish rites and wicked coniuracions. For Baals prieste, before the childe can be baptized, bewytcheth the water, shutteth the church doore, coniureth the deuell out of the poore yoūge infaute, bespueth the chylde with his vile spitle and stincking slaueringe, putteth salte in the chyldes mouth, smereth it with greasye and unsauer oyle, &c. And withoute these apysh toyes, they make the people beleue, that the baptisme is nothig worth. Ah good Lord, is this any other thing than a playne laughing to scorne of thy dere sōnes instituceō? Do these Papistes, by adding beggarly ceremonies, anye other thinge than set thy Sonne Christe to schole, and auance theyr owne fleshly imaginaciō aboute the wysedome of the Lorde Christe (1)? ”

The Reformers objected, also, against the administration of baptism in Latin, an unknown tongue. Thus Tyndale : “ Baptym hathe also his worde and promyse whyche the preest ought to teache the people and chrysten thē in the Englyshe tonge, and not to play the popyn-gaye with *Credo* saye ye, *Voio* saye ye, and *baptismum* saye ye, for there ought to be no mummynge in such a mater (2).

Bishop Ridley did not think it much signified : “ Althoughe I wolde wisse baptisme to be geuē in the vulgar tounge for the peoples sake which are presente, that they may the better understande their owne profession, and also be more hable to teache their childrē the same, yet notwithstanding ther is not lyke necessitee of the vulgare tounge in baptisme, and in the Lorde’s supper. Baptisme is geuē to children, who by reason of their æge are not able to understande what is spoken unto them what tounge soever it be (3). ”

(1) An humble supplication unto God, for the restoringe of hys holye worde, unto the church of Englande mooste mete to be sayde in these our dayes, euen with tears of euery true and faythful English harte. Im-
 prynted at Strasburgh 1554

(2) The Obedyence of a Chrysten Man, &c. By William Tyndale, otherwise called Hychins, Printed at Malborowe, in the lande of Hesse, by Hans Luft The viii. day of Maye. Anno M D XXVIII. Fo. lxxv. Baptym.

(3) Certē godly, learned, and comfortable conferences, betweene the two Reuerende fathers and holye martyrs of Christe, D. Nicolas Ridley late Bysshope of London, and M. Hughe Latymer sometyme Bysshope of Worcester, during the tyme of theyr empyrsonmentes. M. D. LVI.

They did not object against the mode in use, but explained and confirmed it. Thus Tyndale: "The *plungynge* into the water signifieth that we dye and are *buried* with Chryst as concernynge the old lyfe of synne which is Adam. And the *pullynge* out agayn sygnifyeth that we ryse agayne with Chryste in a new lyfe (4)."

Thus the matter is described in King Edward's Catechism. "*Master.* Tell me (my sonne) how these two sacramentes be ministred: baptisme: and that which Paul calleth the supper of the Lord? *Scholar.* Hym that beleveth in Christ: professeth the articles of the Christian fayth: and myndeth to be baptised (I speake now of thē that be growē to ripe yeres of discretion: sith for the yōg babes, theyr parentes or the churches professiō sufficeth) the minister *dypbeth* in, or washeth with pure and cleane water onelye, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost: and thē commendeth him by praier to God, into whose church he is now openly as it wear enrowled, that it may please God to graunt him hys grace, whereby he may answer in belefe and life agreablye to his profession (5)."

The Reformers wished for a further Reformation. Thus Dr. Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, in his will. "Fourthly, concerning rites and ceremonies, by *political* constitutions authorized amongst us, as I am and have been persuaded, that such as are now set down by publick authority in that church of Englande, are no way either ungodly or unlawfull, but may with good conscience, for order and obedience sake, be used of a good Christian; for the private baptism to be ministred by women, I take neither to be prescribed nor permitted, so have I ever been, and presently am persuaded, that some of them be *not* so expedient for this church now, but that in the church reformed, and in all this time of the gospell, wherein the seed of the scripture hath so long been sown, *they may better be disused by little and little*, then more and more urged (6)."

(4) Obedience of a Chrysten Man, &c.

(5) The Catechisme, Imprynted at London by Jhon Day - - - and are to be solde at hys shop by the litle conduit in Chepesyde at the sygne of the Resurreccion [printed in 1553.]

(6) Rastall's History of the Antiquities of the Town and Church of Southwell. London. 1787. p. 302. The preamble of the last will and testament of Edwin Sandys, late Archbishop of York, who died at Southwell 10 July, 1588.

The printed creeds, canons, and rituals of churches, resemble the statute laws of a kingdom : but real practice often differs very widely from declared rules both in church and state. This is remarkably true in three great communities of Christians in regard to both the mode of baptizing, and the reason of the practice of infant baptism. If by sprinkling be understood scattering in small drops, it must be granted it is contrary to law in the church of Rome, in the Lutheran church, and in the episcopal church of England (7). In the standards of these churches baptism is defined dipping, pouring is tolerated in case of weakness : but sprinkling is not mentioned. The most accurate writers in the Catholick church, when they speak of sprinkling always mean a scattering of holy water, and never think of an administration of baptism. They say, very truly, baptism never was administered by aspersion in the primitive church, yet probably practice may differ from these definitions and canons in all these churches. Certain it is, some clergymen of the established church of England have conscientiously interpreted the law according to its apparent true intent and meaning, of which two examples shall suffice. Both are taken from the journal of a zealous minister of that church, the Rev. Mr. John Wesley. “Savannah, 1736, Feb. 21st, Mary Welch, aged eleven days, was baptized according to the custom of the first church, and the *rule* of the church of England, by immersion. May 5th, I was asked to baptize a child of Mr. Parker’s, second bailiff of Savannah. But Mrs. Parker told me, Neither Mr. P. nor I will consent to its being dipped. I answered, If you certify that your child is weak, it will suffice (the rubrick says) to pour water upon it. She reply’d, Nay, the child is not weak ; but I am resolved it shall not be dipped. This argument I could not confute.

(7) Mallet Encycloped. Aspersion.

Confessio Doctrinæ Saxonicarum Ecclesiarum Synodo Tridentinæ oblata. Anno Domini M. D. LI. Francoforti 1553. De Baptismo. Baptismus est integra actio, videlicet mersio, & verborum pronuntiatio : Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti. In his verbis summam doctrinæ Evangelii comprehensam, sæpe enarramus. Ego baptizo te, id est, ego testificor hac mersione te ablui a peccatis, & recipi jam a vero Deo, qui est Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te per Filium Jesum Christum Redemit, & sanctificat te Spiritu Sancto.

So I went home; and the child was baptized by another person (8).”

From the days of Augustine to the Reformation, those who in the Catholick church practised infant baptism never imagined Christianity hereditary: but supposed the moment an infant was separated from its mother, it was out of the pale of the church, accountable for the crimes of both Adam and Eve, defiled with sin itself, inhabited by Satan, under the wrath of God, without Christianity, without hope in either world, and doomed, dying as it was, to everlasting misery. Conceiving that regeneration was a work of the Holy Ghost, and that this work was done in baptism, they baptized children, and on these principles they baptize infants to this day (9). This doctrine is so interwoven into the creeds, canons, and rituals of the church, that it never can be separated till the whole economy is dissolved. The Lutheran church, and the Episcopal church of England at the Reformation, laid aside some ceremonies, but continued infant baptism avowedly on these principles (1). The opinions of divines in both these churches have varied very much; but the old standards and forms remain, and while they do, the doctrine held forth in them must be the reputed doctrine of the churches. On these principles the rituals are composed; and whatever may be believed, this is the doctrine expressed.

LUTHERAN BAPTISM, AS IT IS PRACTISED BY ESTABLISHED RITUALS IN SAXONY, DENMARK AND NORWAY.

The Lutheran offices of baptism are four (2):

i. *The publick baptism of infants.* This is administered in the church by some person in orders as soon after the birth of the child as it may be convenient. The

(8) Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal from his embarking for Georgia, to his return to London. Second Edition. Bristol. 1743.

(9) Concil. Trident. *Sessio. v. De peccato originali.*

(1) Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year 1562; for avoiding diversities of opinions and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. Reprinted by his Majesty's commandment with his royal declaration prefixed thereunto ---- Art. ix. Of Original or Birth Sin.

(2) Petri Terpager. *Ritual. Eccles. Daniæ et Norvegiæ. Havnæ. 1706. pag. 29. De Bapt.*

priest begins with exorcism (3). Next he makes the sign of the cross on the face and the breast of the infant (4). Then he repeats some prayers, and reads that part of the tenth of Mark, which speaks of bringing children to Jesus. Next he lays his hand on the head of the child and says the Lord's prayer ; after which he inquires the name of the infant, and then asks him three times whether *he* renounces the devil and his works, and three times whether *he* believes in God the Father, and so on, to all which *for the infant* the godfather answers in the affirmative (5). Then the naked head of the child is held over the font, and the priest pours water three times over it, while he is pronouncing the usual baptismal words, pouring once in the name of the Father, a second time in the name of the Son, and a third time in the name of the Holy Ghost. Then he covers the head of the child, and before he returns it to the godfather, he pronounces with his hand upon the head a short benedictory prayer.

ii. *The private baptism of infants.* This is allowed only in cases of necessity. In such cases baptism is administered by a priest, or a layman, or a sworn midwife, or the mother of the babe. This being an hasty performance of baptism, the far greater part of the service is omitted, as the renunciation of Satan, and the profession of faith ; but if the child lives, he is afterward carried to church, and the priest adds the parts which had been omitted.

iii. *The baptism of exposed infants.* This is performed as the publick baptism of infants is.

iv. *The baptism of adults.* These are instructed some time before baptism : at the administration exorcism is omitted : godfathers are not allowed to answer, but the person to be baptized is himself publicly catechized : he renounces Satan : professes his belief of the creed : and kneeling on a little bench, and leaning his head over the font, the priest pours water on it while he utters the baptismal words.

(3) *Exi immunde Spiritus, et da locum Spiritui Sancto -- Adjuro te immunde Spiritus in nomine Patris, &c.*

(4) *Accipe signum sanctæ crucis tam in facie tua × quam in pectore ×.*

(5) *Ad quas quæstiones infantem tenens [susceptor] clara voce pro infante respondet -- abrenuncio -- volo -- credo, &c.*

ENGLISH, WELSH, AND IRISH ESTABLISHED BAPTISM.

The modern baptismal offices of the episcopal church in England are evidently copied from those of the Lutheran church. The lesson, the prayers, the renunciation, and the creed, are the same. But in two articles the English differs from other Lutheran liturgies. The English omit exorcism: and it enjoins dipping, and allows of pouring in infant baptism only in case of weakness (6). In adult baptism it requires dipping or pouring, and a certificate of weakness is not necessary to the latter (7).

CALVINIST BAPTISM, AS THE RITUALS OF THE SCOTCH, FRENCH PROTESTANTS, SWISS, AND DUTCH, REQUIRE IT TO BE PERFORMED.

The liturgy of Zurich is a little more reformed, and a little more corrupted: more corrupted, because it forbids dipping, and enjoins, what it very improperly calls sprinkling, three handfuls of water to be put on the head of the infant (8): and more reformed, because it omits the oil, salt, and spittle of the Greeks and Romans, the exorcism of the Lutherans, and disallows the private baptism of the English church, and the interrogation of infants, although it requires sponsors to engage to educate them in the faith of the church. At the Reformation such as offered children to be baptized were repeatedly required to answer whether they desired to have it so, to which they as often answered yes; and for a very good reason, for refusal was imprisonment or banishment, and adult baptism was death (9). But time hath taught the Swiss the impolicy of persecution.

(6) *Publick baptism of infants.* The font is then to be filled with pure water—

If they [the godfathers] shall certify him [the priest] that the child may well endure it, he shall dip it in the water—but if they certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it.

(7) *Baptism of such as are of riper years.* The priest shall dip him in the water, or shall pour water upon him.

(8) Ludov. Lavatheri *De ritib et institut. eccles. Tigurin. opuscul. Tiguri.* 1559. xii. *De baptismo.* Mox minister puerum ter aqua aspergit (non immergit), dicens, &c.

John Conrad Werndly. *Liturg. Tigurin.* London. 1693. xv. *of Baptism.* The godmother goeth near the minister, and holdeth the child over the font, and the minister poureth three handfuls of water upon the child's forehead, saying *N. N.* I baptize thee, &c.

(9) Lavather. *ut sup.* xxv. *Pane quibus sectarii afficiuntur.*

The Genevan liturgy, and the Scotch and French which are copies of it, disuse salt, oil, spittle, exorcism, private baptism, the sign of the cross, and sponson: but they retain the baptism of infants, and direct the clergy to administer it, by pouring water upon the child (1).

At the Reformation, such Baptists as did not believe original sin (and they were by far the greater part) both in England and on the continent, reasoned vehemently against this doctrine: and all of them denied the practice of baptizing infants, which was built on it. They held many disputes with the other reformers, and a learned Jesuit affirms, it was Zuinglius, who first changed the ground, and argued for infant baptism from a certain covenant, which in an early age of the world, the Almighty had made with Abraham, the Chaldean, and in which he thought the Swiss Protestant cantons, the Protestants of Geneva, and all others of the elect, who believed predestination, with their children, were included. It doth not seem necessary here to inquire whether the learned father is right, or who was the author of this doctrine: let it suffice to observe, that on this ground Calvin and his followers, the churches of Holland, Scotland, Geneva, and the Protestant Swiss cantons, placed infant baptism, supporting it however with detached sentences of scripture, and penal statutes enforced by the civil power. A fierce controversy was stirred up by it. Father Tanner for the Catholicks, Professor Hunnius for the Lutherans, Hubmeier for the Baptists, each with squadrons attending him, attacked this doctrine: some firmly as a novelty, others furiously as an heresy, while others laughed at it as a piece of chicanery.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM BY CALVINIST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES NOT ESTABLISHED.

Such of the English Nonconformists as hold the system of Calvin, practise infant baptism on a ground very different from that of all these churches. They allow of no human authority in religion, consequently

(1) *Formula sacramentor. administrand. in usum eccles. Genevensis conscript.* Dudum a Joanne Caldipo Gallice Conscrip. Genevæ. 1552.

they expect no aid from ecclesiastical canons or civil coercion. This noble remove into religious liberty places them in a condition extremely different from that of the Greek, the Roman, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist established churches: but in the opinion of the Baptists it sets them at the same time in a very awkward state in regard to infant baptism. On their own principles, scripture alone, interpreted by individuals, and supported by argument, is the only ground of action. This is to come to the very steps of the baptistery; however it is not necessary for them to descend into it, and it is but fair to hear the reasons which they assign for stopping short. They baptize infants by sprinkling they say, from a conviction that infant sprinkling is that very original baptism which Jesus instituted, and they pretend to support this by scripture and reasoning. How conclusively, to their honour be it spoken, they leave every man in a state of perfect liberty to judge.

A baptism of this kind was administered in the following manner. A large congregation was assembled in a meeting-house at two in the afternoon, and the infants to be baptized were in the laps of their nurses in an adjoining vestry. The minister ascended the pulpit, and began the worship by reading an hymn, which the congregation sang. Then he prayed in a modest, devout manner, adoring the perfections of God, blessing him for the mission of Christ, deploring the depravities of mankind, and beseeching God to bless all orders of men in general, and the church in particular, and praying that the present service might inform the ignorant, and confirm the truly pious. Prayer finished, the people sat down, and he read his text, which was the twentieth verse of the seventy fourth Psalm: *Have respect unto the covenant, for the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.* He began by observing the ignorance and immorality of the Pagan world in general, and the miserable condition of this country in particular, before the gospel was preached to its inhabitants. He enumerated a few of the benefits, which nations enlightened by the gospel enjoy: but he fixed on one suited to the present occasion, and mentioned in the text, the covenant of grace, which God had condescended to make with Jesus Christ in behalf of a part of

mankind. He observed, that God had made a covenant of works with Adam, and in him with his posterity, wherein life was promised upon condition of perfect and personal obedience. This covenant Adam by his fall had broke, and had cut off the claim of all his posterity, who were all doomed to natural and eternal death for the crime. He said, God in his infinite mercy had made “a second, commonly called the covenant of grace, wherein he freely offereth to sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in him that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those, that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe.” He added, this covenant was the same that was made with Abraham and his family : that it had been administered under the law by sacrifices, circumcision, the passover, and other types, and that it was now administered under the gospel by preaching, baptism, and the Lord’s supper. “Baptism,” he said, “was a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible church : but also to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life (2).” He said, the ordinance was to be continued unto the end of the world : the administrator was a minister of the gospel : dipping was not necessary, but baptism was rightly administered by pouring or sprinkling : and that “not only those that do actually profess faith in and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents were to be baptized.” He meant by parents, grandfathers and grandmothers, great grandfathers and great grandmothers, great great grand fathers and great great grandmothers ; further he thought they ought not to go, but if any one of these ancestors had been a believer, the infant might claim, as the seed of the faithful, the benefit of the contract made with Abraham. He closed by observing, “that although it was a great sin to neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation were not so inseparably connected with it, that no person could be regenerat-

ed or saved without it : or that all that were baptized were undoubtedly regenerated." He adduced a multitude of texts from both testaments to prove what he affirmed. Having finished the sermon, he came down from the pulpit to the table-pew. One deacon of the church brought two towels, one he spread on the table, the other he held in his hand. Another followed him with a bason of water, which he put on the table. The fathers of the infants came next, and the nurses followed with the children. The administrator then began, by saying, *Suffer little children to come unto me* (3) : on which he observed that infant baptism was agreeable to Christ, who reproved his disciples, when they forbade the parents to bring them - - - that people should attend less to the sign than to the thing signified - - - that baptism agreed in some things with circumcision, but that in others it differed - - - that in both the power of God by his blessed Spirit could and sometimes did effect the same - - - that adults were no more capable of converting themselves than infants - - - that all were children of wrath by nature, and the whole work of regeneration was wrought by the Spirit of God - - - that if infants were capable of the thing signified, they ought to be admitted to the sign. Then he prayed, and, in the name of the parents, professed to take hold of the covenant for the benefit of the children, the seal of which was baptism, and he besought God to grant them grace to fulfil their solemn engagements. After prayer, the fathers presented the children one by one, and the minister taking the child into his arms, dipped his fingers' ends into the water, sprinkled it on the face of the babe, said in the mean time, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and returned it to the parent, who gave it to the nurse. When all had been sprinkled, he wiped his fingers, and addressed himself first to the parents, enjoining them to bring up the Lord's children in his fear, and then to all the audience, exhorting them to recollect and fulfil their own solemn obligations. He particularly bespoke the attention of the young people, some of whom, it should seem, had been admitted in the same manner into the same covenant, and the

(3) Joan. Calvini *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*. Lib. iv. Cap. 16.

same visible church, but who, now that they were grown up, were neither members of the visible church, nor regenerated : but on the contrary, ignorant of the doctrine of Christianity, averse to the spirit of it, *without hope, without Christ, without God in the world.* He closed all with a short prayer, beseeching the Spirit of God to bless his labours with success.

ARMINIAN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH BAPTISM.

It was on principles very different from the former that another pastor administered baptism in private to the twin children of a pious family. They also were English Nonconformists : but held the Arminian system of religion. He arrived at the house about five o'clock in the afternoon, and was admitted into a room, where the parents, a circle of ten friends, and the nurses with the children, were sitting. There was a bason of water, and napkins on the table. After he had paid his respects to the company, and all were seated, he began with a well-timed compliment, that the company had been too well informed to need any long dissertation on the subject of baptism - - - that for his part, were it necessary to take a text, he should found what he had to say on an expression of Paul, Jesus sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel - - - that God was a being of infinite and inconceivable perfections - - - that all creatures before him were as nothing - - - that there was a wide difference between moral and positive obligations, and that the latter were instituted only for the sake of the former - - - that original sin was a fiction of the schools, and that infant baptism on that principle was received among Christians through the influence of Augustine in the fifth century - - - that the word baptize did not necessarily signify to dip - - - and so on, to the end of the system ; after which the children were sprinkled, and given to their parents to be educated Christians.

Various as these modes of baptizing are, they are all nothing but reformed baptism, that is, the old papal service amended. The renovation of a lost part of the worship of God is a very different affair, and doth not allow old errors to be cast into new forms ; but clearing away old first principles, lays another foundation. This honour the Baptists claim.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM BY ENGLISH,
DUTCH, AMERICAN, AND GERMAN BAPTISTS.

THE English and most foreign Baptists consider a personal profession of faith and an immersion in water essential to baptism. The profession of faith is generally made before the church at a church-meeting. Some have a creed and expect the candidate to assent to it, and to give a circumstantial account of his conversion. Others only require a person to profess himself a Christian.* The former generally consider baptism as an ordinance, which initiates persons into a particular church; and they say, without breach of Christian liberty, they have a right to expect an agreement in articles of faith in their own societies. The latter think baptism only initiates into a profession of the Christian religion in general, and therefore, say they, we have no right to require an assent to our creed of such as do not propose to join our churches. They quote the baptism of the eunuch in the eighth of Acts in proof. There are some who have no publick faith, and who both administer baptism and admit to church membership any who profess themselves Christians. They administer baptism both in their own baptisteries, and in publick waters, and it may not be improper to describe a baptism of each sort.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM BY THE
ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

Not many years ago at Whittlesford, seven miles from Cambridge, forty-eight persons were baptized in that ford of the river from which the village takes its name. At ten o'clock of a very fine morning in May, about fifteen hundred people of different ranks assembled together. At half past ten in the forenoon, the late Dr. Andrew Gifford, Fellow of the society of antiquaries, Sublibrarian of the British Museum, and Teacher of a Baptist congregation in Eagle-Street, London, ascended a moveable pulpit in a large open court

* This is said to be the case with some of the General Baptists. [*Ed.*

yard, near the river and adjoining to the house of the Lord of the Manor. Round him stood the congregation; people on horseback, in coaches, and in carts, forming the out side semi-circle; many other persons sitting in the rooms of the house, the sashes being open. All were uncovered, and there was a profound silence. The doctor first gave out an hymn, which the congregation sang; then he prayed for all mankind in general, for the king, queen, royal family, privy-council, both houses of parliament, the judges, and all civil magistrates, for all ranks and degrees of men, for the prosperity of true religion, and for a blessing on the present service in particular. Prayer ended, he took out a New Testament and read his text: *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance.* He observed that the force of the prepositions had escaped the notice of the translators, and that the true reading was, I indeed baptize you *in* water, *at* or *upon* repentance, which sense he confirmed by the forty-first verse of the twelfth of Matthew, and other passages. Then he spoke, as most Baptists do, on these occasions, on the four parts of this subject. First, on the *nature* of the ordinance, that it was neither a Pagan nor a Jewish rite, but a New Testament institute of divine appointment: I, *John*, by divine commission, baptize you: Secondly, on the *subject*, that it was a believer, and not an infant, who was incapable of performing what was requisite to baptism, faith and repentance, of whom it would be hard to require it, for whom no proxy was appointed or could be admitted, and to whom no damage could come if he were left without baptism, who could do the church no good, and might do it a great deal of harm: I baptize *you*, who stand here confessing your sins: Thirdly, he observed the *mode*, that it was dipping and not sprinkling, which he endeavoured to prove by the meaning of the word baptize, by the places where baptism was administered, and by several other circumstances: I *baptize* or *dip* you in water: Fourthly, he remarked the *end* of the ordinance, and shewed that it was appointed to express a conscientious belief of the mission of Jesus, and the truth of the Christian religion. He observed, that religion was religion, and nothing else, and ought not to be confounded with civil government, learning, law, war, trade, or

any thing else. He closed by contrasting the doctrine of infant-sprinkling, which was left to shift for itself, with that of believers' baptism, which being a part of Christian obedience, was supported by divine promises, on the accomplishment of which all good men might depend. After sermon he read another hymn, and prayed, and then came down. Then the candidates for baptism retired to prepare themselves.

About half an hour after, the administrator, who that day was a nephew of the Doctor's, and admirably qualified for the work, in a long black gown of fine baize, without a hat, with a small New Testament in his hand, came down to the river side accompanied by several Baptist ministers and deacons of their churches, and the persons to be baptized. The men came first, two and two, without hats, and dressed as usual, except that instead of coats each had on a long white baize gown tied round the waist with a sash. Such as had no hair wore white cotton or linen caps. The women followed the men, two and two, all dressed neat, clean, and plain, and their gowns white linen or dimity. It was said, the garments had knobs of lead at bottom to make them sink. Each had a long light silk cloak hanging loosely over her shoulders, a broad riband tied over her gown beneath her breast, and a hat on her head. They all ranged themselves round the administrator at the water side. A great multitude of spectators stood on the banks of the river on both sides: some had climbed and sat on the trees, many sat on horseback and in carriages, and all behaved with a decent seriousness which did honour to the good sense and the good manners of the assembly, as well as to the free constitution of this country. First, the administrator read an hymn, which the people sang. Then he read that portion of scripture, which is read in the Greek church on the same occasion, the history of the baptism of the eunuch, beginning at the twenty-sixth verse, and ending with the thirty-ninth. About ten minutes he stood expounding the verses, and then taking one of the men by the hand, he led him into the water, saying as he went, *See here is water, what doth hinder? If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest be baptized*—When he came to a sufficient depth he stopped, and with the utmost

composure placing himself on the left hand of the man, his face being toward the man's shoulder, he put his right hand between his shoulders behind, gathering into it a little of the gown for hold: the fingers of his left hand he thrust under the sash before, and the man putting his two thumbs into that hand, he locked all together by closing his hand. Then he deliberately said, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and while he uttered these words, standing wide, he gently leaned him backward and dipped him once. As soon as he had raised him, a person in a boat, fastened there for the purpose, took hold of the man's hand, wiped his face with a napkin, and led him a few steps to another attendant, who then gave him his arm, walked with him to the house, and assisted him to dress. There were many such in waiting, who like the primitive susceptrors assisted during the whole service. The rest of the men followed the first, and were baptized in like manner. After them the women were baptized. A female friend took off at the water side the hat and cloak. A deacon of the church led one to the administrator, and another from him; and women at the water-side took each as she came out of the river and conducted her to the apartment in the house, where they dressed themselves. When all were baptized, the administrator, coming up out of the river, and standing at the side, gave a short exhortation on the honour and the pleasure of obedience to divine commands, and then with the usual benediction dismissed the assembly. About half an hour after, the men newly baptized having dressed themselves, went from their rooms into a large hall in the house, where they were presently joined by the women, who came from their apartments to the same place. Then they sent a messenger to the administrator, who was dressing in his apartment, to inform him they waited for him. He presently came, and first prayed for a few minutes, and then closed the whole by a short discourse on the blessings of civil and religious liberty, the sufficiency of scripture, the pleasure of a good conscience, the importance of a holy life, and the prospect of a blessed immortality. This they called a publick baptism.

There was a private baptism at Cambridge, in the same month of May. The Baptist congregation there have a small garden walled in adjoining to their meeting-house. In the middle of this is an oval baptistery with steps at each end. The bath and the steps take up the whole length of the garden, and there is a parlour or vestry at each end, so that on opening the door of one room you may either walk round the baptistery, or step directly down into it, and, passing through it, go up the opposite steps into the opposite room. This baptistery is filled and emptied by a pump and proper pipes. In one of these rooms, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, three gentlemen to be baptized, their friends and attendants, and the administrator, in all about twelve, beside servants, by appointment, met. After all were seated, the administrator stood up, and discoursed about half an hour on the purity and perfection of the Supreme Being—the dignity of man made in his image an intelligent being—the splendour and the variety of the works of creation, and the wisdom of Providence in making all inferior to the nature and unequal to the perfect felicity of man—the necessity of some religion, the imperfection of natural religion, and the absolute perfection and sufficiency of revelation—the character of Jesus as it stood exhibited in his doctrine and example—the propriety and beauty of his institutes, and the reasons for obeying them. Then he came to baptism, and briefly stated the nature of positive rites, the dissolution of the Jewish economy, and the express institution of baptism. Then he spoke of the subject, the mode, and the end. He closed by saying, he was only one servant, among thousands, of Jesus, the great Master; that he assumed no authority over the consciences of any of his fellow-servants; that he rejected every kind of force in religion; and that he was ready to baptize any who should profess to believe in Jesus Christ, for he took baptism not for a church-ordinance, but for a profession of Christianity at large. He then sat down. The candidates one after another stood up, and each said, *I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and into this profession I desire to be baptized.* Then all kneeled down, and the administrator in the name of all adored God. He praised the perfections of his nature, and the wisdom and goodness

of his government. He thanked him above all for so loving the world as to send Jesus, that good Shepherd, to seek and to save them that were lost. He blessed him for the honour he had done them in calling them by the gospel to believe truths of the highest excellence, and to practise a morality of the utmost purity. He praised him for the Reformation, and the civil and religious liberty of his country; he prayed that the light of the glory of God which had begun to shine upon the world in the face of Jesus, might shine more and more unto the perfect day; and he closed by beseeching him to condescend to accept the present as a reasonable service. Then they rose up, and the candidates and the administrator retired apart to prepare for baptism. About twenty after, they returned; he dressed as usual, except that instead of a coat he had on a long black gown of thin prince's stuff—and they, light linen under dresses, and over all, long fine white baize bathing-gowns, tied round the waist with a strong riband. The doors of the two rooms being opened, the attendants went into the garden, and stood some on the side of the baptistery, and others on the steps of the further end, with napkins in their hands. The administrator standing with the candidates at the head of the steps took out of his bosom a small New-Testament, and read these words, *Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death: Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death: we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection: knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead, is freed from sin. Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him: knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin: but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* Then giving the book to an officer

of the congregation, who attended him, he led one of the candidates by the hand down the steps, saying as he went, *he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved----* *Jesus left us an example, that ye should follow his steps.* Then he baptized him as those just now mentioned had been baptized, in the river. The other two followed, and each, after the ceremony, went up the steps at the further end, and into the adjoining apartments to dress, their friends assisting them. After they had dressed themselves, they all returned into the first room, and the administrator read the remaining part of the sixth of Romans, discoursed a few minutes on that obligation to holiness under which they had just now laid themselves, and closed with a short prayer for all orders of men, for the king, and all civil rulers, for the magistrates of the town and the university, for Christians of all denominations, and particularly for the newly baptized, that they might adorn, by a holy life, that religion, which they had now professed to believe. At the end he pronounced the usual benediction, and the assembly broke up.

In this manner, with a few variations, this ordinance is generally administered by the English and most foreign Baptists. Some baptize in the sea, others in rivers, or clear ponds, many in baptisteries, which in some places are in their meeting-houses, and in others near them; some are plain, others costly; but on the whole affair, there are two or three observations to be made.

Justice requires every man to be tried by that law under which he pretends to act. He who baptizes by a ritual, is to be examined by the ritual; and if he conforms to that, he is consistent with himself. The Baptists profess to baptize according to the rules of the New Testament, and, by requiring a personal profession of faith, and by dipping the whole person in water, they seem to act consistently. The very plain manner in which they baptize is a high degree of probability in their favour: but they appear to have varied a little from the original form, which, however, the free constitution of their churches allows them any day to alter. There is no pattern in scripture for singing, at the administration, unless singing be reputed, as it very well

may in some compositions, a mode of praying or praising God. They baptize transversely, by laying a person down backward under water : but this is a method troublesome and inconvenient to some people, especially to such administrators as are not so tall as the candidates ; and it requires more time, if not more strength, than in some cases can be afforded. The baptism of three thousand in one day, by the twelve apostles, hath always been objected against this mode of baptizing, and though the answers given by these Baptists are satisfactory, yet a more simple account is more satisfactory.

If the apostles baptized in the manner described in the most ancient monuments, the whole is easy and artless ; each might baptize one a minute, and the twelve would baptize the whole three thousand in two hours and five minutes in the forenoon, and the same time in the afternoon. The Christians of the middle ages, whose monuments remain, baptized in the following manner. The administrator walked into the water, leading the person to be baptized. At first, all baptisteries were sunk in the ground, and were kept at between three and four feet water by pipes always conveying in, and by waste pipes always carrying off the overplus. In later times, some were large baths above ground, into which the candidates went by ascending three steps without side, and by descending three within side, and the administrator stood on one side without, and so administered the ordinance. There is, it is said, such a cistern now in the church of Cranbrooke, in Kent : but smaller than the ancient baptisteries. Some had ornamented roofs set on pillars, and the steps of those in the ground were three. The administrator, whether in or out of the water, stood on the right side of the candidate, his face looking to his shoulder. The candidate stood erect, and the administrator, while he pronounced the baptismal words, laid his right hand on the hind part of the head of the candidate, and bowed him gently forward, till he was all under water. Hence baptism was taken for an act of divine worship, a stooping, and paying a profound homage to God. The baptized person raised himself up,

and walked out of the water, and another candidate followed, the administrator standing all the time erect in his place. This method hath more than antiquity to recommend it. It is so easy to the administrator, so perfect an immersion, so disengaged to the candidate, so free from giving pain to the spectators, a method so decent and expeditious, that it is a wonder it is not universally practised. It requires for a middle-sized person, on condition of a proper genuflexion, which it is almost impossible to avoid making in the administration, three feet of water, and for a very tall man three feet and a half. There are, as was observed before, the remains of many ancient baptisteries abroad, in which are various antiquities descriptive of this mode. The bishop stood in the water, and the candidate in his baptism bowed forward under his hand, which is the meaning of Prudentius, when he speaks of baptizing the breast, and of Tertullian, when he says, Christians of his time were baptized by bowing down with great simplicity, without pomp, and in few words. The Baptist churches, it may be hoped, will forgive this animadversion. It is the glory of their constitution, that an individual may propose his opinion, and that nobody is obliged to adopt it.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM BY THE DUTCH BAPTISTS.

The Dutch Baptists reject infant baptism, and administer the ordinance only to such as profess faith and repentance : but they baptize by pouring. They assign in general six reasons for the baptism of believers, and the rejection of infants. The first is, the command of Christ in the twenty-eighth of Matthew, *Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them* : first teach them, then baptize them. The second is, the necessary prerequisite, a personal profession of faith, of which infants are incapable : the eunuch asked, *What doth hinder me to be baptized ?* Philip answered, *If thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest.* The third is, that professing of Christianity, which is expected of the person baptized : *as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.* The fourth is, the habit

of living, which is required both at and after baptism, which is repentance and newness of life : *Repent and be baptized : so many of us as were baptized unto Jesus Christ, should walk in newness of life.* The fifth is, the sign and seal of communion with Jesus, both in his death and resurrection : *so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized unto his death : in baptism ye are risen with him through faith of the operation of God.* The sixth is, the stipulation of the baptized to devote themselves wholly to the service of God : *baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* In defence of these principles, they quote the concessions of both Catholics and Protestants, as of Witsius, Limborch, Vossius, and many other learned men, as well as the arguments of writers of their own community : who all give a verdict against the competency of infants to partake of this ordinance, but they hold themselves bound to nothing but their own sense of scripture.

Menno, the father of the Dutch Baptists, says, "after we have searched ever so diligently, we shall find no other baptism besides dipping in water [*doopsel inden water*] which is acceptable to God, and maintained in his word (1)." Menno was dipped himself, and he baptized others by dipping : but some of his followers introduced pouring, as they imagined through necessity, in prison, and now the practice generally prevails. The candidate kneels, the minister holds his hands over his head, the deacon pours in water, which runs through on the top of the head. Then follow imposition of hands and prayer. The narrator of this observes, "that the requisition of faith and repentance in the Dutch baptisms, keeps the world and the church asunder, as baptism was intended to do, for, adds he, where the baptism of infants prevails there is no world, all are church (2)."

ENGLISH-AMERICAN BAPTISM.

During the reigns of the Stuarts persecution fell with intolerable weight on the Baptists in England, and they

(1) Mennonis Simonis. *Opera*. 1539. pag. 24.

(2) Morgan Edwards, *Materials toward a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania*. Vol. i. pag. 94.

fled into America. Their history hath been lately written by one of their ministers (3). They have continued ever since to believe the doctrine, and practise the discipline of the Calvinist churches of their mother-country, so that their baptism resembles that of the English Baptists, and there is no need to attempt a description of it here.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM BY THE GERMAN BAPTISTS IN AMERICA.

The German Baptists in America, called *Tunkers* or *Dippers*, baptize so as to include the principal forms of the English, the Dutch, and the Greeks (4). The administrator with the candidate goes into a river. The candidate kneels down in the water, and the administrator puts his hand on his head, and bends him forward till he is immersed; he does this three times, pronouncing during the ceremony the usual baptismal words. The baptized continues kneeling till the administrator prays, and lays on hands, then he rises and departs. Trine immersion is very easily performed this way: kneeling seems ill-timed; but the reflection of the historian, that it doth not represent a burial, is not quite accurate; for to bury, in a figurative sense, which is the sense of the apostle Paul, is to conceal, to hide, to put out of sight, to cover, and in the present case to cover with water. It is not the posture of the body, but the overflowing of the water that seems to be intended. Thus it is said, buried in snow, buried in thought, buried in the world, buried in books; and in this sense ecclesiastical writers understood a being buried in water in baptism (5): not for the exposure of a corpse, but for the covering of a man, as Jesus was covered in the grave.

The first English Baptists, when they read the phrase *buried* in baptism, instantly thought of an *English* burial,

(3) *In two volumes 8vo. By the Rev. Isaac Backus; the first at Boston, 1777, the second at Providence, 1784.*

(4) M. Edwards, *as before*, page 67. --- Ludwig. *Tauchen oder Tuncken: to duck, dive or flounce, under water*

(5) Gregorii Nyssen. *Orat. de Baptis.* Nos baptisma assumentes ad imitationem Domini, in terra quidem non sepelimur, sed ad terræ cognatum elementum venientes, in illa, sicut salvator in terra, *abscondimus*. --- Honori Augustodun. *De Gen. Dom. Serm.* Triduo Domino consepelemur cum ter undis immersi quasi terra *operimur*.

and therefore baptized by laying the body in the form of burying in their own country ; but they might have observed that Paul wrote to Romans, and that Romans did not bury, but, burned the dead, and buried nothing of the dead but their ashes in urns ; so that no fair reasoning on the form of baptizing can be drawn from the mode of burying the dead in England.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE TRUE GROUND OF ACTION IN RELIGION.

IN general there are only two grounds of action in religion, force and choice : but strictly speaking, there are three, which may be called, for distinction sake, power, passion, and reason : but the last is the only safe ground.

POWER IS NOT A RIGHTEOUS GROUND OF ACTION.

Power over religion and conscience is iniquitous in every form. If it be exercised by a state, it is civil tyranny : if by a council or a synod, by one ecclesiastick or more, it is ecclesiastical tyranny : if by a parent or a master, a guardian, or a tutor, it is domestick tyranny ; the same thing in different hands. Jesus foretold, that such an unnatural dominion would be exercised under the sacred name of the *service of God* ; and time hath fully verified the prediction. The long reign of the church of Rome gave this exercise of power a full opportunity to display itself in every light, and in all its possible effects ; and negligent to a degree must that Protestant have been, who, at this age of Christianity, and with the history of so many centuries before his eyes, is not able to determine what dominion over conscience can, and what it cannot do. It can mask, divide, degrade, and destroy the human species : but it cannot support Christianity, and it utterly annihilates the credit of it. Three great errors constitute the core of this fatal excrescence ; three errors introduced into the healthful Christian body by the intemperance of a few in remote parts of the globe, and matured in times

of thick universal darkness. The first is, that the care of souls doth not lie in souls themselves : but in extrin-sick hands, to whom Almighty God hath committed the trust : as if there were any principle stronger than self-love, as if any foreign trustees would take more care of the soul, than the soul would of itself. The second is, that there is a *κρυφίον δογμα*, a something deep and mysterious in Christianity, inaccessible to the eye, and inevitable to the understanding of ordinary men, and yet so essential to their participation of the benefits of the Christian religion, that they cannot be saved without believing it. This exhibits a revelation unrevealed, and it prepares the mind to grovel in credulity. The third is, the affixing of guilt to errors of the mind. The first sinks the bulk below manhood, and raises the few above it. The second oppresses the degraded bulk with intolerable burdens, and elevates the rest into the condition of privy-counsellors of heaven in private, and representatives of prophets, apostles, and princes, and even the King of kings himself in publick. The third strips the slaves of the reputation of real virtue, and ascribes to them imaginary crimes, which attributes become reasons for their lords to inflict punishments on them. All dominion over conscience includes some degree of these errors : different ages and different churches exercising such power are to be placed in different stages of the depravity : and the Catholick inquisition is nothing but the consummation and perfect ripeness of the system.

The best and most complete history of the inquisition was partly published at Madrid, in the reign of Philip II. by Doctor Lewis a Paramo, one of the judges of that formidable tribunal in the kingdom of Sicily. It is said partly, because the author intended to add two volumes more : but, it seems, the holy office quietly prevented the publication of the other volumes, and the reprinting of this, and collected and concealed the books which had been published, prudently judging that an exposure of their powers might subject the office to a limitation. In this most curious book, which is full of information, the practice of the courts of inquisition and the rules and reasons of proceeding are clearly and fully

laid open (1). Heresy, the chief crime to be punished, is defined with the utmost precision, according to the ideas of the inquisitorial judges, to be an opinion contrary to faith, in a Christian with obstinacy (2). The culprit is a *Christian* by profession, for persons not professing Christianity are infidels, not hereticks. It is called an *opinion*, because it is precisely an act of the understanding and not of the will, though it implies volition. It is defined an opinion contrary to *faith*, because an error concerning discipline is not heresy. It is said to be attended with *obstinacy*, because if a person renounces an error on receiving information that what he holds is erroneous, he is not deemed an heretick. The union of four things then constitutes an heretick : he must be a professed Christian - - - he must choose to form an opinion, which is an exercise of the understanding and the will - - - in this opinion he must persevere ; this is obstinacy - - - and finally, the opinion which he hath formed, and in which he chooses to persevere, must be contrary to faith (3). The question is, what doth the holy office mean by *faith*, contrariety to which is deemed of the essence of heresy ? The learned judge replies, faith is to be taken here objectively, for truths of religion to be believed : Thus, adds he, should you affirm that the earth is bigger than the sun, it would be an error and not an heresy, because the position doth not belong to religion. If it be asked, what are the truths of religion to be believed ? The answer is, whatever the church hath determined concerning faith and practice. If the scripture be objected, the judge of the holy office will reply, that in a case of doubt between the prisoner and the bench concerning the sense of

(1) Ludovici a Paramo. De origine et Progressu Officii Sanctæ Inquisitionis, &c. Lib. tres, Matriti. 1598.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. Quatuor apponuntur, quæ hæresim constituere videntur. Primum est electio opinionis falsæ, et doctrinæ perversæ, amissa Catholica veritate : sic hæresis est error intellectus. Secundum est, quod hæresis est circa ea quæ pertinent ad fidem, vel sunt contra determinationem ecclesiæ circa fidem, vel circa bonos mores. Tertium est divisio a Catholica fide, quia de iis qui foris sunt nihil ad nos. Quartum est pertinax adhæsiō illi assertioni falsæ ; sic est obstinatio in voluntate ; pertinacia autem cognoscitur multis modis. Ad primum dico, &c.

scripture, that is to be taken for the true sense which the Pope and councils have declared (4).

Some Protestants have called this inquisitorial jurisprudence the essence, and many Catholicks have called it the support of the Catholick religion. Rather let it be denominated the essence of tyranny to support any form of religion. There are three undeniable proofs that the inquisition is not necessary to the support of the Catholick form of religion. One is the date of the holy office. The first inquisitor was appointed by Pope Innocent iii. in the year twelve hundred and sixteen : but the Catholick church subsisted in great splendour long before that time. Next, it is remarkable that some Catholick countries never admitted of an inquisition. England, Scotland, and Ireland never had, at their worst times, enough of a spirit of submission to authority to allow of this kind of government. It is also with the highest satisfaction to be observed, that many affirm, the modern Catholick world hath of late years disused the aid of this court in matters of religion. The inquisition hath, no doubt, destroyed a great number of lives : but, as the office used to take cognizance of other crimes beside heresy, the executions ought not to be all placed to the account of religion. In sixteen hundred and eighty, nineteen persons were burnt at an *auto de fe* at Madrid. Twelve were Jews, one was a Spanish renegade, who had turned Mohammedan, and six were women. There were three rag-merchants, one slop-seller, one inn-keeper, one soldier, two snuff-dealers, one pedlar, one strolling silversmith, and three were vagabonds. Ten had no property to be confiscated, and it is not clear that any of them were condemned for heresy. A gentleman, who travelled through Portugal and Spain in the years seventeen hundred and seventy-one—two, affirms, that no person in either of these kingdoms had been put to death on a religious

(4) Ibid pag 553. *Axiom. iii* Equæ ad fidem spectant habent septem gradus—Articuli fidei—sacra scriptura—traditiones—diffinitiones conciliorum—decreta pontificum—quæ ex his evidenter deducuntur—quæ consensu patrum recepta sunt—Omnis quæstio, quæ oritur circa scripturarum lectiones, statim deferitur ad ecclesiam, ut ipsa judicet quid tenendum sit—Ecclesia est convocatio multorum ad unius Dei cultum—Catholica non potest errare—Romana est omnium mater et magistra—Ecclesia et imperium fraternizant, &c.

account during the last fourteen years. Other travellers remark the decline of the office in other states. This great evil hath begun to correct itself, and the Christian world hath discovered that to compel people to profess to believe what the church believes, is only to force honest men to play the hypocrite. There is no tenable ground, except that of allowing all men to form their own sentiments, laying aside all manner of coercive measures in the church, and confining the civil magistrate to the cognizance of overt acts, which injure society.

[A number of observations, which go to prove that the spirit of the Inquisition has been displayed in too many Protestant churches, are here omitted. *Ed.*]

The greatest man among the Baptists at the Reformation, the celebrated Andrew Dudith, a man to be held in everlasting remembrance, much for his rank, more for his abilities and virtue, but most of all for his love of liberty, entered beyond all others into the spirit of this subject, and simplified the whole affair so that a peasant might understand it, by proposing only one plain question. "To whom do you, divines, all address yourselves in your disputes: who is to be *judge*? I, for myself, most certainly: you for yourself: a third for himself: and every individual of the human race for the same reason ought to enjoy the same liberty." A French historian says, Dudith joined this party for the sake of a liberty of saying what he would on every subject. He did so. For this he resigned his bishoprick, for this he quitted the Lutheran and Calvinist churches, and for this he settled in that of the Unitarians in Poland, where in the enjoyment of this precious liberty he felt a happiness which he had never known before: a happiness derived not from the character of Imperial Ambassador, an honour which the Emperor Maximilian continued to him, but from what no dignities can confer, the testimony of his own integrity by his own conscience in a state of perfect religious freedom. Hence that never to be forgotten expression of his to Beza: "While you boast of your Lutheran confession, and your Helvetick creed, I keep thinking of the 6th commandment, Thou shalt not kill."

It requires very little discernment to observe that the principle of the inquisition may be admitted into the constitution of a church, where the practice is held in abhorrence, and that the practice may be admitted, where the principle is disowned. Hence it comes to pass that in some churches the constitution being ancient is inquisitorial, but the modern conduct is liberal; and in others the constitution is liberal, and the conduct barbarous. The Baptist churches were constituted on grounds just and liberal, and at an infinite distance from the forementioned principle of the inquisition. The creeds which they published, therefore, are not to be considered as a publick faith, which it would be accounted heresy to contradict : but the scripture, and the scripture interpreted by individuals, was the true and real foundation of their first churches. It must be allowed, however, that they have not all acted on this principle ; most are divided into two principal branches on the speculative points of grace and free will, the Particular Baptists holding Arminianism as an heresy, and the General Baptists considering Calvinism in the same light, and neither admitting the other to church communion, and both considering the Socinian Baptists as inadmissible to their churches. All allow separate societies to judge for themselves, many allow individuals in their churches to differ, except on fundamental articles : and some have no fundamental articles,* and only require a person to profess himself a believer in Christ ; and this seems to be the only true ground of action.

A body of Christians united on this general principle have an unobjectionable example, and want only one qualification to secure their happiness, that is, such a mild temper as was in Jesus, who it must be allowed held communion with men, who knew very little more than that he was the Messiah. In the church of this good Shepherd and Bishop of souls, the members were allowed to question one with another what the rising from the dead should mean. Even after his resurrection they asked him to restore again the kingdom to Israel. Yet what did Jesus ? With an unruffled temper he gave them the friendship of his heart, esteemed what was lovely in

* It may be questioned whether there is not a little too much laxity in this expression. [Ed.]

them, and pitied and removed the rest by instruction and example. This was divine, this was to be an image of the invisible God. Christians, who form churches on human creeds, find, as they go on, a great many articles necessary, of which at first they were not apprized. At the outset nothing strikes but terms of admission: but in process of time it falls out not unfrequently, that one, who hath been admitted on the ground of believing the creed of the church, is convinced as he thinks that some articles are erroneous, and he says it is his duty to inform his fellow members of his reasons for thinking so. What is to be done with this man? To persecute him would be a shame, for his life is irreproachable. To bear with him is to violate the bond of union. Here will be a conflict between the infallible law of nature, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and zeal for the support of a sense of scripture given by a fallible man. It is in such distressing seasons, that Christians beguile themselves to persecute: the solemnity begins with arguing and praying, proceeds to reproving, dictating, consulting, and excommunicating, and ends in some communities in silent hatred, in others in banishment, and in others again in chains, and flames, and shrieks, that pierce the hearts of men from generation to generation, wherever the bloody tale is told.

It is not imaginable that the first Reformers sat down at their desks, and drew up their confessions of faith with deliberate design to murder such as should doubt the truth of them. The cruelties came to pass at the end of a train of actions: but had they been content with the simplicity of revelation, these murders never could have come to pass, and their annals would have come down to posterity unstained with human blood. The most incorrigible of all Baptist hereticks, Servetus himself, professed to believe what the scriptures affirm, that Jesus is the Son of God: but his opponents would not suffer him to explain the text for himself, they would add one explanatory epithet, and that one word, *consubstantial*, began a fraca, that ended in burning the good man to ashes. They said he was not a Christian because he would not utter that word with approbation: but they never doubted of their own Christianity for burning him at a stake.

PASSION IS NOT A RIGHTEOUS GROUND OF ACTION;

The proper end of moral philosophy is the regulation of life. In the pursuit of this end, philosophers observe, the passions must be subservient to the nobler powers of the understanding and the will; and conscience, the moral sense, must adjudge and direct the whole. If this order be inverted, the most innocent as effectually as the most guilty passions may disconcert the actions of life, and destroy the man. What an infinite distance is there between sensual pleasures which are the meanest sort of human enjoyments, and the pleasures of imagination, which have for their objects the imitative arts! yet passion for the latter, if uncontrolled by reason and religion, may be attended with the most pernicious consequences. It may not be improper to give one example.

Of the dignity and worth of musick nothing need be said; the whole world, compelled by nature, patronize it. The love of it is innocent, and a man insensible to the pleasure of musick, if such a man there be, seems to want something essential to his species. An ecclesiastical historian justly exults in relating the noble use to which religious men of all ages have applied it, by making it a mode of adoring God. A part of the holy scripture was composed to be uttered in vocal, and a part to be set to instrumental musick. The Man of sorrows *sang* with his disciples at the institution of the last supper. The apostles and the primitive Christians adored God in *psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs*: and while they advised the afflicted to *pray*, exhorted the rest to *sing*. Religion affords the noblest subjects, and the finest models of song; and in the first ages of Christianity all divisions of Christians, whatever their speculations were, composed for publick worship, and in their religious assemblies adored the common Parent of mankind by singing his praise. Time produced alterations, and the several degrees of the scale may be seen in modern assemblies. The silent Christians, called Quakers, exhibit an assembly of primitive Christians under persecution, safe only while the doors were shut, for fear of the intolerant Jews.

The other English Dissenters resemble the same Christians in a free state ; where all sing what the most have examined and believe. In some a band of singers, in a singing pew, exhibit the first step toward choral service ; in others a pitch-pipe shews the introduction, or an organ the advancement of instrumental musick. Among the people called Methodists, and Moravians, dialogue hymns, accompanied in some places with instruments, shew the rudiments of the antiphonal service of a choir in a cathedral, and the latter hands a spectator forward to the orchestras of foreign Catholick churches. Should a Christian of the primitive cast be animated with a passion for musick, should he connect the gratification of his passion with divine worship, and should he choose his religion merely by his passion, undoubtedly he would not stop, till he arrived at the church of Rome.

[We here omit several pages on singing and church musick, as it is called, which show that this simple and delightful part of divine worship, like all others, was greatly corrupted and abused in the hands of an ungracious clergy, and a careless, worldly people. *Ed.*]

There is one hymn of the primitive church, of mere human composition, usually, and it should seem justly, said to be composed by Clement of Alexandria, which is of singular use to unravel two apparent mysteries : the one a stumbling block to some Protestants, the other to all. Protestants, who deny infant baptism, are offended at the early, and general practice of it, although none of them date it earlier than the third century : but it is very credible, that the baptism of natural infants was not so early, nor ever so general as hath been imagined. The fathers should be allowed to expound themselves ; and Clement's hymn makes it appear with the utmost evidence, that by infant, and little infant, he did not mean, either a babe or a minor, but a Christian of any age. His whole book called the *Pedagogue* is additional evidence, and he expressly says : Paul defines an infant, in the epistle to the Romans, when he informs them : *I would have you wise to that which is good, and simple concerning evil.* "We," adds Clement, "are a choir of such infants." Agreeably to this notion, at the close of his book of *Pedagogy*, sup-

posing himself and his companions united in a choir by Jesus, the pedagogue of all his disciples, he proposes a gratulatory hymn of praise to be sung by all the choir, that is, all the church, to the honour of their common benefactor, the only teacher, and the perfect pattern of spiritual infancy, that is, of innocence.

Στοιμιον παλων αδων,	.	-	Frænum pullorum indocilium,
Περων ορνιδων απλανων,	-	-	Penna volucrum non errantium,
Οι αξ ΝΗΠΙΩΝ αἰρεκης,	-	-	Verus clavus <i>Infantium</i> ,
Ποιμην ΑΡΝΩΝ βασιλικων	-	-	Pastor <i>agnorum</i> regalium :
Τους σουσ αφελεις	-	-	Tous <i>simplices</i> .
ΠΑΕΔΑΣ αγειρον,	-	-	<i>Pueros</i> congrega,
Αινειν αγιως	-	-	Ad saucte laudandum,
Υμνειν αδολως	-	-	Sincere canendum
Ακαποις σιομασιν	-	-	Ore innoxio
ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ηγητορα χριστον	-	-	Christum <i>puerorum</i> ducem.

In this style the whole hymn proceeds, representing Jesus as the King of children, βασιλευς παιδων who nourishes his family of little infants, by administering to their tender mouths the milk of heavenly wisdom : Γαλα ουρανιον - σοφιας της σης - οι ΝΗΠΙΑΧΟΙ - αἰαλοις τομασιν - αἰταλλομενοι, &c.

The primitive fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Epiphanius, Nazianzen, Basil, Austin, and Chrysostom, all lovers of musick, declaimed in the most bitter style against the secular musick of the theatres as an invention of the devil : but some of them did not foresee, and none of them guarded against, the evils which the introduction of consonance in musick produced in the church. It was not one of the least, that it effected a vacancy of religious principle in the laity ; who, having nothing to do at church but enjoy themselves, went to divine service only to see others perform. The handsome compliment of a primitive monk to an abbot became the real history of the laity at church after this period. Three monks went in company once a year to visit Abbot Antony, and two of the three asked him many questions, and consulted him on many cases of conscience and practice : the other was silent. After many such visits, the Abbot said to the third monk : " Brother, you have visited me many years, and you have never asked me one question." The monk politely replied : Father, I am satisfied with the sight of you."

The worst evil, that church musick produced, was a revolution in disfavour of Christian liberty : a revolution that introduced tyranny and slavery. To supply the choir, prelates, monks and canons formed singing schools of children. In them the whip, and in the monasteries, the rigid discipline of the infants, by a constant use of the rod, made every boy a slave, and so prepared him to play the tyrant, when he became a man. All children in monasteries under fifteen years of age were called infants, and were subject by statutes to a discipline excessively illiberal and severe ; and such as formed the choir were exposed to a much more cruel treatment by the unruly passions of the precentor and his assistants. In the singing schools the same rigour was observed, and the whip, with which Pope Gregory i. used to correct his singing boys, was shewn long after his death as a curiosity. In all places obedience was incalculated as a compendium of all virtue. In monasteries every soul was in a state of obedience. Among the secular clergy every individual was in a state of obedience to his diocesan. In all kingdoms in the West every prelate was in late times in a state of obedience to the Pope of Rome ; as those of the East were to their patriarchs. Hence a dread of thinking for themselves was every where applauded as the general guardian of faith and virtue, and an exercise of private judgment was represented as a complication of all crimes. Before the reformation obedience was the summary of all religion : but, at that happy period when the good sense of the clergy rebelled against monachism and Popery, it was with an ill grace that any of the reformers forged new fetters for others, and by associating human creeds with civil government forbade, as far as in them lay, posterity to be free. From this mismanagement they brought on themselves, and all their disciples, both those of necessity and those of choice, the heavy work of trying to support their systems by evidence : a method not necessary during the dead silence of past ages, and utterly impracticable ever since. While the clergy sang creeds which nobody examined, (for the choir looked at nothing but the musick) the system of doctrine stood without being held : but when inquiry came forward, persecution was

forced to aid, and when persecution paused, the mismatched materials crumbled away.

Exclusive of persecution, and imposition of creeds, many and weighty are the objections of inquisitive Christians against such compilations, and it is not one of the least, that they are all composed of loose unconnected sentences. The gospel of the four evangelists ought not to be disconcerted for the sake of picking out creeds. It would confuse the story ; and to take one line here and another there, as the sense of the whole, is to render the meaning doubtful, and in some cases even contradictory to itself. By this method the Trinitarian and the Socinian, the Arminian, and the Calvinist, the patriarch of Constantinople, the pontiff of Rome, and the Scotch Seceder, may each produce his own system : and with equal ease the history of the American war may be extracted from Homer's Iliad. This method is extremely facilitated by spiritualizing writings. Who is so blind as not to see the silver headed Doctor Franklin in the Greek bard's priest of Apollo, liberty in his daughter, the atlantick, in the sea that lashed the beach, and murmured and echoed to his prayers ; the parliament of Britain in the councils of the Greeks, and the issue of the contest in the purpose of Jove Διὸς δ' ἐτελεύειτο Βουλὴ. ? If any thing more be needful to elucidate a favourite point, nothing is easier than to add to the gospel some other books, as a history of the creation, and the lives of the patriarchs, an ancient Jewish ritual of Levitical ceremonies, an history of the kings, and the wars of the Jews : to all which, in case of necessity, the Apocrypha may be added ; and the fathers to that. He who can do all this is a poor divine indeed, if he cannot content himself, and compile a complete body of divinity of any kind, a rule of faith and practice. Here is no persecution, no cruelty to be complained of : but here is a manifest departure from the great principle of the Christian religion, the perfection of the New Testament, and from all approved canons of interpretation.

That humourous writer Dean Swift, in a pointed satire, ridicules the custom of forming doctrines out of detached sentences (5). The book is not at hand, but the substance is this. A father makes a will, and leaves

an estate to his three sons on condition they never dressed like people of fashion. Unhappily shoulder knots came into fashion after the decease of the testator, and one of the sons ingeniously invented a method of explaining the will so as to dress in the fashion, and yet continue in the enjoyment of the estate. He could not find an exception in the will in favour of shoulder knots, he could not even find the word there; however, he observed by dint of study in one word an S, in another an H, in a third an O, and all the rest except a K, in some word or other. He put these together, and proved to a demonstration that the K did not affect the sound, that shoulder knots were in the will, and consequently that the testator intended an exception in favour of this very innocent and popular fashion.

This sort of ingenuity is of all parties, and it hath abounded in the Catholick church. There was an honest carpenter in Tuscany, who had a son, a little boy. This child, before he knew his letters, was one day playing with the chips, which flew off from a piece of timber, that his father was hewing. Behold, at length, to the astonishment of the parent, the gamesome little rogue by chance had placed the chips in the form of letters. On being joined together they made this sentence of the psalmist: *He shall reign from sea to sea.* The man was struck, the language was sacred, none but God could effect such a miracle, it was in the future tense, it was a prophecy. It was a prophecy that came to pass too, for the little prophet in due time became His Holiness, Pope Gregory the seventh, pontiff of Rome (6).

FREE ASSENT TO THE CONNECTED SENSE OF SCRIPTURE IS THE ONLY SAFE RULE OF ACTION.

Apart from all such visions, Catholick and Protestant, it is clear, that the connected sense of Scripture is the only true sense, and that fair argument is the only rea-

(6) Cæs. Baronii *Annales*. Tom. xi. An. 1073. Habet Vaticana bibliotheca res gestas Gregorii Papæ septimi scriptas - - - Cum puer luderet ad pedes patris ligna dolantis, ex rejectaneis segmentis, cum nesciret literas, casu clementia illa formarit, ex quibus simul conjunctis illud Davididicum exprimeretur oraculum: *Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare*, quo significaretur manum pueri ductante numine, ejus fore amplissimam in mundo auctoritatem.

sonable ground of upright action in religion. An example of this in regard to the doctrine of baptism will elucidate this subject, with a view also to the other grounds of acting, power and passion.

In the Catholick church, and in the Greek church, infant baptism is established by law, and there is an end of the business (7).

In some churches, where argument is necessary, it stands on the doctrine of original sin, which is an argument addressed to the passions of hope and fear : innocent emotions in themselves, but attracted by this doctrine into a wrong direction. A mother, who understands primitive baptism to have been nothing but a badge of a profession of life, sees no more reason to lament the dying of her son unbaptized, than she does, having intended him for the army, to afflict herself because he did not die in regimentals. The annexing of funeral rites to baptism is a cruel violation of respect for the ashes of the dead, and a barbarous argument to the passions of the living. The affixing of civil and literary honours and advantages, not to talents and virtue, but to baptized talents and virtue, is still an address to the passions ; and if talents and virtue be dispensed with for the sake of baptism, it is more than an address to innocent passions ; it is the creation of base ones.

In churches unconnected with civil power, and where infant baptism rests on argument alone, there are three of six classes of arguments which the Baptists reject : and three more, which they receive only when they are properly explained.

Arguments taken from *philosophy* make no impression upon them, for they say, baptism is not a part of natural religion, but a positive institute of revelation : yet they say philosophy approves their practice.

To all arguments taken from the *Old Testament*, they reply, the economy was not given to them, but to the Jews ; and it is, as it ought to be, abolished to Jews, and

(7) Mabillon. *Analect.* Tom. iv. *Antiq. Collect. Veter. inscription. Romanarum.* xlix. *In ecclesia S. Pauli.*

In absida ad Fontem.

Hæc domus est fidei, mentes ubi summa potestas
Liberat, et sancto purgatas fonte tuetur.

references to it in the New Testament do not re-establish it.

To all arguments taken from the books of the New Testament, *subsequent* to the four gospels, some say, they are admissible only as explanatory of the doctrine and example of Jesus ; and all say, the passages that speak of baptism at all, explain it wholly and decisively in their favour. The *subjects* of baptism are explained in the words of Luke ; “they were baptized both *men and women* :” and the *mode* in the words of Paul ; “By baptism we are *buried* with Christ into death.”

Arguments taken from the *proselyte* baptism of the Jews, and the *initiatory* ablutions of the Pagans, they wholly disallow ; because, in regard to the first, the fact is not proved, and in regard to both, not the traditions of the synagogue, or the superstitions of Pagan temples, but the gospel alone is their rule of action.

Of arguments from *antiquity* and *universality* they affirm, that if they were affected at all by these in the present case, they should be affected too much, as the greatest corruptions are upheld by the same arguments ; and they add, infant sprinkling is not ancient, and it never was universal ; the baptism of natural infants is of comparative late date ; that of minors of the third or fourth century, and neither universal ; and the primitive ages, they affirm, baptized only believers, and them only by dipping at their own request ; but no arguments of this class affect them, because they are afraid of being imposed on by interpolated or spurious writings, and because the gospel is the sole ground of their faith and practice.

No arguments taken from civil or ecclesiastical *polity* affect them on this subject. They affirm, that it is impossible dipping a man should disturb government any more than sprinkling a child does : they say, religion may support men under bad governments, but it is fitted only to good governments, for the same reason that the gospel may preserve a wretch from despair, while it sits easy only on virtuous minds : and they add that as there are in general only two grounds of action in religion, force and choice, and as force is practised on an infant in its baptism, every government that exercises such

imposition by the magistrate or by the minister is an imperfect government, and passive obedience in religion was never yet a virtue with the Baptists, and probably never will be ; for baptism deferred till individuals embrace or neglect it, implies a freedom of choice incompatible with all dictates of power.

It is hardly worth while to mention another class of arguments, which are a disgrace to such as quote them, and prove nothing except that the cause is in exceeding distress for want of proof.

Gerard John Vossius, who was a very learned man, and a distinguished patron of infant sprinkling, gives two curious reasons for the validity of aspersion. First. Sprinkling preserves the *essentia*, that is, the *essence* of—— what ? the sacrament. It would have raised the laugh too loud to have said, sprinkling preserves the essence of *dipping* : he therefore prudently affirmed it preserves the essence of the *sacrament*, which was not the thing in dispute. The same Vossius was pleased to suppose, that the apostles baptized by pouring on water : but the question is of *sprinkling* or scattering in drops, which is very different from *pouring*. How did he know the apostles baptized by pouring ? Had he received any new book of the acts of the apostles written by eye witnesses ? No : but Thomas of Aquino, an Italian friar, who lived about four hundred years before Vossius, had *supposed* that the apostles *sometimes* baptized by *pouring*, in order to account for the numbers baptized in one day. Vossius might have recollected, that although the friar lived four hundred years before him, yet the same friar was not born till near twelve hundred years after the apostles.*

* “If pity for the wretched be a generous passion, who can help indulging it when he sees an illiterate Baptist hang his head daunted and dismayed by the unfair criticism of a learned teacher, who tells him the word baptize is Greek, and signifies pouring as well as dipping ? Great men love sometimes to trifle. The inference which these translators draw from their own version is not exactly logical ; for I prove, says Vossius, going to dip an infant, that the word baptize signifies to pour as well as to dip. In virtue of this what does he ? He takes the infant, and neither pours nor dips, but sprinkles, and then lifts up his voice and says to a congregation of English peasants, the Greek will bear me out. Verily, this is not fair !

“Suppose an honest Baptist peasant should stand up and say to such a man. ‘Sir, I have understood that Jesus lived and died in the East ; that four of his disciples wrote his history in the Greek language——that

In the same manner Dr. Wall, who was a man of great reading, after he had in vain quoted every passage in the fathers that looked any thing like favourable to his point, called in the aid of tradition, and two arguments are curious. He endeavours to make his reader believe that John Baptist baptized *infants* in Palestine in or about the year of Christ thirty: and for proof he affirms, that Ambrose, bishop of Milan in Italy, about four hundred years after, thought so. If it be objected: Ambrose speaks of reforming infants from wickedness by baptism, of course, his infants must have been reformed youth: the Doctor's answer is ready: Ambrose meant not the reformation of a wicked *life*, but the reformation of a wicked *nature* derived from Adam: consequently John Baptist believed the African doctrine of original sin. The same Dr. Wall quotes an inscription composed by Paulinus to be put over a baptismal font, to prove that in his time infants were

his apostles preached in Greek to the inhabitants of Greece, and that the Greeks heard, believed, and were baptized—every nation understands its own language best, and no doubt the Greeks understand Greek better than we do—now I have been informed—set me right if I be wrong—that from the first preaching of the apostles to this day, the Greeks have always understood, that to baptize was to dip; and so far are they from thinking that to baptize is to pour or sprinkle, I have been told they baptize by dipping three times. I do not understand Greek, but I think the Greeks themselves do. If therefore I were to dip for other reasons: and if I were obliged to determine my practice by the sense of the single word baptism: and if I were driven to the necessity of trusting somebody, my reason would command me to take the sense from the natives of Greece, rather than from you, foreigner? That this honest man would suppose a true fact is beyond all contradiction.—In determining the precise meaning of a Greek word used to signify a Greek ceremony, what possible chance hath a session of lexicographers against whole empires of native Greeks? Let the illiterate then enjoy themselves, and recollect when they baptize by dipping, they understand Greek exactly as the Greeks themselves understand it.”

[Robinson's *Researches*, p. 91, 92.

[A few years since I had an interview with the Capt. of a Greek ship from one of the Islands of the Archipelago, who was a member of the Greek church. He was wholly unacquainted with English, and his Greek pronunciation was somewhat difficult to understand. An Italian, well versed in both languages, was our Interpreter. When informed I believed in dipping, an approving smile kindled in his countenance, and he with great rapidity and emphasis, pronounced *Εγω Βαπτίζω, Εγω Βαπτίζω*, at the same time bending his head forward, and putting his hands over it, so as to meet behind, to show that to baptize, was to plunge all over head and ears. This he did three times to represent their trine immersion. When something was said about sprinkling, he stretched forth his hand with a frowning aspect, and an indignant *poh!* as if it had nothing to do with *Βαπτίζω*.

[*Ed.*]

baptized: then he adds a second section to prove that in the age in which Paulinus lived, which was the same as that of Ambrose, all persons newly baptized, young or old, were called infants: and what is more extraordinary, in the following section he presents the reader with an epitaph, composed by the same Paulinus for Celsus, an infant who had died soon after his baptism in the 8th year of his age. *Turpius est oratori nocuisse videri causæ, quam non profuisse.*

Monsieur Daillé, who had an extreme aversion to the baptizing of infants, as if they were believers, by forms proper only to adults, observes the fraud of Austin to get rid of a question which had been put to him by Boniface, an African bishop, and which he, Austin, could not answer. "An infant is offered to a minister to be baptized. The minister, as if he thought it wrong to baptize even an infant without faith, inquires of the infant himself whether he believes in God and Christ, and so on: tacitly implying, that if he did not believe these articles, he should not think it right to baptize him. The sponsor answers for the child that he does believe. Boniface could not comprehend how the child could possibly believe, or, if it were possible, how the godfather could know it. He objects this to Austin: and Austin replies: the meaning is, the child hath the *sign* or sacrament of faith. It is in vain to object, the sign of faith, in your sense, is the sacrament of baptism: but the child hath not been baptized, and he requires to be baptized; and you expound his request as if he had been baptized, and as if he assigned that as a reason for being baptized again: and this by way of proving that faith is necessary to baptism. An admirable solution!" Mr. Daillé observes, further, that although the impropriety of addressing interrogations about faith to infants as a ground of baptizing them had been fully and frequently urged, yet the Catholicks obstinately continued the practice. He remarks, that Mary of Medicis, queen regent of France, had, in the year fifteen hundred and sixty-one, addressed Pope Pius IV. to exonerate baptism of several ceremonies, particularly exorcism, which was needless, and spittle, which might be dangerous: but that the court of Rome had not only contemned the ad-

vice, but took pains to obliterate a memorial that it had been given. Thuanus, the celebrated historian, inserted her majesty's letter in his history, and for that reason the master of the Pope's palace took great pains to get the whole history proscribed; and sometime after, by Bernard Sandoval, archbishop of Toledo, and general inquisitor, the offensive letter concerning the reformation of baptism was put in the expurgatory index of the church, and ordered to be erased. Say Monsieur Daillé what he pleases, the wisest measure that ever was taken by the patrons of infant baptism was to establish it by law; and it may truly be affirmed, that it was not the books of Austin, but it was the chapter-statutes of Charlemagne, written with the sword in the mangled carcasses of men reduced to slavery and beggary, that did the business; as it is neither power, nor the innocent or guilty love of pleasure, nor plausible modest acquiescence in established customs, that should guide a man in the choice of his religion, so, assuredly, it is not a reverence for sophistry.



CHAP. XL.

A REVIEW OF THE APOSTOLICAL CHURCHES.

JOHN the Baptist was the protomartyr of the new economy. Him Herod put to death. The priests of the temple at Jerusalem followed the example, and procured the crucifixion of Jesus much against the will of the governor. One of the city synagogues imitated their superiors, and pursued Stephen to death for blasphemy. Then persecution became general, and all the disciples of Jesus, except the apostles, left the city. By their means the good news of Jesus the deliverer was published, and churches were formed at several places, first in Palestine, then in other parts of Asia, next in the Asiatick Islands, and lastly in Europe. Out of Jerusalem the disciples proceeded every way, like the radii of a circle from the centre; and as it is impossible to fix the time of congregating each church, or, if it

could be, wholly unnecessary, so an alphabetical list may sufficiently serve the present purpose.

[This Chapter contains a brief, historical account of all the churches founded by the apostles, which Mr. Robinson supposes were in the following places, viz : Achaia, Alexandria, Antioch, Antioch in Pisidia, Arabia, Athens, Babylon, Berea, Bythinia, Cesarea, Cappadocia, Cenchrea, Cilicia, Colosse, Corinth, Crete, Cyprus, Cyrene, Dalmatia, Damascus, Derbe, Ephesus, Gaiatia, Galilee, Hierapolis, Iconium, Illyricum, Joppa, Jerusalem, Judea, Laodicea, Lycaonia, Lydda, Lystra, Macedonia, Melita, Myra, Neapolis, Nicopolis, Pamphylia, Paphos, Patara, Patnos, Perga, Pergamus, Phenice, Philadelphia, Philippi, Pisidia, Pontus, Ptolemais, Puteoli, Rhodes, Rome, Salamis, Samaria, Sardis, Saron, Sidon, Smyrna, Syria, Tarsus, Thessalonica, Thyatira, Troas, Tyre. It is probable that in some of these places, not only one, but a number of churches had been formed by the ministry of the apostles. The account of these churches has a bearing on the history of baptism principally in this respect, that in all the transactions recorded, infants are nowhere brought to view ; and all the relations seem to suggest that they were not once thought of as candidates for baptism or church membership. The Editor at first intended to have omitted this chapter altogether, but has concluded to select and insert the following narrations.]

ANTIOCH. There are two Antiochs mentioned in the New Testament. The first is the ancient capital of Syria, a city of true eastern magnificence, the residence of the Macedonian kings of Syria for many hundred years, and afterwards of the Roman governors of that province, so that it was called the Queen of the East ; and when bishops became princes, the church obtained the names of the great patriarchate of the East, and the eye of the eastern church.

The Jews who fled from the persecution of Stephen first preached to their resident countrymen, and to proselytes, the Lord Jesus, *and the hand of the Lord was with them : and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord* (1).

This city is remarkable in ecclesiastical history for three things. Here the disciples of Jesus were first called Christians. Here the gospel was preached to Grecians, who were incorporated in the church. Here also Barnabas and Saul were sent out by the church under the direction of the Holy Ghost to travel through Pagan

(1) Acts xi. 19, 20, 21.

cities, to give light to the Gentiles, and to publish Jesus for salvation unto the ends of the earth (2).

It is a character to the gospel that it was first taught in the most populous, enlightened, and learned cities, never shunning the publick eye, but challenging full examination, and that in those cities it obtained numerous converts by conviction without the aid of force or fraud.

ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA. Pisidia was a province of Asia. Antioch was a city of the province. Here was a synagogue of the Jews. Hither Paul and his companions came, and on the Sabbath-day, they went to the synagogue. After the reading of the lessons, the rulers invited the strangers to speak. Paul accepted the invitation, and in a brief narrative reported the accomplishment of the ancient prophecies in the person of Jesus, and exhorted them to embrace the benefits of his mission, lest they should incur such punishments as the same prophecies had denounced against the despisers of it. There were two sorts of worshippers in the synagogue, the one native Jews, the other proselytes. The first withdrew displeased; the last approved of what they had heard, and invited the apostle to repeat it next Sabbath-day. During the week the affair no doubt was the subject of much conversation in the city, and the next Sabbath-day almost the whole city came together to the synagogue to hear. The Jews were extremely offended at this apparent invasion of their privileges, by *idolatrours* Gentiles, and they contradicted and opposed what was spoken by Paul. Paul and Barnabas, seeing the obstinate fury of the Jews, addressed their discourse to the idolatrous citizens, who with great joy embraced the good news of a Saviour; and out of them was formed the first church of *idolatrours* Gentiles. As many of them as believed were assorted and arranged, perhaps in one Christian society, perhaps in several; the word of the Lord was published through all the region, and the new disciples were filled with joy, and with the Holy Ghost. The Jews imitated their brethren in Judea, and having found means to engage some honourable female devotees, and the chief men of the city on their side, they raised a persecution, and expelled Paul

and Barnabas out of their coasts. Both Jews and devout Greeks, their proselytes, joined in this persecution.

BABYLON. There is in scripture a figurative Babylon, which, however, is so described as the city that reigned in the time of the writer, over the kings of the earth, that it cannot be mistaken. This was Rome. It doth not appear that Peter, who alone mentions the church at Babylon, ever was at Rome. The whole evidence of his being at Rome rests on the testimony of Papias, whose tales even Eusebius had hardly credulity enough to transcribe (3). There was also a Babylon in Egypt, the ruins of which are yet seen near Grand Cairo (4). The Babylon where Peter wrote his epistle, was, it should seem, the ancient city of this name, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, and not quite desolated in the time of Peter. This is the opinion of Dr. Benson, and of most good commentators (5).

There is great reason to conjecture, either that the copyists of the eleventh of Genesis have mistaken one letter of the original, or that the vague meaning of one word hath escaped the notice of many readers : and so that the city of Babylon is confounded with the tower of Babel. It is generally understood that Babel signified confusion, and that Moses assigned this name to the tower, because there God confounded the language of the builders. These are the words :

.the earth - of all - the lip - The Lord - did confound -

. terræ omnis labium Dominus confudit

הָאָרֶץ כָּל שֵׁפֶת יְהוָה בָּלַל

there - because Babel - the name of it - called

ibi quia Babel ejusnomen vocavit

שָׁם - כִּי בָּבֶל שְׁמָהּ קָרָא

Either Balbel is put for Babel, or Babel is put for Balbel : and the latter is most likely. By altering in the word Babel the second Beth into a Lamed, the passage would read thus : the name of it was called

(3) Rev. xvii. 5, 18.

(4) R. Pococke's *Description of the East*. Vol. i. Chap. iv. *Grand Cairo. Old Cairo. Babylon.*

(5) Dr. Benson's *Notes on the Seven Catholick Epistles*. London. 1756. 1 Pet. Section iii.

Dr. Gill. 1 Pet. v. 13. — Le Clerk — Erasmus — Mede — Vorstius, &c.

Babel, because there the Lord did ballel, that is, confound the lip of all the earth : or thus, the name of it was called confusion, because there did the Lord confound the lip of all the earth.

There are several reasons to believe that Babylon was a place different from the tower. Moses had said that Nimrod built Babel in the land of Shinar, and made it the head or the beginning of his kingdom, probably the capital of his new empire : he says, the people journeyed eastward, and after the confusion of tongues, *left off* to build the city, and were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth : but it doth not appear that Nimrod left off to build Babylon, or that his associates were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth ; on the contrary, he made it the seat of empire, and founded a monarchy of amazing extent and duration. Moses says, the tower was called confusion : but if Babel signified confusion, it is not likely that the inhabitants would have boasted of the name, or that the prophets would have styled it the *Golden City*, the *Lady of Kingdoms*, the *Praise of the whole Earth*, the *Glory of Kingdoms*, the *Beauty of the Chaldees' Excellency*. Perhaps the last of these titles may lead to the true name of Babylon, and the name of the city to the true name and history of the tower.

To this devoted spot, the throne of ancient despotism, not now the lady of kingdoms, but a deserted fen, nearly depopulated, lying in ruins, and hasting into eternal oblivion : once above sixty miles in circumference, and containing three or four hundred thousand inhabitants, now the residence comparatively of only a few, to this spot did the apostle of the circumcision direct his steps (6). It was the seat of the Jews of the dispersion, the descendants of those who would not return to Judea at the end of the seventy years captivity. Dr. Lardner, and from him Dr. Benson, hath produced a good collection of authorities to prove, that there was an infinite multitude of Jews of the ten tribes beyond Euphrates, dispersed all over the East (7). What a field was Babylon for Peter to display his powers of demonstration !

(6) Gal. ii. 7, 8.

(7) Dr. Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel-History*. Part i. Dr. Benson's *Notes on the seven Catholick Epistles*. *Hist. of St. James*. Sect. iii.

To a people, who believed the prophecies, and who stood and beheld with their eyes the accomplishment of them, how forcible the argument from prophecy ! Among the ruins of a worldly empire, which had bid fairest of any other to defy time and chance, how wise must he appear, who had formed a plan of a kingdom not of this world ! It is not astonishing, then, that Peter should congregate a church at Babylon. The wonder is (yet who that knows the Jews can wonder ?) that such a man, in his old age, should suffer a violent death : but Jesus had foretold it, and although no more is heard of him after his second epistle, yet it is credible the prophecy of Jesus was fulfilled. *When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not. This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God.*

CORINTH. That beautiful peninsula of Greece, which is now called the Morea, because the shape of it resembles a mulberry leaf, was formerly named Peloponnesus. It is computed to be about a hundred and seventy miles long, a hundred broad, and six hundred in circumference going round the bays. Corinth stood near the south-west part of the Isthmus on a steep bank. The adjacent sea was called the bay of Corinth : it is now named the gulf of Lepanto (8). This populous city, free and rich, was destroyed by the Romans lest it should be a mean of checking their insatiable lust of dominion : and with it expired the liberties of Greece. Mummius put all the men in the city to the sword, sold the women and children for slaves, as he did all the fugitive men as soon as they could be taken, plundered the city of its incomparable statues, exquisite paintings, and most valuable effects, and then setting fire to it, reduced the place to ashes : and all this by an unenlightened genius, who did not know a picture from a daubing, and for no other reason except that the strength and situation of the place might one day encourage the Achæans to rebel (9). Other reasons were pretended : but they were nothing but pretences. This was about a

(8) Dr. Pococke's *description of the East*. Vol. ii. Part ii. Chap. xii. *Of the Morea in general, and of Corinth.*

(9) Hooke's *Roman history*. Vol. ii. Book vi. Chap. i. *Destruction of Corinth*—Greece made a Roman province.

Rollin's *Rom. History*. Vol. viii. *War of Achaia.*

hundred and forty-five or six years before the birth of Christ. Julius Cæsar rebuilt it: a colony was settled there, and in the time of Paul the whole country was a Roman province.

Corinth was distinguished from other Grecian cities by its lasciviousness (1). Strabo says, a thousand prostitutes were maintained in the temple of Venus (2). When the citizens petitioned the goddess to grant any particular requests, they promised, on condition the favours were granted, to consecrate a number of girls to her service. Thus Xenophon the Corinthian offered twenty-five in gratitude for having obtained a victory at the Olympick games, and these ladies began the hymn which was sung while the victim was sacrificing (3). The history of Lais is well known, and with such courtizans the city abounded as well as the temple (4).

In the year fifty-two Paul went to this city. The Emperor Claudius had lately banished the Jews from Rome. Christians were then confounded with Jews, and Aquila, a Jew, who had resided at Rome, had quitted the city, and settled at Corinth. He was a tent-maker, and Paul, who was of the same craft, lodged and worked with him (5). The Jews used in general to support their wise men; but it was a prudent maxim of parents to teach their children some trade, and there are many instances of Rabbies, who in adverse times wholly supported themselves by labour, and many more of tradesmen, who taught in the synagogues, and were denominated Rabbies (6). Among the Jews sacrificing was annexed to priesthood: but giving instruction was open to all: and hence it was, that at Corinth Paul attended on sabbath-days at the synagogue, and reasoned in it every sabbath day, and persuaded both Jews and Greeks, without giving any offence on account of his occupation.

(1) Erasmi *op. ex edit.* Joan. Clerici. Lugd. 1703. Adag. In proverb. Non est cujuslibet Corinthum appallare.

(2) Lib. viii.

(3) Athenæi Lib. xiii.

(4) Bayle's Dict. Vol. vi. Lais.

Aristoph. Plut. Act. i. Scen. ii. Ver. 149. *Και τας γ' εταιρας φασι τας ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑΣ, &c.* SCHOL. *Επιστημοι εν Κορινθω ελαιραι μνημονευουσαι Δαις, Κυρηνη, Δελφους, Συναπη. Πυρρινη, Σικυωνη, &c.*

(5) Acts xviii. 1, 2, 3.

(6) Joan. Clerici *Hist. Eccles. Sec. i. An. lii. - ex Vitringæ Synagog. vet. Lib. iii. Par. i. C. 18.* Gill on Acts xviii. 3.

Sometime after Paul had resided at Corinth, Silas and Timothy came thither. Paul had hitherto treated on the subject of a Messiah gently, perhaps by inquiry, in compassion to the prejudices of the Jews: but now he felt himself animated to speak explicitly, and to identify the person, and he declared Jesus was the Christ. The Jews were exasperated, and blasphemed. Paul, then, shook his raiment, declared himself clean from their blood, and departing from the synagogue entered into the house of one Justus. Having thus dissented, he was joined by Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, and all his family: by Gaius, at whose house he went to reside: by Stephanas, and his family, and by many native Corinthians, who, hearing, believed and were baptized (7). Paul himself baptized Crispus, Gaius, and the family of Stephanas. The Greeks say, this Stephanas was the same person, who had been keeper of the jail at Philippi, and whom Paul had baptized there. They say this to explain what the apostle affirms, that he had baptized Crispus, Gaius, and the household of Stephanas, and no others: but the comment is not necessary, for Paul's words to the Corinthians are: I baptized none of *you* [Corinthians] except such and such persons. This doth not imply that he had not baptized others at different places. Stephanas is called the first fruits of Achaia, but Philippi was in Macedonia. The removal, also, of the jailor seems too quick; for the churches of Philippi and Corinth were both congregated in the second journey of Paul, and his passage was quick. When he left Philippi he went to Amphipolis and Apollonia, but he did not stop at either of them. He went forward to Thessalonica, and taught in the synagogue only three weeks, and the Jews were so eager in persecuting him, that he was soon obliged to flee in the night. Then he went to Berea, but his stay there was short; nor doth it appear to have been long at Athens, the only station between Berea and Corinth (8). It is also said, that the family of Stephanas addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints, that is, they undertook the diaconate (7).

(7) Acts xviii. 8.—1 Cor. i. 14, 15, 16.

(8) Acts. xvi. 40—xvii.—xviii. i.—See Dr. Benson's *Map of Paul's five apostolick Journey's, with the time of his beginning and ending each Journey.*

(9) 1 Cor. xvi. 15. *Και εις διακονιαν τοις αγιοις ελαξαν αυτους.*

Thus Paul boarded with Gaius, and taught in the house of Justus near the synagogue; and the family of Stephanas took care of the poor and the sick, distributed the charities of the church, assisted at baptisms, lodged Christian strangers, and discharged all diaconal duties. Here Paul continued about two years, and congregated a large church, for the Lord had much people in the city of Corinth. Nothing can be inferred from the baptism of Corinthian families in favour of infant-baptism. Only two households are mentioned, and only one is said to be baptized: that one is said to addict themselves to the ministry of the saints. Let the ministry mean what it may, it signifies something of which infants were incapable. If such reasoning could be admitted, the argument at Corinth would stand thus: Crispus believed with all his house. Paul baptized Crispus: but he did not baptize his household. He says, I thank God I baptized none of you, save Crispus. Paul did baptize the household of Stephanas; and he baptized the infant children of Stephanas: that is, in one family he baptized infants who did *not* believe, and in another, and that the family of the ruler, he did not baptize the young people and servants who *did* believe. Who doth not see that such expositions are mere quibbles, extracted by torture? Luke says, the Corinthians heard, believed, and were baptized. Paul says, for his part he baptized Crispus, Gaius, and the family of Stephanas, which family were the first fruits of Achaia, and officiated in the diaconate. Epenetus was most likely the first person converted of this family, about four years after he lived at Rome (1). Probably Paul began baptism by administering it first to Crispus, late ruler of the synagogue, on account of his age and rank, and for the sake of his example. Then he baptized the man next in rank, Gaius. Then he proceeded to Stephanas, Epenetus and others of the family, whom he calls assistants and labourers, and they, after having been baptized themselves, baptized the rest (2). This was a wise and proper arrangement; for it would have disconcerted all order if he had either baptized the *inferior* part of the family of Crispus before Gaius and Stephanas, or if he had not baptized *all* the family of Stephanas; for in the

(1) Rom. xvi. 5.

(2) 1 Cor. xvi. 16, Σουεργουσι και κοπιωσι;

former case he would have been slandered as a leveller, and in the latter as a respecter of persons. His prudent management precluded both. An Oiko-baptist baptizes a family : an Oiko-nomist provides food for them. Is there any more reason for affixing the ideas of infants to the first term than to the last : and hath every household steward necessarily the care of infants ? If not, what is this argument good for ? It is merely verbal at the best ; and on examination not that : yet on this floating ground some place infant baptism.

About three years after the departure of Paul from Corinth, the church had fallen into many disorders, and he wrote two epistles to correct them : one from Ephesus in the close of the year fifty-seven, or in the beginning of fifty-eight, and the other from some part of Greece, in the year fifty-eight. The Corinthian church was very large, the members were not inferior to any in spiritual gifts ; but through the influence of some false apostle, a deceitful worker, and it should seem a Jew, who in the absence of Paul had insinuated himself into their favour, they had divided into factions, fallen into some gross immoralities, and carried some of their disputes before heathen magistrates. The false apostle had been the cause of all these irregularities, and he had done every thing in his power to discredit Paul. He had a violent party in the church : but some had defended Paul, and they wrote to request his advice. His first epistle is an answer to their letter (3).

The two epistles of Paul afford abundance of information on various subjects, one of which is the worship of the Corinthian church. Dr. Benson hath treated of this subject with his usual accuracy, and the outlines may serve here. The doctor modestly calls it a rough draught of the publick worship of the first Christians (4).

He begins by defining and explaining the spiritual gifts, or miraculous powers of the church. The doctor enumerates nine ; but they seem to be comprehended in seven.

(3) *Locke's Paraph. and Notes on the Epistles to the Corinthians. Synopsis.*

(4) On six of the Epistles of St. Paul, p. 603. Part ii. Concerning the publick worship of the Christians, whilst the spiritual gifts continued. —Cor. xii. xiii. xiv.

i. The first and highest is called *the word of wisdom*: that is, the whole scheme of the gospel doctrine. This was peculiar to the *apostles*, and they received it by revelation.

ii. The second was *the word of knowledge*: that is, a full and clear comprehension of the scope and design of the law and the prophets, and a thorough understanding of the confirmation which the Old Testament gave to Christianity. They who had this gift were called *prophets*.

iii. The third was *faith*: that is, a steadfast belief, and firm persuasion, of performing what they were going about. As this gift is ascribed to *teachers*, it implies a full assurance of their teaching agreeably to what they learned of the apostles.

iv. The fourth was the power of *healing* diseases.

v. The fifth was a power of *working miracles*, as conferring spiritual gifts on others by laying on hands, and raising the dead.

vi. The sixth is *prophecy*; which Paul hath defined to be a speaking unto men, for edification, and exhortation, and comfort; that is, by foretelling future events, or by delivering by inspiration some doctrine, direction, or exhortation, or by praying or singing by inspiration. In this gift are sometimes included discerning of spirits and interpretations of tongues, which answer to helps, governments, speakers of tongues.

vii. The seventh is the gift of *tongues*: that is, an ability to speak many languages, or an ability to interpret what had been spoken in a foreign or dead language into the native language of the hearers.

It is next to be observed, that many of the primitive Christians were very illiterate persons: that many churches were chiefly collected from among the idolatrous Gentiles, who had been extremely depraved: and that of course extraordinary gifts were necessary. Without these it would have required ages to plant and settle as many churches as Paul planted and settled in twenty years.

It was by the exercise of these spiritual gifts, under the direction of one president, that public worship was carried on. The scriptures were read, most likely the

Old Testament, but certainly the New as soon as it was written. Discourses were addressed by one at a time to the rest of the assembly, by apostles, prophets, evangelists, teachers, men in publick congregations of both sexes, and women in assemblies of their own sex. The discourses were instructive, exhortatory, tending to comfort, reprove, and so on. The men were allowed to propose questions, as in the synagogues : but Paul disallowed of this in women. In case of great offences censure was pronounced in publick. There was no coercion : but a publick censure of any individual was understood to signify, that the whole church disapproved of such practices as they censured, disowned any approbation of the conduct of the offender, and would not in future hold any communion with him. Another part of publick worship was receiving the Lord's supper. There is no instance in scripture of their baptizing persons in the church, when they were assembled for publick worship. Prayer was a very considerable part of publick worship. Some prayed by inspiration : others without it. They offered up, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings for all men, for kings, and for all that were in authority, that they might lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. At the conclusion of a prayer, the assembly aloud pronounced Amen. One part of publick worship was singing the praises of God in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. Some suppose they sang singly, one at a time : others that they sung alternately : in the fourth of Acts it is said, they all sang. The day of worship was the first day of the week ; and the putting off some part of the earnings or profits of the preceding week into the treasury of the society for the necessary expenses, was one part of the service. As to the place, it was sometimes the private house of a Christian ; but it seems highly probable that in general the first Christians, after the example of the Jews, hired large private houses, in which they lodged and entertained strangers, and relieved the sick and the poor, the living in which they gave the deacons and deaconesses ; and with this difference from the Jews, the Jews had synagogues to which such houses were appendages ; Christians had no others but these, and they held their pub-

lick assemblies in them. These were called the church's houses.

DAMASCUS. This capital of Cœle-Syria is a very ancient city. It is mentioned in the history of Abraham. It is about a hundred and sixty miles from Jerusalem. David conquered it : but it was recovered in the time of Solomon, and was governed by kings of its own till the time of Isaiah, when the king of Assyria took it. It was always under arbitrary government ; for, as the prophet Isaiah beautifully expresses it, if Damascus was the head of Syria, king Rezin was the head of Damascus. It was, however, always free in regard to religion ; and as it is one of the most delightful situations of the East, so it always was and yet continues rich and populous. In the time of Ezekiel, the merchants drove a large trade in wine, white wool, and other raw materials for manufacturing, in the fairs of Tyre. At this day, they import by their annual caravans the merchandises of Persia and India. They manufacture burdets of silk and cotton, striped and plain, and plain silks like tabbies, all watered, which adds much to their beauty. These Syrian merchants form one large branch of that river of eastern treasure, which at Aleppo, Smyrna, and all through the Levant, rolls tides of wealth into Europe. The Damascenes have imprinted their name on manufactures by the invention of damasking or damaskeening, which is the operation of beautifying inferior metals by making incisions in them, and filling them up with gold or silver wire. Damasking partakes of the mosaick, for it is inlaid work : of engraving, for it cuts the metal, and represents various figures ; of carving and chasing, for gold and silver is wrought in relievo. Silks and stuffs with raised patterns are also called damasks. All these arts were carried to a high degree of perfection in the East, before Europe knew how to make a plough.

Ecclesiastical history exhibits no event more interesting than the conversion of Saul, which was effected near Damascus, and which made such a considerable change in the affairs of the disciples of Jesus. By Ananias, one of them, Saul was baptized. The waters of Damascus are the great conveniency and ornament of the city, and the division of them into channels and serpentine streams, edged with verdure, is extremely beautiful. Bathing is

the delight of the Damascenes: they use bagnios to excess. They have water in such abundance, that all parts are supplied with it, and every house has either a fountain, a large bason of water, or at least a pipe or conduit. The eastern gardens are orchards or woods of fruit-trees, not regularly disposed, and only laid out in narrow walks. Small streams are brought through these aromatick groves, and fall into fountains and water-works, and basons in open pavilions. Some baths are seated round, and shaded with trees; others are in large covered rooms, the cupolas supported by marble pillars, and the sides all round furnished with sofas. There, in silk and cotton stripes and rainbow hues, stretched at his ease, lies the soft Damascene, regaling himself with sweetmeats of candied fruits which are in the highest perfection, and drinking water, wine, rinfresco, made with liquorice, lemons or dried grapes, and cooled with snow; or sipping coffee, or sherbet, the juice of lemons or oranges diluted with water, and improved with sugar. Just so the prophet Amos, more than two thousand five hundred and eighty years ago, described the Jews who lived in this city, *the children of Israel dwell in Damascus in a couch*. The Damascenes insist on it, that their territory was the literal Eden of Adam, who was made of their carnation-soil.

Such expositors of the ninth of Acts as suppose Saul was baptized by sprinkling, would not do amiss to consider one observation of a most accurate modern critick. "It is a great pity, that men of learning will not consider the natural history of the places they treat of: much depends on this kind of knowledge." The application of this wise maxim enabled this gentleman by a few simple principles to unravel a thousand fables, and to substitute the gold of history for the tinsel of mythology. In regard to the fact of Paul's baptism, he himself says: he died and was *buried in baptism in likeness of the death of Christ*.

Ecclesiastical mythologists have been pleased to convert the inhabitants of this city into a church, and to ordain Saint Ananias, bishop of Damascus, and as usual to crown him with martyrdom: but they have degraded the holy man. There were no bishops in being then: the superintendency was in the apostles: and

Ananias was of an order superior to bishops, and even to evangelists, and probably was one of the seniority called *eye-witnesses*, for he laid hands on Saul, restored his sight, and communicated to him the gifts of the Holy Ghost. It is likely, but it is not certain, that there was a Christian church congregated and formed at Damascus. The sacred historian is very brief, and omits the history of three years of the life of Saul, which properly comes in between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth verses of the ninth of Acts. After he had been let down in a basket over the wall of Damascus, he went into Arabia, where he spent three years. Then he returned to Damascus, which renders it probable that there was one church, or more, there. It is easy to invent fables : but it is impossible to compile history without materials.

EPHESUS. The metropolis of Asia. Paul, in company with Aquila and Priscilla, arrived here in the year fifty-four. He went, as usual, to the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews : but he did not, at this time, attempt to preach to the *idolatrous* Ephesians. He was requested to stay, but, with a promise of returning, he set off for Jerusalem, leaving his companions at Ephesus. During his absence, one Apollos, an Alexandrian Jew, an eloquent speaker, and a disciple of John the Baptist, came to Ephesus, and spoke in the synagogue with great zeal and seriousness, for he was fervent in spirit, and was instructed in the way of the Lord. Disciples of John were such as had been excited to prepare for the coming and kingdom of the Messiah : but they had not been informed of what had happened at Jerusalem after John had pointed out the person, and they knew nothing of the history of Jesus. Aquila and Priscilla informed Apollos of the whole, and so taught him the way of God more perfectly. Paul, the year after his departure, returned to Ephesus. Apollos was then gone to Corinth : but Paul found at Ephesus about twelve disciples of John, perhaps converted by Apollos. They had been baptized, but they had heard nothing of what had passed after the death of John, at least they had not heard of the effusion of the Holy Ghost. Many think, even the judicious Benson thought, Paul caused these men to be re-baptized : but the opinion seems

premature. There is no instance, unless this be one, of the repetition of baptism : and there is no necessity for thinking this one. The opinion would lead to a supposition that all the disciples of John were rebaptized. The dialogue stands thus.

Paul. Have ye [*twelve*] received the Holy Ghost since ye believed ?

Twelve. We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.

Paul. Into what then were ye baptized ?

Twelve. Into John's baptism.

Paul. John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus ; and they who understood this were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus (5).

The meaning of the apostle seems to be : that although John had not made use of the name of *Jesus* in the administration of baptism, but of *one* of the names of the *Messiah*, perhaps *He that is coming*, himself at first not knowing the person, yet when he and his disciples were afterward informed *Jesus* was the name, and *Jesus of Nazareth* the man, then they understood themselves to be *his* disciples, the disciples of *Jesus* of Nazareth. This was what Paul *said*, and it went to authenticate the baptism of John. What he *did* follows. He laid hands upon them, and they received the gifts of tongues and prophecy (6). A case very much like this had happened at Samaria. Philip had taught them the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, and had baptized both men and women : but Philip was only an evangelist, and although he wrought some miracles, yet he did not lay on hands to communicate the Holy Ghost. The apostles at Jerusalem sent Peter and John to lay on hands. They did so, and the Samaritans received the Holy Ghost (7).

The case of the disciples of John was singular, and it was of consequence. There were *four* classes of men formed into Christian churches ; in some separately, in others intermixed. The first were such *Jews* as

(5) Ἀκουσάντες -- Ἀκούω. intelligo. 1 Cor. xiv. 2. Luke xvi. 2. John ix. 31. &c.

(6) Dr. Gill on Acts xix.

(7) Acts viii. 5—17.

were converted after the ascension of Jesus : these were baptized, either in companies as at Jerusalem on the first sermon of Peter, or individually as Saul was at Damascus (8). The second were Jewish *proselytes* : these were baptized, either singly, as the Ethiopian eunuch, or several at the same time, as Cornelius and his friends at Cesarea (9). The third were *idolatrous* Gentiles : these were baptized, as the Corinthians, and others (1). The disciples of John, who had not heard of Jesus, made a fourth class. Apollos, and the twelve at Ephesus, were of this class, and perhaps there were many more : but they do not appear in any apostolical churches except this of Ephesus. It was natural therefore for Paul to give an opinion on the validity or invalidity of the baptism of this class of men. It doth not appear that Apollos was rebaptized ; and if, in the judgment of Paul, the baptism of John was valid, the whole is uniform and consistent with a position which he laid down to this church, and with his reasoning addressed to another. To Ephesus, he wrote : There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism ; intending, perhaps, to decide on the case of the disciples of John. With the Galatians, who, after they had professed themselves Christians, inclined to Judaism, he reasoned thus : as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ ; which is equal to saying : to be baptized is to profess Christianity—you have been baptized—therefore you are Christians, not Jews.

PHILIPPI. In this city of Macedonia there are several articles which deserve attention. Hither Paul and Silas came in the second apostolical journey, which was between the years fifty-two and fifty-four. There was by a river side without the city a place where prayer was wont to be made. On the sabbath-day Paul and Silas went thither, as probably there was no synagogue in the city ; and Paul sat down, and spoke to the women who were present. A woman, named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, attended to the things which were spoken of Paul. She had been a worshipper of God before, but whether a Jewess or a

(8) Acts ii. 36—38—ix. 18.—xxii. 12—16.

(9) Acts viii. 26—39.—x. 2—47.

(1) Acts xviii. 7—11.

proselyte is not known. The Lord opened her heart, and when she and her family were baptized, she besought the apostle and his companion to abide at her house. Some are pleased to *suppose*, first, that Lydia had young infants in her family; secondly, that they were baptized, and, thirdly, that Christians ought to follow her example. A book of suppositions is a line of cyphers without an unit. It is more to the purpose to observe, that the family of Lydia are afterward called *brethren*, whom Paul and Silas comforted when they took leave of them before they left the city.

It should seem, Jews were not tolerated in this city, for, Paul having put a stop to the incantations of a girl, who was employed by masters to acquire gain by her practice, the masters complained to the magistrates in the forum that these men being *Jews* taught customs, which it was not *lawful* for the citizens to obey. The magistrates, as Paul expresses it, *shamefully entreated them*. They tore off their clothes, commanded them to be beaten, and committed them to prison. The jailor too well executed the barbarous order. At midnight Paul and Silas sang praises to God, and while the other prisoners heard them, an earthquake shook the prison, the doors were opened, and every one's bands were loosed. The jailor, awaking out of his sleep, and finding the prison doors open, drew out his sword, and would have killed himself, supposing the prisoners had been fled; for he had nothing to hope from the clemency or justice of such magistrates as employed him. With great calmness Paul prevented his rash attempt on his own life, by assuring him that no prisoner had availed himself of the event to escape. When a light was procured, the jailor trembled, and inquired of Paul and Silas, in the most submissive manner, what he must do to be saved. They informed him, and spoke the word of the Lord unto *him*, and to *all* that were in his house. The man first took them the same hour of the night and washed their stripes: next he and all his were straightway baptized: and lastly, he brought them into his house, set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with *all* his house. No man would imagine, unless he had seen it, that this history of a family, who all *heard*, and all *believed*, could ever be quoted as a proof of the bap-

tism of new-born babes. They who *suppose* that because the baptism was performed in the night, and in the prison, it was performed by sprinkling, would do well to consider that they burden themselves with two articles (to mention no more) which it is impossible to prove: the one, that there was no bath *in* the prison,* and the other, that the keeper and his family did *not* go out of it. Suppositions may be innocently used as ornaments of well-established facts; and the facts are not less true, though they may be less beautiful, if the suppositions be groundless: but to affirm a conjecture for a fact, and to build a practice on imaginary facts, as if they were truths of demonstration, is a very different process, and to touch the conjecture is to hazard the whole fabrick.

The stern and manly conduct of Paul to the magistrates does the highest honour to his character and his doctrine. They had scourged him openly uncondemned, and they would have thrust him out privily. *Now*, said the keeper of the prison, *depart, and go in peace. No, by no means*, exclaimed the apostle, *let them come themselves and fetch us out. We are Romans.* What dignity of character!

About ten years after, Paul wrote to the Christian church in this city, and then there were bishops and deacons in it; of course, it had come to a settlement. This plurality of bishops in one church, in one city, is a case in point against diocesan bishops. The apostle was then in confinement at Rome, and as the Philippians had sent a present to him by Epaphroditus, their messenger, so the epistle is a letter of thanks. It is full of information, and contains not false compliments, but justly merited praise of the amiable dispositions of the people.

* "Another objection is thus stated, &c. This case can present no difficulty to the minds of any of you, my brethren, who may have been within the yard of the prison in this city (Calcutta,) or are acquainted with the fact that prison yards in the East, as well as the yards and gardens of private houses, are usually provided with tanks (i. e.) cisterns of water."

[Fudson's *Sermon on Christian Baptism.*
Preached in Calcutta, 1812.—p. 14, 15.

RECAPITULATION.

HAVING gone over a great deal of ground, it cannot be improper to pause, and take a retrospect, collecting, as well as the subjects will allow, the whole into one point of view, in order to retain a general idea of a very diffuse and complex affair.

The first chapter attempts to narrate the origin of baptism, and it appears to have originated in an order of God, executed by John in the little kingdom of Judea, then a province of the Roman Empire, in the reign of Tiberias Cæsar.

The second inquires what baptism John administered, and shews it was that of immersion in water.

The third treats of the persons baptized, and attempts to prove they were only believers, and here Jesus is introduced as Lord of the New Economy.

The two next proceed to inquire whether baptism were in use among the Jews before John, or among the Gentiles ; and it is shewn that it was not, but was altogether a new and divine appointment.

The seventh chapter treats of the improvement of the institution by Jesus Christ. He did not alter the subject, a believer, or immersion, the mode, but he extended the commission to baptize so as to include the Gentiles of that age, and all mankind, who might become his disciples in future ages.

The next chapter observes that the congregations collected by the immediate apostles of Christ were baptized by immersion, and that none but believers appear on this occasion ; and here ends sacred history, without exhibiting any infant or any sprinkling.

The ninth chapter, and the two following, narrate the Eastern, Roman, and Mohammedan favourite practice of bathing, and the twelfth shews that the primitive Christians erected similar buildings for the purposes of sacred bathing, and called them baptisteries, from baptism, which they practised by immersion there.

The next four chapters describe several baptisteries, both of eastern and western Christians, and shew that their histories are credible, and their conduct proper only on supposition that they baptized believers by immersion.

The seventeenth chapter introduces artists depicting baptism, and unwarily obscuring what they meant to elucidate.

The next treats of fonts both natural and artificial, and shews that a confusion of names introduced a confusion of things, by which means the original practice of baptism became more corrupted.

The baptism of infants, that is, of minors, so called in general, follows, and here it is observed that the equivocalness of words went to add to the corruption of baptism.

The next chapter shews that the weak fondness of parents, and the enthusiasm of the monks helped yet more to corrupt baptism, by transferring to babes an institute proper only for men.

The twenty-first chapter, and the two following, shew that Africa, the least enlightened part of the Christian world, cherished the baptism of babes; and that Augustine, a pretended saint, but an illiterate hypocrite of wicked dispositions, brought it to perfection there in the fifth century; but the novel practice had no extent or duration worth mentioning.

The next chapter shews how the Easterns depraved the institute, and brought it down gradually to children.

Chapter the twenty-fifth examines a pretended canon of some poor African monks, who, to supply their wants, imported African baptism into Spain, in the sixth century.

The next chapter shews how the Emperor Charlemagne imposed on the Saxons a law for infant baptism, to serve the political purpose of enslaving them, and others of mankind; and how other despots copied his example, and turned the institute of Christ into an engine of state.

The twenty-seventh chapter accounts for the extensive progress of infant baptism, by shewing how well it suited the interest of various classes of men, and the very corrupt manners of those ignorant, enslaved, and barbarous times.

Next follows an account of several consequences of making baptism necessary to babes, and so brings on the last stage of the corruption of it, the practice of baptizing infants unborn, who could not be immersed, but might by art be wetted, and so the priests found themselves obliged to affirm that moistening a part was equal to bathing the whole. This vulgar, indecent, and barbarous farce is yet acted abroad, under the false pretence, that the wise and good Sovereign of the universe hath connected invisible and eternal benefits, not with knowledge and virtue, but with the exercises of a priest, how silly and sordid soever, both he and they may be. However, this whole system is consistent with itself, for if it be once admitted that baptism and eternal life are inseparably connected, the necessity, and even the charity of baptizing every living human animal, follow of course, and the doctrine is established that there is no salvation out of the church.

Baptism had been practised many ages, in divers countries, by all sorts of men, and it had been connected with a great variety of other practices. These connections are treated of in the two following chapters, and they all imply that the institute had been made very free with to serve secular interests by men, who had not regulated religion by its only standard the holy scripture, and that even these abuses tell the original form.

The thirty-third chapter traces the history of aspersion, and shews that the monks introduced from Pagan rites the practice of sprinkling holy water, which in the end was mistaken for Christian baptism.

The next treats of the real practice of primitive baptism, which in some countries truly, and in others falsely is called Anabaptism, and the three following chapters narrate the present state of baptism in various churches, Eastern and Western, Greek, Roman, Reformed, and Renovated, by the original pattern.

Having narrated the several states of this divine institute, the subject closes with an attempt to shew the true ground on which religion in justice ought to rest; and as baptism is a positive institute, both commanded and exemplified, a list is given of all the first churches, in which there does not appear any sprinkling, or so much as one infant, whence the conclusion is, that infant baptism is not of divine appointment, and that Christianity is not in this institute openly or covertly inimical to the birth-rights of mankind; on the contrary, by requiring personal knowledge and virtue, it is the best friend of a good system of civil government, and deserves well of all mankind. It removes ignorance, the bare of virtue, and by educating the world, teaches mankind at once to be both rational and religious, fit members of civil society, and “meet to be partakers of an inheritance with the saints in light.”

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
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